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THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN:

COMPREHENDING THAT OF

THE GREEK EMPIRE OF BACTRIA,

AND OTHER

GREAT ASIATIC KINGDOMS, BORDERING ON ITS WESTERN FRONTIER.

COMMENCING AT

THE PERIOD OF THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER,

AND

INTENDED TO BE BROUGHT DOWN TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

VOL. II. PART I.

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1803.

TO

JOHN PENN, ESQ. M.P.

OF STOKE-PARK, BUCKS.

To whom can a Volume that records the concluding history of a mighty, but fallen empire, be inscribed, with more decisive propriety, than to HIM who is so well versed in the page both of Ancient and of Modern History, the zealous Friend of Science, and the distinguished Patron of the Liberal Arts, who equally illustrates them by his writings, and supports them by his example?

To some, indeed, it may appear like a solecism, to dedicate to a gentleman, whose whole life has been a series of humane and beneficent actions, pages crowded with the details of barbarous warfare, and the sanguinary atrocities of Tartar and Turkish chiefs; yet as I have never ceased to depict the horror of such crimes, as I have never failed, in the course of those details, to brand, in terms of merited infamy, the baseness of avarice, and the blood-guiltiness of ambition, the calamitous sources of most wars recorded

in history; I hope to be considered as having served, by this publication, the cause of humanity, and the interests of society; and consequently, as having rendered it worthy of the patronage of the benevolent Owner of STOKE.

And was there ever, in the annals of the world, an æra in which it was more necessary to hold up to public detestation the enormity of those offences? Let the wretched inhabitants of the ravaged provinces of the finest portions of Europe, reduced to beggary by a more infuriate despot than either GENGIS or TIMUR, answer this question. If, in those ages of barbarity and ignorance, the latter put to death, in cold blood, one hundred thousand miserable captives under the walls of Delhi,* were the butchery of JAFFA, and the poisoning of ROSETTA, in these enlightened periods, under a general bearing the name of Christian, and educated in the liberal school of modern warfare, less politically infamous, or less diabolically wicked? It is to such monsters, stained with the blood of their fellow-creatures, and black with unheard of crimes, that the loud and warning voice of History addresses itself: while her faithful page exhibits their true characters, stripped of each splendid, each delusive, decoration, and devoted to

* See of the present Volume page 18.

the bitterest execrations of posterity! Such must be the inevitable fate of the basest of these heroic assassins, this modern TIMUR, whose aim is to revolutionize the universe, and who impotently points the thunder of his vengeance against the shores of Britain; or rather 'tis his superlatively fortunate destiny to possess the curses of the *present*, with the certainty of obtaining those of every *future* generation.

One revolution, Sir, has already occurred, in which you suffered the loss, or rather to speak a plain though an unpleasant truth, were *plundered* of a princely fortune; a calamity sustained by you with that noble fortitude and that calm magnanimity, which becomes the descendant of the great WILLIAM PENN:* but the new revolution prepared for us by these fiercer REPUBLICANS, tends to somewhat more than the mere deprivation of fortune; it aims at the extinction of liberty itself, and the utter subversion of social order. But oh! shall BRITONS,

> Shall the bold sons of Freedom and the waves,
> Shrink at the nod of Gaul's imperious slaves?
> A race for dark insidious wiles renown'd,
> And damning perfidies through Europe's bound;

* The memorable answer returned by the Proprietor of Pennsylvania to a friend, who lamented the diminution of a patrimony larger than that enjoyed by many European princes, will best exhibit the generous and elevated sentiments of his mind; "Yes, Sir," replied he, "I too "lament the diminution, because it has so greatly *limited my power of* "*doing good.*"

Who boast to liberate enslaved mankind,
Then the gull'd fools in chains eternal bind;
Like Judas, the betraying kiss impart,
Clasp in their arms, then stab you to the heart;
Shall these rule BRITONS? First, ye lightnings, sweep
Yon blasted cliffs, and whelm them in the deep.*

Into this train of indignant reflection, I have been naturally led by my subject, and the awful predicament in which the nation at this moment stands. With respect to the portion of the Work which I have the honour to present to you, it commences with the incursion of TIMUR into Hindostan in A. D. 1398, and from the best authorities at present attainable, traces the succession of that prince's descendants on the thrones of Tartary and India, with the intervening revolutions that took place in the latter empire, down to the death of Jehanguire in A. D. 1627, a period within which two of the most magnificent and important events that ever occurred, took place—the discovery of a new world by Columbus, and the opening of a passage by Gama to India, by the Cape of Good Hope. During that period, the distinguished nation, conducted to her shores by that adventurous chieftain, together with the Dutch, and English, firmly established themselves on the coasts and islands of India; but in this First Part of the

* See the Crisis of Britain, recently published by the Author, and to be had of Mr. White.

present Volume, the history of the Portuguese settlers only is detailed, and that history, concise as it is, occupies no inconsiderable portion of its concluding pages. This circumstance will not, it is presumed, be regretted by those who, like yourself, Sir, know, that no history except our own, can be more deeply interesting, especially at the present period, than that of this extraordinary race of men, small in number, but vigorous in genius, skilful to project, and daring to execute; a race whose alternate elevation and depression in the scale of empire has so frequently, in different ages, excited the astonishment and extorted the compassion of the rest of Europe.

In fact, no nation or kingdom upon earth, perhaps, ever experienced such rapid vicissitudes as Portugal. At one period we behold her exalted to the summit of human greatness; her fleets covering the ocean, and her armies inspired with the same ardent spirit of chivalry, that of old expelled the Moors from all the bounds of Lusitania, giving law to no small portion of the three great continents of Afric, Asia, and America. At another, we behold her degraded and fallen; nearly stripped of all her foreign possessions, the martial spirit of her nobles subdued or broken, and herself the humbled abject slave of the haughty Philip. Again she awakes from her long and deathful

slumber of sixty years; the ancient thirst of glory rekindles in her cavaliers; she bursts asunder the chains of her oppressors; and under the brave, virtuous, and fortunate house of Braganza, rushes forward to new victories and brighter triumphs! Deprived of her eastern sceptre, she erects her standard in the newly discovered western world, and Brazil profusely pours into her lap the gold, the diamonds, and other costly produce of her wealthy shore. She rises higher than ever in the scale of human felicity and glory; cherished and protected by Britain, and ever grateful to her august ally. For a century she continues thus elevated in fortune, thus opulent in every species of wealth, thus respected for private and for public faith. At length the Plunderer of Italy casts upon her his jealous and malignant eye. Her happiness excites the envy, her riches stimulate to aggression the insatiable avarice of that scourge of Europe. Impatient for her accumulated wealth, the just reward of national industry and valour, he sends forth his murderous banditti to seize on the weak victim of his fury, plunders her treasury, meanly robs her crown of its jewels, and wishes to blot a name, in her elder time terrible to the tyrants of the earth, out of the catalogue of nations. But I have again launched into political declamation; pardon, Sir, the

involuntary effusions extorted by the atrocities of this dæmon in human form; for, if not timely and resolutely resisted, I see in PORTUGAL the fate of BRITAIN.

Under a due sense, Sir, of the imperfections of a work composed amidst the perpetual interruptions of a public situation, yet conscious that unwearied diligence has been bestowed upon it, and determined to exert that diligence to the concluding page, I submit with diffidence this additional portion of Indian History to your candour, and that of the indulgent public; a public to whose partiality I am already deeply indebted, and that never judges with severity where there is an anxious wish to merit its approbation.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

with true esteem, your much obliged,

and faithful obedient Servant,

THOMAS MAURICE.

British Museum,
1st November, 1803.

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CHAPTER I.

MODERN HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

BOOK IV.

COMMENCING WITH THE IRRUPTION OF TIMUR BEC, AND TERMINATING WITH THE DEATH OF AKBER; A PERIOD OF RATHER MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED YEARS.

CHAPTER I.

Irruption of TIMUR BEC—*the History of that Event, and of* TIMUR'S *immediate Descendants, down to Sultan* BABER, *given unaltered from a private Manuscript of the* AUTHOR, *composed from original Documents, before he had an Opportunity of seeing* FERISHTA'S *Indian History.*—TIMUR *crosses the* INDUS—*dispatches Thirty-thousand chosen Horse to assist in the Reduction of* MULTAN, *and follows them in Person—the obstinate Siege and final Surrender of that City.* — *Assault and Destruction of* BATNIR. — *March to* DELHI, *Capital of India.*—*Description of* DELHI—*its vast Extent, Wealth, and Commerce at this Period.*—TIMUR *orders the Massacre, in cold Blood, of* 100,000 *unfortunate Captives.*—*Decisive Battle before* DELHI.—MAHMUD, *the defeated Emperor, and his Vizier, fly from that Capital by Night—taken Possession of by* TIMUR—*Insurrection there, and general Massacre of the Inhabitants.*—*Immense Plunder obtained at* DELHI.—TIMUR, *with his Army, leaves* DELHI, *and advances against* MIRTE, *or* MERAT, *a*

City and Fortress in the Douab—razes that Fortress, and flays alive the miserable Inhabitants.—Marches to the GANGES, *which he crosses, and advances to the Streights of* KUPELE, *or* COW-HEAD *Rock.—After defeating an immense Body of Indians collected there, he recrosses the* GANGES, *and returning by the Foot of the* SEWALIC *Mountains, every where exterminates the Natives, and returns through Cashmere to Samarcand.—Pir Mohammed and Chizer Khan appointed the Viceroys of his Indian Dominions.—* FERISHTA'S *Account of this celebrated Irruption—not materially different from* SHEREFEDDIN'S.—*The Empire, after his Retreat, being convulsed by the Contests of the great Omrahs for that Sceptre which* MAHMUD *was too feeble to wield,* CHIZER KHAN *proves, finally, triumphant, and assumes the Diadem.—Death of Sultan* MAHMUD, *and Extinction of the* AFGHAN *Dynasty of the Tribe of* CHILLIGIES.

IN the preceding Book we have seen the proud and ponderous fabric of Mohammedan glory and empire erected, in India, by one Mahmud, rapidly rushing to extinction under another: every æra of its revolution has been polluted with crime, and almost every page of its history stained with blood. If, on the one hand, a Balin, renowned for valour and political wisdom, or a Ferose, benign, generous, and the adorner of that enslaved country, with canals and other magnificent works, occasionally rise to gratify and delight the reader, how many monsters, on the other, like the tyrant Alla, and the demon Mubaric, appear to disgust and terrify him! The unhappy native princes of Hindostan, in the mean time, reduced to beggary and servitude; through the inhuman policy of the East, blinded with hot iron, captive for life in the abyss of a gloomy dungeon, or exiled to the summit of some barren and inascessible mountain; her brahmins doomed to perpetual torture at the sight of their polluted temples and insulted gods; the lofty spirit of her

rajahs almost broken from repeated defeats by a stronger foe; and her merchants and husbandmen driven to desperation by being deprived of the just produce of their labour and industry. The history of this ill-fated country now introduces us to a new æra and a new conqueror; an æra not less fertile in crimes and calamity, a conqueror not less ferocious than any that have preceded.

The reader has already been informed* that there exist two celebrated histories of the great TIMUR BEC, the one written in Persian, the other in Arabic; both of them composed with all the pomp and elegance of the Asiatic style; in the first, the Tartarian conqueror is represented as a liberal, benevolent, and illustrious prince; in the second, as deformed and impious, of a low birth and detestable principles. It seems difficult, at first, to reconcile this contradiction; but the difficulty vanishes, when we learn, that great part of the Persian history was composed under the inspection of Timur himself; and received only the polish of language from the pen of Ali Yezdi; and that the Arabian author bore the most inveterate hatred against that monarch. By Ali Yezdi, is here meant Sherefeddin, who was thus called from Yezd, a city of Persia, where he was born; and by the Arabian author, Ebn Arabshah, of whom the learned Golius gave an edition in Arabic, and M. Vatier, a French version. The truth, however, is only to be collected from a diligent attention to both histories; and in the present chapter it is my intention to give the substance of each, on the leading traits of the character of that renowned hero.

According to the Persian author,† and Abulghazi, the Tartar historian, Timur was a direct but remote descendant of Gengis, by the line of Zagatai, his second son, to whose lot, in the partition of his vast empire, fell the kingdom of Transoxiana, or Great Tartary. He was born in A. D. 1336, at Cash, a beautiful city of that region,

* Modern History of Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 12.

† Sherefeddin's Timur Bec, Vol. I. cap. i.; and Abulghazi's Hist. Tartar. Vol. I. cap. iv.

about a day's journey from Samarcand, and, at the age of twenty-five, gave decisive proofs of superior genius, by a conduct that united the policy of a great statesman with the courage of a dauntless warrior. Amidst the distractions in which Transoxiana was at that period involved, by a series of noble exploits he rapidly rose to the highest eminence in military glory, and, for his service to the reigning Grand Khan, had assigned him the principality of his native city, and its immediate dependencies. His ambition expanding with the triumphant progress of his arms, in a few years all the surrounding potentates are compelled to lay their crowns at his feet; we behold him ascending the throne of Iran, or Persia in its largest extent; the immense regions of both Eastern and Western Tartary salute him as their lord; and his resistless armies penetrate far within the arctic circle.

The detail of these magnificent events is foreign to the immediate subject of this history, which proposes merely to record his irruption into the still more inviting plains of Hindostan, where a booty, transcendently surpassing all that he had already acquired, awaited him; and where a feeble and divided government, and an enervated people, seemed to provoke the attack of a foreign invader. A summary history of this great irruption, and of Timur's immediate successors, down to Baber, the first regular Mogul sovereign on the throne of India, has long been written by me, and I request permission of the reader to insert it, unaltered. The account given by Ferishta (whose work I had not then seen) of those princes who, in consequence of the subversion of the Afghan dynasty, of which Mahmud was the last, ascended the throne of Delhi, shall be added to this short account of the immediate posterity of Timur, which ought not to be omitted in the history of a dynasty of princes (the Mogul) who boast of *him* as their HEAD, and that his BLOOD flows in their veins.*

* All that I, at that time (about 1788) intended to publish concerning India, was announced by me in the following title of the intended volume: A SHORT VIEW

IRRUPTION OF TIMUR.

Scarcely had the victorious armies of the great Timur reposed from the toil of those incessant wars by which he added the northern extremities of Asia to his almost boundless domain, when he formed the daring project of subduing India. To this enterprise he was invited both by the restless ambition of his soul, and a furious zeal of propagating that religion which had, for ages, overwhelmed the most fertile provinces of the Eastern world with desolation. In the year 1398, he left the imperial city of Samarcand,* at the head of an army well calculated, both by the numbers and intrepidity of its hardy battalions, to accomplish this design. Accustomed to fight under a commander whose consummate skill in war was only equalled by the good fortune that ever attended his arms; inured to brave every extremity of hardship, by successive campaigns in the mountainous defiles of Georgia, and the inhospitable deserts of Russia, the last theatre of their glory, and eager for the plunder of the richest empire in the world, his legions descended like a torrent from the centre of the northern part of the Indian Caucasus. The numerous tribes of war-trained Afghans, or Patans, who inhabited the scarcely-accessible frontiers of that empire, in vain opposed their

OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN INDIA, FROM ITS CONQUEST BY TIMUR TO THE LATEST ACCOUNTS.

* Samarcand, which has been mentioned as the Maracanda of the ancients, was at this time the capital of the empire of Timur, and his general residence. The strength of its castle and walls, rebuilt by that prince, the magnificence of its public buildings, particularly its fine observatory, and the beauty of its gardens, watered by the clearest of rivers, are the theme of many enraptured Oriental writers. Under Timur and his successors it flourished for many ages, the seat of learning and the centre of Asiatic commerce; but when it was taken from them by it present possessors, the Uzbeck Tartars, its glory gradually declined, and it retains at present few vestiges of its ancient splendour, though a considerable share of its commerce still remains. It is visited only in the summer by the reigning Khan, who usually encamps in the delightful meadows that surround it.

progress. This hardy race of mountaineers, for the most part assassins and robbers, who have made so conspicuous a figure in all the revolutions of Persia and Hindostan, had extended their sway over most of the neighbouring provinces, and a particular tribe of them, called CHILLIGIES, were, at this moment, in possession of the usurped throne of Delhi. The monuments of their grandeur, which Shah Jehan, in succeeding ages, destroyed, on the rebuilding of that capital, sufficiently evince the power and consequence to which they had arrived in Hindostan. The conquest of these people for some time delayed the operations of his army; but, being at length completed, we find him arrived, according to the Persian writer of his life, October 7th, 1398, at the banks of the Indus, on that very spot, says Sherefeddin, where Sultan Gelaleddin, king of Charazm, nearly two centuries before, swam across the river, to avoid destruction from the fury of Gengis Khan. In two days a bridge of boats was formed, and on the 11th his whole army, consisting of soldiers of every nation, mostly cavalry, but all commanded by Tartar officers, passed it in safety.*

Timur had already dispatched his grandson, the Mirza, Pir Mahommed, with a large army, to lay siege to Multan, a city of Guzzurat, at that time of great political and commercial importance, which was governed for the king of Delhi by a valiant officer named Sarenk, eldest brother of the vizier; and Sarenk had nobly defended it for six months against all the forces sent against it. During this period the most vigorous and repeated assaults were daily made upon the castle and walls in vain; and, therefore, Timur, after crossing the Indus, being resolved to carry Multan, instead of taking the direct road for Delhi by Rotas and Lahore, directed his march southwards to that capital. Arrived on the Indian side of the river, he encamped at the entrance of the great desert of Geron, where the Gickers, another race of savage mountaineers inhabiting

* Sherefeddin's Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 27

the Jehud mountain, awed by the terror of his name and arms, voluntarily came and made their submission to him. After attacking and defeating Sheabeddin, an Indian chief, who had fortified himself on an island of the river Chelum, the ancient Hydaspes, he continued his march, for the sake of the water, along that river, which he crossed, as well as the Jenaub, below their conflux; and arrived at Toulomba, a city 35 miles above Multan. On the neighbouring plains of this city he encamped with his whole army. On the 5th of November he departed from Toulomba, after sorely taxing that city, and punishing some refractory rajahs in the neighbourhood, and encamped the next day on the borders of a deep lake, near the bank of the Beyah, within sight of the town of Shanavas: here he attacked and cut to pieces a body of two thousand men, commanded by an Indian prince named Nusret. Passing this great lake, they entered Shanavas, which is described by Sherefeddin as a great and populous town, where his army found plenty of grain; but as the inhabitants were *infidels*, after they had taken all the grain they had occasion for, they set fire to the granaries, "in order," says the same historian,* "to drive them to extremity," and thus provoke that massacre which is so congenial to the sanguinary principles of Mohammedanism. Timur staid two days at Shanavas, and then crossing the deep and rapid Beyah (which is represented as an arduous undertaking, and requiring the space of three days to accomplish it,) entered Jengian, forty miles from Multan. Here he was joined by Pir Mohammed with his victorious troops from Multan, that city having surrendered to the Mogul army, after a long and obstinate resistance, during which the inhabitants had been compelled to feed on the carcases of their fallen countrymen. Sarenk, the brave governor, was brother to Mellou Khan, the vizier of the empire, and who, in fact, ruled in Delhi with more despotic power than the weak Mahmud himself. Timur staid four days at

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 33, ubi supra.

Jengian, and on one of those days Pir Mahommed entertained him at a sumptuous banquet, at which were exhibited the rich spoils of plundered Multan; consisting of crowns of gold, belts of gold, Arabian horses with gold saddles, jewels of high value, rich stuffs, and curious vessels of the manufacture of the country, basons and vases of gold and silver. The number of these was so great, that, we are informed, it took the state secretaries two entire days to form a register of them.* Timur distributed these costly articles among the great princes and omrahs of his court, and then commenced his march for Delhi, where a booty infinitely greater awaited him.

On the 18th November the army reached Jehaul, a town between Lahore and Debalpour. Here Timur selected ten thousand horse, the flower of his army, and placing himself at their head, undertook an expedition against the strong fortress of Batnir, near seventy cosses to the right of the direct road to Delhi.† The occasion of this sudden deviation, when so interesting an object as the capital of India was before him, is thus recorded by his historian. The inhabitants of Debalpour had, on a former occasion submitted to Pir Mohammed, who had appointed over their city a Mogul governor, with a body of a thousand horse. After that prince's departure, a mortality breaking out among the horses of that body, the former fell upon the weak and dismounted Moguls, and massacred both them and the governor. On the report of Timur's approach, justly dreading his resentment, the insurgents fled with their effects to the remote and strongly fortified castle of Batnir, said to have been situated in a desert, and never before to have been visited by a foreign army, in consequence of that situation, and the imminent danger of perishing by united hunger and thirst. But no danger could appall the soul of Timur: he determined to exact a severe revenge for his murdered soldiers, and, therefore, leaving the baggage and main body of the army to the care of experienced generals

* Timur Bec, Vol. II. p, 37.

† Rennell's Memoir, p. 87, edit. 1788.

in whom he could confide, with orders to conduct it by the way of Debal our, and to join him at Semana, a town near Delhi, he, by rapid marches, reached Adjodin on the 21st of November. Here he found a town deserted of its military defenders, who, involved in similar guilt, had joined those of Debalpour in their retreat at Batnir. The tomb of a celebrated saint (Sheik Furrid) at this place for a time attracted the devout attention, and called forth the fervent prayers for his success, of the superstitious, but revengeful Timur: these pious duties performed, he urged his march with accelerated velocity towards Batnir, where, after crossing the river Dena, probably a branch of the Setledge, and traversing in one day an extensive desert, which Major Rennell justly conjectures to be a part of that very desert of twelve days journey, which Alexander was informed stretched between the Hyphasis and the Ganges,* he arrived on the morning of the 23d, before Batnir. The kettle-drums were immediately beaten, and the dreadful war-cry, SOUROUN, usual with the Tartars at the commencement of an assault resounded aloud; but the governor, confiding in the matchless strength of the place, and the numerous garrison that defended it, as well as being very insolent and haughty, bade the assailants defiance. At the first attack of the Moguls, the out-posts and suburbs were carried; the counterscarp was taken; a vast number of Indians was slain; and an immense booty acquired. The great omrahs, colonels, and captains, eager to shew their zeal and their valour, then formed themselves into a body, and, armed with their bucklers, rushed forward at the head of the soldiers to the bastions and the principal gates of the town, where the governor himself, with the most determined of the Indians, was posted; their vigorous assaults were repeatedly repelled, and the most heroic feats performed on both sides, till at length, despairing of final success, the governor demanded quarter, and threw himself on the emperor's clemency. He

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 89.

requested only a suspension of arms for one day, that, on the ensuing, he and his officers might come and cast themselves at the foot of the imperial throne. The request was granted, and the besieging army ordered to retire from the gates, the walls, and even from the suburbs, and to encamp at a distance on the plain. The artful Indian, however, had only made this request to gain time; and not fulfilling his promise, the kettle-drums again sounded to arms, the great trumpet KERRENAI poured forth its terrible note, and the Moguls rushed to the attack with more fury than ever. Every captain of a squadron had the post nearest to the place of its encampment assigned him, to take which all his efforts were exerted; and, in spite of the torrents of fire, of stones, and of arrows discharged on them from the bastions, they were gradually and irresistibly making their way to the summit of the fortifications, when signals of distress, and repentance for their late error, were exhibited by the besieged, and the clemency of the victor again implored. Timur again relented, and the governor sent his son with very valuable presents to mollify his wrath, and followed the next day himself, with others still more rare and valuable. The insurgents of Debalpour and Adjodin were given up, and put, without mercy, to death, and their wives and children made slaves of. Thus far every thing succeeded to Timur's wish; his arms were victorious, and his revenge was gratified; but when his troops went to take possession of the town, the inhabitants, dreading the same fate with the miserable wretches who had fled to them for safety, shut the gates against them. Timur, incensed beyond measure, now ordered a general assault and massacre: the walls were scaled, the houses plundered and burnt, and ten thousand slaughtered Indians lay extended on the smoking ruins of the town. The multitude of carcases is said, by Sherefeddin, to have infected the very air, and obliged Timur to depart from this desolated spot on the 30th of November, to rejoin his army, which, after various excursions

in every direction, in order to harass and exterminate the infidels in this quarter of India, he effected on the 8th of the following month, at Semana, which according to Major Rennell, is about 88 cosses distant from Delhi.*

Timur staid in Semana and its neighbourhood four days, in order to give time to the remainder of the army and baggage to arrive from Debalpour. On the 17th of December they reached the town of Kuteil, 17 miles from Semana; and here he issued orders to the chiefs of highest rank to repair to their appointed stations in the army, and march in battle array. The right wing was commanded by Pir Mohammed and Rostam; the left by the great Sultan Mahmud, Khan of Zagatai, with the princes of the blood, and the great omrahs; the centre, where Timur himself commanded, was composed of his body-guard, and various tomans of native troops, the bravest and most expert ever trained to battle on the vast plains of Transoxan Tartary. Moving in this order, that they might be prepared, in a strange country, against all hazards, in the course of 17 additional miles, the army reached Assendi, and five miles more brought them to Toglocpour, a place remarkable, says Sherefeddin, for the peculiar religion of its inhabitants, who believe in two great principles governing the universe, the one good, and the other evil, and consequently they were Parsis, who had taken shelter in India from the violent persecution of their sect in Persia. As they were the professed objects of Timur's aversion, they had fled at his approach, and left their town a desert, which was fired by the enraged troops. On the 21st December they arrived at Paniput, twelve miles from Toglocpour: this town was also deserted by the terrified inhabitants; but in it was found an immense treasure of grain, amounting in weight to 160,000 pounds, which was immediately distributed among the soldiers. On the 22d they encamped on the banks of the river of Paniput; on the 24th the march was continued to

* Timur Bec, p. 47; and Rennell's Memoir, p. 89.

Gehannumai, a palace erected by Ferose Shah, on the summit of a mountain, two leagues from Delhi, at the foot of which flows the great river Jown, or Jumna. Luni, a town and fortress in the neighbourhood, filled mostly with idolaters devoted to the interest of Mellou Khan, the vizier, presuming to hold out against the invader, was, in one day, assaulted, taken, the houses burnt, and the inhabitants massacred: a torrent of blood and a devouring flame marked the whole of the desolating progress of the invader from the Indus to Delhi.*

Timur the next day took a survey of the beautiful and magnificent palace of Gehannumai, a name signifying the Mirror of the Universe, and bestowed upon it on account of its romantic prospect. From its elevated summit he had a distant view of the vast city of Delhi, and all the surrounding country. His exploring eye and sagacious mind immediately marked out the proper spot on the wide plains before him, for engagement, should the enemy resolve to venture on a battle, to which spot, in that case, he meant to allure the Indian general. For the present, he proposed to distress that great capital by cutting off the supplies of grain and provision which the neighbouring districts afforded for the support of its numerous population. Strong parties were therefore sent out to scour the country in all directions, to seize the cattle, and to plunder the granaries, Gehannumai being reserved as an immense deposit for whatever could be thus obtained from the straitened foe. While he was giving these orders, a considerable body of Delhian horse and foot, about nine thousand, supported by twenty-seven elephants, were observed on the opposite banks of the Jumna. Their vanguard was faintly attacked by a small reconnoitring party of about 300 men, who, pretending to fly, gradually led them on nearer those banks, which Timur observing, immediately ordered some regiments of archers and cuirassiers to cross the river, and make a

* Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 48, ubi supra.

more serious attack. They were first assailed by the archers with showers of arrows, which being the weapon mostly used in Indian warfare, had not the effect to dismay or disperse them; on the contrary, for a time aided by the train of elephants, they repelled them with great resolution, and the contest seemed for some time doubtful. But when the powerful Tartar cavalry, galloping up, rushed furiously upon them with drawn swords, they were filled with terror, and not being able to withstand their impetuous onset, aided by the same elephants, fled precipitately back to Delhi, the gate of which only a part of them entered with great difficulty; the rest were slain during the hot and vigorous pursuit.

After this successful rencounter, Timur, determined on more active measures, left Gehannumai, and encamped on the east of Louni. Here he was joined by the Shah Zada, the emperor's other children, and the different emirs, who had been making incursions and ravaging the adjoining country. Being all assembled in the imperial tent, Timur, equally conversant in the skilful management of a vast army, and the politic government of a mighty empire, in a strain of nervous eloquence, of which he was a great master, began a laboured harangue on the duties necessary to be exerted by both officers and men in the field of battle; the exact method of breaking through the ranks of an enemy; the proper period to attack, to make a retreat, and to rally an army overpowered by numbers, or exhausted by fatigue. He went through the whole art of war, as then conducted; he explained all its maxims, and expatiated on all its movements, as then practised, with so much energy, perspicuity, and animation, that the audience was filled with admiration and rapture. They made the most unbounded professions of zeal and attachment; they kissed the ground on which he stood; and declared themselves ready to die fighting in the cause of so valiant, renowned, and generous a conqueror.*

* Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 53.

Before we proceed farther in detailing the events that occurred at Delhi, it may not be improper to give some description of that important capital of the Indian empire, and to take a concise view of its history and revolutions previous to this formidable attack upon it of the victorious Timur. It is principally by the glimmering light emaning from the page of Herbelot and Abulfeda that we are able to present the reader with this summary record of transactions in India previous to the invader of the Tartar chief.*

A succession of Mohammedan princes had long since established themselves in Hindostan; and they are divided into dynasties, deriving their denomination from that of the countries which gave birth to the invaders. The first is that of the GAZNAVIDES, so called from GAZNA, the capital of a province situated to the north-west of Hindostan, in the neighbourhood of Candahar. They maintained themselves in their Indian conquests from about the year 1000 of the Christian æra to the year 1157, when they were expelled. The second is that of the GAURIDES, from GAUR, a province to the north of *Gazna*. The period of their dominion in India was from 1157 till 1212. The third was that of the CHARAZMIANS, from CHARAZM, the capitial of a kingdom of that name, the Chorasmia of Herodotus, contiguous to the territories of the Gaurides, whom Sultan Mohammed Shah, the sixth of this dynasty, and surnamed the Great, conquered; the period of their reign was still shorter, for, in 1221, the immortal Gengis Khan, by the total defeat of Gelaleddin, son of that Mohammed, on the banks of the Indus, put a final period to the power of this dynasty. Gengis Khan made no establishment

* The following page or two may appear like *tautology*; but I have engaged to insert the account of the irruption of Timur, as it was originally composed, before Sir W. Jones had written to me that letter concerning Ferishta, which is inserted in the second Volume *(final part)* of the Ancient History of Hindostan. The short summary of the dynasties preceding this irruption may serve to refresh the reader's memory in regard to the details of the former volume.

in Hindostan, and his successors, the Moguls, only harassed it with irruptions; but in A. D. 1230, we find a monarch of Afghan origin sitting peaceably on the throne of India, who, by uniting in his own person the sovereignty both of Delhi and Multan, and fixing his constant residence at the former place, may be called the first regular Mohammedan emperor of Hindostan. This emperor was intitled ILELMISCHE,* and founded the dynasty of Indian princes of which the reigning monarch, Mahmud Shah, was a direct, though remote descendant. Shah Mahmud was a weak and effeminate prince, ruled solely by his vizier Mellou Khan, who having the absolute command of the emperor, had placed his brother Sarenk in the government of Multan. The fortitude of Sarenk had, we have seen, lately been conspicuous in his gallant defence of that city for six months against the besieging army of Pir Mohammed; nor did he surrender it up till famine had exhausted the vigour of his troops, and driven the inhabitants to feed on the carcases of their slaughtered countrymen: with the brother of this determined soldier, rather than with Mahmud himself, was Timur now about to contest the fate of the Indian empire.

With respect to Delhi itself, not less various than the revolutions of its kings has been the fate of that far-famed city; nor is it less wonderful that, through so many changes, to nearly the middle of the last century, it preserved its original name and consequence, as the capital of the empire; for though the seat of government was afterwards, for a time, transferred by Sultan Akber to Agra, yet, on account of the excessive heats that prevail in that city, and the scorching sandy plains among which it is situated, it was restored by Shah Jehan hither, who rebuilt it, and endeavoured in vain to immortalize himself by affixing his own name to his newly-erected city. Since that monarch's death, it has recovered its former title,

* Ferishta's Altumsh. See his life, abridged from that author, in Vol. I. p. 401, of this History.

and Jehan-abad is a name less-generally known than Delhi, even by the natives themselves. Plundered, sacked, and burnt in various ages, by Tartars, Persians, Afghans, and Marattas, it still retains many vestiges of its ancient grandeur; and, from its central situation, as well as salubrious climate, continued long to be the favourite residence of the monarchs of Hindostan. At the period of the invasion of Timur, Delhi is recorded to have arrived at a point of distinction, in regard to its unequalled wealth and extended commerce, which it never after reached. Sherefeddin describes that capital* as then consisting of three cities, which he denominates Seiri, Gehanpenah, and Old Delhi. Seiri was invested with a strong circular wall; † Old Delhi, or the ancient Inderput, had likewise a circular wall, but far more considerable in extent. Gehanpenah occupied the space between the two cities, and was considerably larger than either: the walls by which it was fortified running on each side in parallel lines, and connecting the two former cities. The metropolis, thus formed of three great cities, spread over a very wide extent of ground; and, according to Sherefeddin, had no less than thirty, others say fifty, gates. It was celebrated, he informs us, for a mosque of astonishing dimensions, and for a palace of admirable magnificence, which was erected by Malek Jona, an ancient king of India, and was ornamented with a thousand marble columns.‡ The eastern authors are lavish in their praises of this great and beautiful metropolis. The seat of voluptuousness, and the central repository of whatever the vast traffic carried on by the Indian

* Sherefeddin's Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 67.

† In the Ayeen Akbery Seiri is said to have been built by Sultan Alladeen.

‡ Mr. Finch, one of the first and most respectable visitants of the interior of India, in describing the ruins of Old Delhi, particularizes the remains of this august pile, which at that period (1609), little more than 200 years after Timur's invasion, was mouldered away to what he calls " a mere carcase, worn out and disfigured to the last degree." Harris's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 88.

merchants with Persia, Arabia, and China, produced, it abounded with costly rarities of every kind; the tribute of the most distant climes, the labour of the most skilful artificers. But a ferocious conqueror now approached, before whom the pride of India, and the delight of her sovereigns, must soon bow her exalted head.

On the day subsequent to that on which the above-mentioned partial engagement took place, Timur moved his camp to a more easterly situation; and, crossing the Jumna, made the necessary preparations for that dreadful battle which was to decide the fate of India; for from deserters he learned that on a battle the Indian emperor was determined, and for that purpose was on the point of issuing from Delhi at the head of all his forces. His dispositions on this occasion were masterly; and his genius displayed itself in a manner worthy of his high military character; but, at this crisis, he was guilty of an act of horrible and unheard-of cruelty, by no means to be justified by even the barbarous policy of Tartar warfare. During their circuitous route from the Indus to Delhi, a vast number of Indians, to the amount of about 100,000 had been made captive, and were distributed in different lots among the more deserving of the officers and men. It had been observed that, during the engagement of the preceding day, at the precise moment when victory seemed to hover over the Indian army, those unfortunate wretches, in whose bosoms the throb of liberty yet beat, had manifested symptoms of triumphant exultation. It was apprehended, therefore, that in any obstinate engagement with the people of Delhi, they would infallibly rise upon their captors, and join the standard of their countrymen. There was another crime also which operated powerfully towards their destruction: they were *idolaters;* they were fire-worshippers; and to root out idolaters and idolatry was one grand incentive to this expedition; though, as yet, the most formidable opposition to the triumphs of Timur had arisen from those who themselves professed the Mussulman religion. In

conformity, therefore, partly with his own savage disposition, partly with the rigid maxims of military prudence, and, partly in obedience to the sanguinary laws of Mohammed to extirpate idolaters, these miserable captives were immediately doomed to undistinguished slaughter; and, in sight of the opposite army, the barbarous order for their extirpation was rigorously carried into execution. This wanton massacre seemed no improper prelude to the tragical event that in a few days followed!

Timur had in a manner so blockaded Delhi that no succours from the internal regions of Hindostan could at this time enter the gates of that capital, whose walls contained only about fifty thousand regular troops of which ten thousand were cavalry; yet with this comparatively unequal force, aided by an immense number of new-raised recruits, selected from the fugitives that from all the plundered and burned towns in the neighbourhood had fled thither for shelter, was the weak Mahmud, or rather his desperate vizier Mellou Khan, determined to hazard ALL in a battle with the hardy, numerous, and well disciplined Mogul army, the conquerors of Asia. Their principal dependence lay in the numerous train of royal elephants, a species of animals with which the Moguls, hitherto generally engaged in warfare in the more northern latitudes, where elephants are unknown, had not often contended, and the train of the Delhian emperor consisted of not less than one hundred and twenty in number, all regularly trained to war, and of surprising magnitude and fierceness. They are described by Sherefeddin, as being armed with vast cuirasses for their defence, as bearing between their huge tusks great poisoned daggers, and on their backs enormous wooden towers, filled with cross-bowmen and archers, intended to pour down vollied destruction amid the ranks of the terrified enemy. Besides this formidable phalanx, a band of veterans attended the Indian army, whose operations in war were of an appalling nature, and peculiarly fatal to cavalry. Their business was to hurl fire and burning pitch amongst the enemy, and to discharge a kind of

rockets armed at the end with sharpened iron, which rebounding repeatedly as they fell, made dreadful havoc, and threw the ranks of the most regular army into disorder. Mahmud himself, assisted by his vizier as lieutenant-general, appeared at the head of the main body of his troops, while the right and left wings were commanded by Indian princes of approved skill and courage.

And now, only a small space separated the two armies; Timur, with his usual ardour, rode from rank to rank encouraging both officers and men to do their duty, and displaying to their view the certain spoil, the dazzling wealth which victory must insure. He pointed to the towers of Delhi with a kind of triumph predictive of victory; and with a scornful air towards the comparative handful of men who were to defend against such superior skill and force that immense magazine of the riches of India.

He appointed Pir Mahommed to the command of the right wing; the Mirzas, Sultan Hussayn, and Khalil, appeared at the head of the left wing; but he reserved to himself the distinction of directing against the enemy the impetuous valour of those chosen bands that formed the centre of his army. Notwithstanding these flattering hopes, and this judicious arrangement, there was still a certain unusual gloom that seemed to have saddened the aspect of his soldiers, whose accustomed zeal for engaging was considerably damped by the sight of those formidable animals whom they had never but once before, and in a far inferior number, seen opposed to them in war, and whose magnitude and hostile apparatus they now beheld with a secret horror. They had conceived strange notions of the elephants: they imagined them invulnerable by the sword, or the arrow: that their strength was such as would with ease tear up the strongest trees of the forest, and batter down the firmest structures: that they were resistless in battle, and with their prodigious trunks could toss both man and horse to a vast height in the air. Such exaggerated relations they may with justice be

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supposed to have heard from their prisoners, whose interest it was to magnify the power and resources of their friends. To remove this consternation, whose appearance was so alarming, and whose consequences might prove so fatal, Timur instantly gave orders to sink a deep ditch in the front of his army, behind which he caused a rampart of bucklers to be raised; he next ordered a number of buffaloes to be tied by the neck and feet with leathern thongs close to each other, with brambles placed on their heads and between each, to be set fire to, when necessary. He also caused iron hooks, with three prongs, and wooden stakes with the sharpened points upwards to be planted in the ground, and combustibles of various kinds were ordered to be kindled at the approach of the elephants, as their great abhorrence of fire was well known.

Another unfortunate circumstance had contributed not a little to depress the minds of the soldiery. Previously to their departure for Delhi the astrologers having been consulted, had declared that the aspect of the planets was *doubtful*, if not *unfavourable*. As it was customary over all the East, and indeed continues to be so until this day, to regard certain seasons as more auspicious than others, and to esteem it madness and impiety to attempt any great enterprize on a day not considered as *fortunate*, it was of the highest importance to overturn a prejudice, so fatally imbibed and from such high authority. It was on this occasion that the mighty soul of Timur broke through the fetters of that superstition by which it was too generally bound. He summoned the astrologers into his presence, and publicly informed them in an authoritative tone, that fortune did not depend on the stars, but on the Creator of the host of heaven; that when, by an exertion of those intellectual powers which the Almighty had bestowed upon him, he had once formed his designs with proper attention to the dictates of cautious wisdom, he would undauntedly pursue the object in view, nor delay one moment the execution of his schemes to wait the precarious sanction

of a season by vulgar prejudice esteemed fortunate. To shew, however, his respect to the oracles of religion, before the whole assembled army he raised on high the sacred volume of the Koran, and, either by chance or design, opened on a passage that insured the faithful of victory, and at once fired their desponding souls with the most sanguine hopes of success.

At this moment the signal for battle being given, both armies rushed together with a dreadful shock; Timur, retiring to an eminence hard by, in the sight of his army prostrated himself on the ground, and continued for some time in that devout posture, humbly entreating a blessing upon his arms of that benignant Power whom he had lately insulted by the massacre, in cold blood, of 100,000 of his creatures. While Timur was engaged in this ardent strain of devotion, the van of the two armies met, and the Mirza Pir Mohammed became soon as fervently and more effectually engaged, at the head of the Tartar right wing, in the attack of the Indian left wing, which he quickly routed with great slaughter, and drove them beyond the bason of Haviskas, that furnishes Delhi with water. At the head of the Tartar left wing the sultans Hussain and Khalil with equal impetuosity, attacked and defeated the right wing of the Indians, driving it back to the very gate of Delhi. These were easy and rapid conquests; but when the centre of the Indian army, sustained by the elephants, and led on by the intrepid vizier, advanced to meet the main body of the Tartars, the scene was dreadful beyond conception, and the carnage on both sides horrible. Never, says our historian, was a contest between unequal forces, for a time so desperately maintained; never were such prodigies of bravery performed. So loud and terrific a clangour of warlike instruments, of various nations and discordant notes, formed of the mingled sounds of cymbals, kettle-drums, and trumpets of the usual kind, responsive to those of the great brazen kettle-drums* beaten

* Probably gongs.

on the back of the elephants, the bells which the Indians rang, and the shouts of the soldiers, was never before heard on any field, nor on any occasion. The valour and fortune of Timur, however, at length prevailed; the elephants, thrown into confusion by the stratagem before recited, were driven back on their own ranks, and trampled whole squadrons to death. Daring and impetuous in proportion as they were before tardy and intimidated, the valiant princes and omrahs of the Tartar army rushed forward to assault those novel foes that had appeared so formidable at their first approach; overthrowing the castles on their backs, and hewing in pieces with their sabres the trunks of those unweildy animals. The Indians being completely routed in every quarter, Sultan Mahmud with a train of courtiers, who forsook not their sovereign in distress, retreated with the utmost dispatch to Delhi, whither he was followed by his general Mellou Khan, after having performed feats of valour that astonished his enemies. Dreading the consequences, however, of their obstinate opposition to an enraged and cruel victor, they took advantage of the darkness of the ensuing night, and fled into the deserts. Timur, elate with his triumph, now spurred on his horse towards the gate of Delhi, and having carefully examined the fortifications, and minutely surveyed the situation of the city, returned to his camp. No defence, however, was intended by the inhabitants; with Mahmud and his gallant vizier were fled every hope of preserving the empire, and every effort of defending it. The next morning, January the 4th, his victorious banners were beheld streaming on the walls of Delhi, and the Tartarian conqueror, having entered the principal gate of the city, was seen seated, on high, on the AIDGIAH, or august throne of its ancient monarchs, whence they gave audience in all the splendour of Eastern pomp, on the grand festival of the NAURUZ, or *new-year's day*. This gate was in the quarter of Gehanpenah, directly opposite the bason of Haviskas, where the main army was encamped; here a magnificent tent and

tribunal was erected for him, and thither the great lords of the kingdom, the ministers of justice, and the principal inhabitants of the city flocked in multitudes, prostrated themselves at his feet, and humbly implored the conqueror's mercy on paying an adequate ransom. As he thus sate in gorgeous array on the most magnificent *musnud* of Asia, the rhinoceros of the royal stables, and the train of state-elephants, to the number of 120, adorned with rich trappings of gold and silver, and sparkling with precious stones, were brought to the foot of the throne: instructed by their keepers, those docile animals fell prostrate before him; and uttered, it is added, a sorrowful cry, as if demanding quarter. These elephants, at Timur's return from his Indian expedition, were sent to Samarcand, and the other great capitals of his empire, as presents to his sons and chief governors. Prayers were at the same time read in the great mosque of Delhi, in the august name and titles of the invincible Timur, instead of the fugitive Mahmud; and heralds, bearing the tidings of these wonderful victories, were dispatched to the most distant quarters of Asia.*

The toils of battle were now to be succeeded by the pleasures of the banquet, and rewarded by the spoils of the capital of India. The former, unequalled in splendour and magnificence, in the costliness and variety of the viands served up in dishes of massy gold, and the wines sparlking in cups of crystal, enriched with the diamonds of Golconda, is said to have lasted many days. During its continuance was distributed among the emperor's sons and the great omrahs and generals, the long-accumulated wealth of the sovereigns of Hindostan. The sports and diversions customary with a martial people enlivened the intervals not devoted to festive jollity, and, to use the words of our author, "concerts of music, set to amorous bacchanalian tunes, so charmed the hearts of all, that they forgot the rigours of war, and the fatigues of a campaign."†

* Arabshah, Tom. II. p. 183.

† Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 64.

But festivity and harmony must now give way to the direst scenes of distress and discord; for in the mean time the secretaries of the divan, stationed at the gate of Delhi, being strenuous in collecting the ransom-money, and the soldiers attending to enforce the demand, treating the inhabitants of the suburbs with insolence, a great tumult was excited in that quarter, and blood mutually shed. Timur having received intelligence of this tumult, sent orders to the great omrahs on duty there to curb the fury of the soldiery, and permit the Delhians to pay in peace and security the demanded tribute; but unfortunately all the efforts of their commanders to restrain their outrages proved ineffectual The embers of sedition, thus kindled, soon broke forth into an ungovernable flame, and an opportunity presently offered for that flame to spread in a degree at once the most fatal and extensive. Impatient to see so celebrated a metropolis and the curiosities which it contained, particularly its lofty palace standing on a thousand columns, the sultanas who attended the army, with the whole court, obtained permission from Timur to enter the city. On this occasion the great gate of the city being thrown wide open, a body of 15,000 soldiers contrived to enter with them, who, joining a much larger body already within the walls, began to commit the most dreadful outrages on the affrighted inhabitants. Provoked to vengeance, and urged by despair, they attacked the military, and some of the more daring aggressors fell, the victims of their own rashness. To prevent any farther increase of the tumult by the entrance of more soldiers, the omrahs on guard ordered all the gates of the city to be shut; but, inflamed with the desire of plunder and the thirst of revenge, the exasperated soldiers within rose upon their officers—burst open the gates—and by the morning of the 13th the whole army had gained admission. A scene shocking to nature and reflection now took place: a general massacre and devastation reigned at once in every quarter. The houses of the citizens were first pillaged, and then

burnt. The public edifices were defaced, the idolatrous temples destroyed, and this great and proud city was in a very short period reduced to an heap of ruins. An innumerable band of natives, who had fled to the great mosque of old Delhi, either to shelter or defend themselves, were without distinction cut off, and of their heads pyramids were formed; a lasting monument of the barbarity of their invaders! Indeed, we may remark, that whensoever any occasion called forth an unusual severity on the part of these oppressors, they set no bounds to their vengeance; but that their conduct was marked by circumstances of the most savage and unrelenting cruelty; cruelty, such as the fury of the blindest bigotry could alone inspire; such as the peculiar ferocity of Tartars could alone inflict. The booty obtained in this universal plunder, which lasted two whole days, and, doubtless, by the connivance, if not by the command of Timur, anxious to gratify the inferior, as he had already rewarded the superior orders of his army, was beyond imagination great; and the species of it was as various as the wealth itself was infinite. The most considerable article however, was the gold and silver plate which was found in vast abundance, besides an immense quantity of pearls and precious stones in chains, bracelets, and other ornaments, with which the Indian women and girls were decked even to profusion. Loaded with these treasures, and with innumerable captives, the rapacious soldiery were at length satiated, and order and discipline were once more, though with difficulty, restored. A large portion of slaves, both male and female, fell to the lot of every common soldier. The artisans and handicraftsmen, were liberally distributed among the chief princes and commanders; but the masons were reserved for the emperor's own use, to complete those stupendous structures at Samarcand, by which he meant to perpetuate the glories of his reign to the latest posterity.*

Timur remained several days in the ruined capital of Delhi. On

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 67, et Arabshah, Tom. II. p. 189.

the 18th of January, after having summoned the mussulman inhabitants, the sheriffs, the cadis, the doctors, and the sheiks to meet him in the great mosque of Gehanpenah, he appointed over them a governor, with a force sufficient to protect them from future molestation. He then decamped, and marched to Firozeabad, three miles from Delhi. He staid an hour at that delightful place, made devout protestations in the mosque, and publicly returned God thanks for the success that had hitherto attended his arms. He derived new fortitude from superstitious exercises; he determined to penetrate into its remotest regions, and carry his victorious standard beyond the banks of the Ganges. The strongly fortified city of Mirte, or Merat, in the Duab, situated thirty cosses, or sixty miles, to the north-east of Delhi, and which is said by Sherefeddin to have resisted, in the year 1240, the whole force of Turmecherin Khan, a descendant of Gengis, and one of the greatest emperors of Asia, after a short siege submitted to the superior skill and courage of his veteran troops. Here was practised a repetition of the cruelties committed at Delhi. The idolatrous inhabitants for their attempt to defend themselves, were flayed alive, and their families reduced to slavery; the city itself was burned, and the walls and bastions razed from their foundations.

On the 28th of January, he arrived at Toglocpour on the banks of the Ganges; on the opposite sides of which a numerous army was assembled to prevent their landing, while a more resolute body, advancing in forty-eight great flat bottomed boats, bade defiance to his attempt, and discharged a shower of arrows into the very heart of his camp. Roused at this insult, the emperor with a thousand officers selected for the occasion, set forward to repulse them, which they accomplished with great slaughter; spurring their horses into the water, and cutting the enemy in pieces as they entered their boats. Immediately the whole army crossed the river, and a sudden terror having seized the Indians, they were quickly routed,

and fled precipitately into the impenetrable forests that extend towards the streights of Kupele. Through these streights (imagined by the ignorant natives to be the sources of the Ganges, whose real head however has been discovered by late travellers to be many leagues distant in the mountains of Thibet) that celebrated river disembogues itself into Hisdostan. Assembled here in devout adoration of the sacred stream whose waters they regard with superstitious reverence, and fired with the sight of that holy rock from which it gushes, and which to the bigotted fancy of Indians, appeared to bear imprest the image of the animal, (the Cow) almost worshipped as a divinity among them, the collective body that had fled before his army, seemed to have united themselves in the fixed determination to assert their invaded rights, and exact a severe revenge for their slaughtered countrymen. But no sooner had Timur at the head of the advanced guard of his army, with the usual impetuosity and the dreadful war-cry of the Tartars, began the attack, than they became panic struck, were thrown into irrecoverable disorder, again betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with equal ardour into the neighbouring woods and fastnesses. It was in the heat of this pursuit, that the life of Timur himself, who, in all engagements, was ever foremost to brave danger, fell into extreme peril. The omrahs that had attended him, resolving to push to the utmost the advantage they had obtained, had left their vailiant commander, engaged in the same eager pursuit with only about one hundred of his guard. An Indian, named Malek Sheyka, who lay nigh at hand, in ambush, with an equal number of men, suddenly rushed from the thicket, and fell upon his slender guard with great impetuosity. A personal combat soon commenced between these desperate warriors, when Timur, discharging an arrow with great violence, shot the rash assailant in the belly, and then cleaving his head asunder with one stroke of his sabre, laid him breathless at his feet.

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New hopes, however, seemed in a short time to animate the breasts of the desponding Indians, for fresh native forces arriving from every quarter, they attempted to make a second stand in the defile above mentioned. And now Timur, though wearied by incessant action, and almost exhausted by want of necessary repose, determined by the most vigorous and decisive exertions to put a period to the contest. He therefore summoned the most valiant officers of his army, and being joined by Pir Mohammed with his battalions, instantly conducted them through the almost inaccessible winding paths of those mountains to the spot, where he charged them with unparalleled fury, and gave them a final and complete overthrow.

By this victory, the fate of India was unalterably decided. All was Timur's, from the most western branch of the Indus to the presumed source of the Ganges. The victor himself, satisfied with having marched to the eastern borders of that empire in one campaign, prepared to repass this great river, and return, crowned with laurels, and the applauses of every pious mussulman, to the capital of his own dominions. But amidst the dreary and immense regions of mount Caucasus, along the foot of which, in a north-west direction he now commenced his march homeward, many fierce and warlike nations remained yet unsubdued. These enemies, more formidable than any he had yet encountered, prepared to dispute with obstinacy his passage through their mountainous territories: and both by ambuscade and open assault, retarded the progress, and thinned the ranks of his army. Renewed opposition served only to rekindle the fervid zeal of the devout Timur, and his valour seemed to glow brightest amidst the gloom and the snows of Caucasus. He faithfully adhered to that leading principle in the code of his great predecessor Gengis Khan; "that peace should never be made with any infidel, king, prince, or people, till they were entirely subdued." He therefore penetrated, without hesitation, far

into the bosom of the stupendous chain of mountains that stretches over two thirds of that vast empire. It would be tedious, however, as well as unnecessary, in a general work, like the present, to particularize all these various engagements in a country whose geography is so little known to us, and where the names of both the places and the people are alike barbarous; suffice it to say, that wheresoever the enemy was most numerous, or best fortified, in that neighbourhood he fixed his encampment, and rather provoked than declined the dreadful contest. On the other hand, the foe was not less resolute or insulting. They hovered perpetually over his army, posted themselves in the streights, and lay in ambush amidst the impenetrable forests that every where surrounded him. So various were these assaults, so often repeated, and so vigorously renewed, that in the space of thirty days, the period of his progress through those mountains, near twenty battles were fought; sometimes with desperate fury, at all times with determined resolution. Success however invariably attended the Tartar army, whose exertions proved that what they had obtained by their bravery, they could defend with skill and resolution. Castles of the strongest structure, and fortresses of the most difficult access in the great ridge of the Sewalic mountains, a part of the Caucasus nearest adjoining to India, daily surrendered; and the treasures and other plunder taken in them, so loaded the army that they were unable to proceed above four miles a day.

By these slow marches they at length approached the frontiers of Lahore. The prince of that country, on Timur's entrance into Hindostan, had been eminently distinguished for his attachment and fidelity to his cause, and had received from Timur many flattering testimonies of his regard; but while the sultan was prosecuting the war on the distant banks of the Ganges, he had in several instances treated with disrespect certain Moguls of high rank, who either resided in Lahore, or travelled through it to the army. Timur

was indignant at this intelligence, and sent forwards a strong detachment to plunder that rich city, and seize the person of the offending prince. The plunder, however, of the city, was commuted for a large sum paid by the inhabitants by way of ransom, and the prince of Lahore was brought in chains to the foot of the throne. The inhospitable regions of the Caucasus being thus successfully passed, the army in its progress towards Samarcand soon reached Gebhan, on the frontiers of Cashmere, that delightful province, celebrated through the east for the luxuriant fertility of its soil, the delicious softness of its air, and the refreshing sweetness of its water. Eskander Shah, its prince, who had on Timur's former route near his principality solicited his friendly alliance, had now advanced some leagues towards the camp with terms of submission, and being taxed rather highly by the omrahs, sent to confer with him on the ransom of his country, and people. Timur gave an instance of his generosity by remitting a considerable part of it.

The great object of this expedition being now accomplished, the high ambition of the general gratified, and the honour of his religion vindicated, Timur, impatient to reach his capital of Samarcand, proceeded to disband the greater part of his numerous army, oppressed with the number of their slaves, and groaning under the wealth of India. The commanding omrahs of both wings, with their colonels, captains, and other subordinate officers, were therefore about this time summoned into his presence, and having received magnificent presents in proportion to their rank and valour, were ordered to return home by the different routes marked out for them. The great lords of India, also, who had manifested their zeal for his cause, and attended his army, being in like manner rewarded, were now permitted to return to their several principalities.

The government of Multan he conferred upon Keder Khan, who had been imprisoned in its citadel by the brave Sarenk; and he

invested with great solemnity his favourite son and general, the Mirza Pir Mohammed, with the sovereignty of the whole of his remaining conquests in Upper Hindostan.

Eager to outstrip the tidings of his astonishing victories, and be the messenger of his own glory, Timur now set forward in haste before his army, and, again crossing the Indus, by rapid marches, arrived at the defile of the mountains of Sheberto, a part of the Caucasus, where he was seized with a violent illness, being severely afflicted with ulcers on his hands and feet, and obliged for many leagues to be carried in a litter, which to one of his active and indefatigable turn, must have proved a painful confinement. He did not however linger for any length of time under this cruel malady; but in a few days recovering, pressed forward with accelerated speed towards the metropolis of his dominions, which he entered in triumph on the 9th of May, 1399; having in little more than ten months finished an expedition which for its arduousness, for its vast extent, and the magnitude and importance of the acquisition, seemed to have required at least as many years for its accomplishment. The vast empire of Timur felt through all its bounds the benefit of this incursion. It brought an accession of wealth and splendour unknown before in the court of Samarcand; while the unlimited generosity of the emperor to his favourite generals, the princes of the blood, and the great officers of state, contributed to diffuse it widely through every class of his subjects. As a lasting monument of his triumphs, as well as to evince his gratitude to heaven for such signal success, he caused to be erected by the artificers whom he had brought from Delhi, a most sumptuous and stately mosque, so vast in its dimensions as to contain with ease the whole assembled body of the faithful in that extensive and populous capital.

To review farther the events that distinguished the life of this mighty conqueror; his splendid successes in Egypt and Syria, with

the captivity of Bajazet, and the immense preparations he made for that greater undertaking, which he had vowed, the conquest of China, and the extinction of idolatry through that wide region, would be a work totally unnecessary, because unconnected with the subject of this history. It will be sufficient for us to remark, that his Indian conquests remained in, at least, nominal subjection to the authority of the vice-roy he had appointed, till the death of Timur, which happened five years after, at Otrar, on the commencement of his expedition to China, on the 1st of April A. D. 1405, or A. H. 807, in the seventy-first year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign.*

On his death bed he summoned around him the princes of his family, the generals of his army, and the other principal lords of his court, and having, in the presence of them all, declared Pir Mohammed Gehan Ghir the sole heir and successor to all his vast dominions, ordered them to swear fidelity to him. This command they readily obeyed, not without tears for the loss of their renowned commander; and at the same time bound themselves by the most solemn obligations, to see the last will of their expiring monarch in every circumstance punctually fulfilled.

KHALIL SULTAN; FIRST SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

But scarcely had the fatal event taken place, ere they broke through those vows so solemnly plighted in favour of Khalil Sultan,

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 387, and Arabshah, Tom. II. p. 503. The above account of Timur's irruption, is the substance of what is to be found in these two writers concerning it, compared with the long article on *Timour* in the Bibliotheque Orientale of M. D'Herbelot. Whatever partakes of panegyric, apparently exaggerated, is from SHEREFEDDIN; whatever of embittered invective, is from ARABSHAH; and the foundation of the adulation of the one, and the rancour of the other, has been stated at the beginning of this chapter. A medium between both must doubtless exhibit his true character; in deciding upon it, we must ever remember the violent principles, inspired by his *religion*, and the native uncultured ferocity, peculiar to the WAR-BRED TARTAR.

(the son of Miran Shah), another of his grandsons, whom they raised to the throne; and who, having obtained possession of Samarcand, and the imperial palace with its vast treasures, was enabled by those treasures to maintain himself in the government he had thus unjustly usurped. In the mean time Pir Mohammed, the rightful heir of the throne, astonished at this general disobedience to the dying commands of Timur, and warmed with indignation at the particular infringement of his own just rights, prepared with vigour to assert his claims. The legacy bequeathed him with such unlimited generosity, amounting to half the kingdoms of Asia, was of too rare a kind, of too transcendant a value, to be tamely relinquished to an usurper; and it was bequeathed to one who seemed to possess both spirit and resources to vindicate his invaded rights. Trained from his very infancy to arms; accustomed to fight under the banner, and often by the side, of his illustrious grandfather, his soul was a stranger to the sense of danger, and the emotions of vulgar fear. Though he well knew the advantage which possession gave his antagonist, and the prostrate servility of the courtiers that surrounded him, Pir Mohammed, with a spirit as cool as determined, instantly resolved to decide the contest, however unequal; and, having collected a powerful army, advanced without delay from Gazna on the frontiers of India towards Samarcand. In his progress towards that metropolis he sent an embassy to Sultan Khalil, declaring his surprise at his violent usurpation of those dominions of which himself was declared the sole and universal heir by the will of him who, from conquest, possessed the sole right of bestowing them. An answer, at once evasive and insulting, was returned to this declaration, quickly followed by a numerous army ready to inforce by the point of the sword the justice of his pretensions. The command of this army was given to Shah Hussein, his cousin, under the direction of some experienced generals that had served under Timur: but the rash ambition

of this prince hurried him into the madness of seizing the persons of those generals; and instead of marching the troops against Pir Mohammed, he suddenly declared himself a competitor for the throne. By the judicious caution, however, of one of his generals, who had gained his confidence, the intended mischief was prevented, the imperial army preserved, and the bold adventurer driven into exile, where he soon after perished. By this delay Pir Mohammed gained a considerable advantage over his rival, who now, convinced that no time was to be lost, put himself at the head of his own army, and brought forth against him the united forces of the whole empire. The two armies soon met, and, after a most obstinate and bloody conflict, victory declared in favour of him whose cause was less just; while Pir Mohammed with difficulty escaped the fate of his family, and attendants, who were all made prisoners.

Undiscouraged by this defeat he returned to Candahar, where, amidst the hardy inhabitants of those mountains, he soon raised a still more numerous army, with which he hastened to renew the contest; but fate itself seemed to fight against him; for as soon almost as the engagement commenced an unaccountable panic seized his troops, who fled with precipitation from the field, and their commander himself was obliged to seek shelter in a neighbouring castle, which, though ill prepared to sustain an assault, was immediately invested by the victorious Khalil. As the Mirza had not with him a force sufficient to defend the place, he contrived to deceive the enemy for a time by this stratagem: he arrayed in warlike apparel the common people and the menial servants of the castle, and, thus accoutred, compelled them to mount the walls, that the enemy, who knew his resolution, might not doubt of his having troops to defend himself to the last extremity. The difference, however, between these raw novices and regular troops being soon visible, and the cause itself utterly desperate, the besieged general was compelled,

however reluctantly, to yield to the necessity of the occasion, and make the best terms possible with his competitor. A cessation of hostilities was therefore agreed upon, and a mutual compact, confirmed by oath, entered into between the contending parties, that each should enjoy, unmolested by the other, the territories in his possession.

Pir Mohammed once more returned to his government, probably with little intention to respect claims founded on injustice, or oaths extorted by violence; but whatever his future designs were, they proved abortive: for shortly after in a rebellion excited by his vizier he was taken prisoner, and basely assassinated. The traitor however did not long enjoy his ill-gotten power, for Shah Rukh or Sharock, the fourth son of Timur, advancing from his government of Chorasan, soon after revenged the Mirza's death by the destruction of the rebel that had occasioned the insurrection, and having restored affairs to their former tranquillity, established himself in the extensive dominions of his predecessor.

Though the history of Timur's successors in India till the reign of Sultan Baber is involved in great obscurity, and what little we know of it is partial and desultory, yet from the sources of intelligence in our possession we shall endeavour to carry on the chain of historical relation; and if we cannot be diffuse, at least be faithful. This will naturally include events that may seem to belong to Tartar rather than Indian history; yet as the descendants of Timur who reigned in Great Tartary must be considered, by means of his conquest, and consonantly to the Asiatic ideas affixed to conquest, as the only rightful lords of that country, this portion of their annals cannot appear totally unconnected with it. It cannot be sufficiently lamented that those Persian and Arabic records relative to this period that have been collected by Mr. Fraser and others, have not been translated into any European dialect. They would probably throw such a light on the events of this æra, as would enable those who possess

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sufficient industry and leisure, to arrange in a satisfactory manner this particular section of Indian history that remains at present so clouded and confused. "Happy would it be," says a* great judge and ornament of Oriental literature, "if the principal writings of the Asiatics, which are reposited in our public libraries, were printed with the usual advantage of notes and illustrations; and if the languages of the Eastern nations were studied in our places of education, where every other branch of useful knowledge is taught to perfection, a new and ample field would then be opened for speculation; we should have a more extensive insight into the human mind, and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate."

Sultan Khalil, unworthy to govern the empire he had usurped, soon degenerated from the vigour that distinguished his first entrance on regal authority, into the most unmanly and voluptuous conduct. To secure himself on the throne, he had early distributed the immense treasures amassed by Timur with lavish profusion among the great omrahs, principal courtiers, and soldiers; forgetful that by this unbounded prodigality he destroyed the resources of government, and weakened the sinews of war. After a few necessary campaigns, in which however he displayed great military abilities, he resigned himself to the absolute controul of an artful intriguing woman named Shadi Mulk, to whom he was devoted, and who gained such an ascendant over him, as by her influence to advance to the first employments of the state men of the meanest extraction, and most contemptible talents. By this ill conduct the hearts both of his soldiers and subjects were by degrees alienated from him, public affairs ran rapidly into confusion, and in a short time hardly a vestige remained of the splendour and magnificence that distinguished

* Sir W. Jones's Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations, prefixed to his Asiatic Poems.

the court of Timur. By the advice of the same jealous woman, disdaining near her any rivals in dignity, he had removed from about the court the wives and concubines of the deceased emperor; and bestowed them in marriage on persons of the most inferior rank and groveling minds; and those ladies, many of royal, all of noble, blood, finding themselves thus insulted, contributed not a little to blow up the flames of that general discontent that ended in the subversion of his power. The viceroys of the several provinces, both near and remote, did not fail to take advantage of the universal distraction that prevailed in the government, and began openly to throw off their allegiance. Many of these being equally, and some still more nearly, related to its original founder than the reigning monarch, made public boast of their pretensions to his throne, and prepared to assert those pretensions. The Sultan Sharock in particular, as superior to the others in power and extent of dominion, set out at the head of a vast army for Samarcand, and its monarch having fled before him, was received by the citizens with the loudest acclamations of joy as their safeguard and deliverer. His presence and prudent management of affairs soon restored peace and regularity to that distracted city; while the fame of his valour and the terror of his arms soon over-awed every meaner competitor, and gave him the bloodless possession of his father's throne.

SHAROCK,* OR SHAH RUKH; SECOND SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

The rash prince, whom Sharock succeeded, having been deceived and made prisoner by Khodadad Hussayn, with whom he had fled from his capital, was glad to fly back to his uncle for protection, who not only received him with honour, but settled him in the

* "Shahrokh, or, Check with the Rook, so called by Timur because he was playing at chess, and had just beaten his adversary by that stroke, when he received news of the prince's birth." Jones's Nadir Shah, page 25.

government of Persian Irak and Azerbijian; provinces, better suited than a great kingdom to his slender capacity for ruling. He did not indeed long enjoy even this inferior situation; for, whether he still remained an object of some jealousy to the new emperor, or had really engaged in treasonable practices, it was thought proper to remove him, and he was soon after taken off by poison. His death left Sharock in undisturbed possession of the greater part of Timur's extensive conquests, which he seems to have governed with great wisdom and policy, for his reign was long and distinguished by illustrious events. His life was written by Sherefeddin the Persian historian, at that time living, to whom we are indebted for the life of Timur referred to above; and from whom our guide, Herbelot, derived the particulars given in the Bibliotheque Orientale. To the talents of a great warrior Sharock added those of a nobler kind. He was both the patron and associate of learned men: in his reign many noble edifices, sacred to religion and philosophy, were erected; and the city of Shiraz, where his second son, Sultan Ibrahim, resided as governor, who was himself a scholar and a poet, and founded a college there with liberal establishments, might be justly called the seat of science and the nurse of poetry. His fourth son, Soyurgatmish, had the command of Gazna and the Indian territories, but died some years before his father; who after a long career of glory at length deceased at Rey* in Persian Irak, A. D. 1446, in the 71st year of his age, and the 40th of his reign.

* Of Rey nothing now is visible but a heap of mouldering ruins; yet if Sir John Chardin's account of it be credible, it was once the largest city in all Asia, divided into ninety-six quarters, every one of which contained forty-six streets, and every street four thousand houses. He adds, from Persian historians, that its walls inclosed "6,400 colleges, 16,600 baths, 15,000 towers of mosques, 12,000 mills, 1,700 channels, and 13,000 inns. Allowing that this account must be enormously exaggerated, yet what an image does it present to the mind of the ancient grandeur and population of the Persian empire?—How does it reconcile us to the astonishing relations concerning Persepolis and other Eastern cities, when in their glory?—And with

ULUG BEG; THIRD SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

Ulug Beg, the eldest son of Sharock, and indeed the only one of five that survived him, succeeded his father; but came not to the throne under those happy auspices of peace and submission that marked his progress to imperial sway. That fatal ambition which had seized all the offspring of Timur, and had deluged his dominions with the blood of his descendants, again began to break forth with aggravated fury, and demanded in the reigning sovereign the most active exertions, joined with the most consummate military skill. Baysankar, the third son of Sharock, had left behind him three sons, whose names were Alaoddawlet, Mohammed, and Baber, who severally stood candidates for a share of the empire. Their efforts were as sudden as their attempts were bold. The first seized on Herat, the capital of Chorasan, where he found great treasures; the second laid claim to Persian Irak and Pars, of which he had been appointed governor; and the third did the same by Mazenderan. Each immediately proclaimed himself independent, and acted with sovereign authority in the several provinces they had usurped. Undismayed at this threefold opposition, the new emperor made immediate preparations to punish the disloyalty of his nephews. Anxious to recover Chorasan, the hereditary domain of his family, allotted them by Timur, but more anxious to recover his young son Abdollatiff, who was taken prisoner at Herat, he first temporised with its invader, and having by stratagem gotten the youth out of his hands, at no distant interval placed himself at the head of the imperial army, and, giving the usurper battle, defeated him near Herat, and entered that city in triumph.

what an awful idea does it impress the soul of the sublime majesty and unrivalled splendour of the great Shahinshah, or king of kings."†

† Richardson's Dissertation on the Language, Literature, and Manners of the Eastern Nations.

Alaoddawlet, thus defeated, joined his forces to those of his brother Baber, but this junction availed him not; for Ulug marching from Herat, a second time put him to flight, and compelled both to seek shelter with their other brother Mohammed, who ruled in Persian Irak. Content with having vanquished them he did not pursue his victory, nor point against them the vengeance they deserved; but returned to Herat, where his presence was necessary to crush a rebellion reigning in the suburbs of that city, which the irritated monarch gave up to the pillage of his soldiery. After reposing his army for some time in its neighbourhood he returned to Samarcand.

Trusting that his clemency and forbearance, joined to their past experience of his power, would operate towards the disarming of the insurgents, Ulug forebore at present to prosecute the war, but had soon reason to repent of his ill-judged lenity towards those ungrateful brothers; for having obtained fresh succours they again returned to Herat, whose inhabitants, smarting under their late chastisement, in revenge opened their gates to him. A still more terrible calamity befel this amiable and brave, but ill-fated, man: for, shortly after, his own son Abdollatiff appeared in arms against him; and, when every tender paternal expostulation failed to reclaim him to duty and allegiance, the unfortunate father was compelled to give him battle, and, being routed in the engagement, was taken prisoner, and not long after cruelly put to death, in about the year 1450, in the fortieth year of his reign over Turkestan and the countries north of the Jihun, but the fourth over the Tartarian empire. This prince deserved a better end; for besides great personal bravery he possessed many excellent qualities, and, like his father and brother, patronized the sciences. In astronomical knowledge he himself was highly eminent: he* erected a noble observatory at Samarcand, and commanded, if not superintended, the

* Sir W. Jones's Preface to Nadir Shah.

composition of certain astronomical tables of high repute through the East, of which a part has been published in Europe, with a Latin version, under the title of Epochæ Celebriores. In this work he is styled Sultan al Hind et al Sind, that is, of the two grand divisions of India, which seems to carry with it presumptive evidence that no convulsions had yet wholly wrested the conquests of Timur in that country from his descendants.

ABDOLLATIFF; FOURTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

After the atrocious deed above mentioned Abdollatiff ascended the throne; but having imbrued his hand in paternal blood, scrupled not to proceed to the abominable wickedness of consigning an only brother to the same premature destruction. Having thus got rid, as he thought, of every object that stood in the way of his ambition or excited his jealousy, the remorseless tyrant, whose distinguishing characteristic was a certain ferocity of courage, laid out many schemes of conquest, and flattered himself with many years of glory and felicity. But the justice of Heaven overtook the barbarian, and before he had completed six months of his reign his own soldiers, tired of his intolerable yoke and daily cruelties, shot him to death with arrows.

ABDOLLAH; FIFTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

Abdollah, the son of Ibrahim, second son of Sharock, who had married a daughter of Ulug Beg, and at that time resided in Samarcand, considered this as a favourable crisis to assume the reins of that goverment to which he deemed himself, in some measure, by consanguinity entitled. This prince had, with the consent of Sharock, succeeded his father in the sovereignty of Pars, or Persia Proper, from which he had been driven by the violent usurpation of Mohammed, son of Baysankar, above mentioned. Ulug Beg had received him with kindness, had admitted him, by the marriage of his daughter,

to a still more intimate alliance with the reigning family, and under his protection he had ever since fixed his abode in that capital. In Abusaid Mirza, however, grandson of Miran Shah, third son of Timur, he soon found an active, determined, and finally successful rival. With a soul fired by ambition, and formed for enterprize, this aspiring chief had long meditated to erect for himself on the ruins of Timur's vast and divided empire an independent kingdom, and, amidst the confusion that ensued from Abdollatiff's unnatural rebellion, first began to manifest his daring aims. In the campaign which that monarch undertook to enforce the obedience of his rebellious son, he had joined the royal party with a considerable body of forces, and seemed heartily engaged in his cause; but, on a sudden, he withdrew his troops, and, confederating with another powerful and disaffected lord, marched to Samarcand where Abdollaziz, the second son of Ulug, commanded; who, unwilling to contend with such superior forces, precipitately retreated, leaving him master of the city. Alarmed at this intelligence, Ulug Beg immediately hastened back to the relief of his capital; and this sudden retreat from the field seems to have given that advantage to his son which soon after ended in his defeat, and death. The execrable, but decisive, measure that doomed a father to destruction, gave to this sanguinary victor at once the sceptre of imperial sway, and the forces necessary to support it. His own numerous legions, joined with the experienced troops of Ulug Beg, composed together an army formidable for its magnitude, and irresistible for its skill. Armed with these resources he marched directly to Samarcand, where Abusaid in his present circumstances refused to risque the event of a general engagement. He therefore retired from the field of public contest to that of dark intrigue and secret cabal; he affected to disband his army, and relinquished all open hostile preparations, of dubious issue, for those more slow but efficacious measures that seemed to promise unavoidable success. For some months

he continued to act with this guarded caution; but the death of Abdollatiff affording a fresh opening for enterprize, the effect of these intrigues was soon visible in the open revolt of Bockhara and its dependences. The flame of sedition quickly spread far and wide, and to extinguish it required all the exertions of the new Sultan, whose claims to empire were by no means generally acknowledged, and whose throne yet trembled beneath him. By efforts equal to the greatness of the stake, he collected an army, and on his approach towards Samarcand, met, defeated, and drove his competitor Abusaid beyond the most distant limit of his dominions. But the ardour of that mighty hero from whose loins was to descend, in direct succession, the great hereditary dynasty of the Mogul monarchs, was not to be thus quenched. The ensuing year he returned at the head of an immense body of Uzbeck Tartars, who spreading over the country, like a vast inundation, carried terror and desolation to the very walls of Samarcand. The event was a battle, fought with inconceivable fury, and attended with circumstances of unusual horror, in which Abdollah being slain, A. D. 1451, his fortunate rival at last mounted that throne, for which he had so long contended with such restless and enterprizing zeal.

ABUSAID MIRZA; SIXTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

The whole reign of this monarch, comprehending a period of nearly twenty years, was a continued series of warlike contention, from the jealous hatred of the neighbouring princes and the persevering opposition of the sons of Abdollatiff, contending for the empire of their father. But opposition served only to illustrate the life of Abusaid Mirza. He greatly enlarged the boundaries within which, by the encroachment of the surrounding potentates, and the vicissitudes natural to kingdoms as to men, the original empire of Timur was now reduced. Every part of that empire felt the effects of his vigorous government; and the anarchy that had long reigned in its more distant provinces, the natural consequence of the late

feeble administration and frequent changes at the helm, was both awed by his presence, and quieted by his wisdom.

To this period, or that somewhat preceding, may probably be referred the first open defect of Western Hindostan from that obedience which its inhabitants had long, at least *nominally*, paid to the governors appointed by the family of Timur; " for nothing can be less founded," says Mr. Orme,* than " the common belief that the throne of Delhi, and the whole extent of the conquests made by Timur in India were maintained by his posterity in a regular filiation, and without interruption." The conquests of that celebrated warrior were too suddenly acquired to possess great durability. He left the natives rather overwhelmed with astonishment, and overawed by his good fortune, than completely subjugated. The profound veneration of the Hindoos for their own peculiar civil institutions, the solemn rites of national religion, whose deep foundation his sanguinary executions could never shake, the extensive power which the Afghan tribes still retained in India, and the wide domain possessed by the independent rajahs, all forbid the idea of any permanent Tartar establishment in that country from the rapid invasion of Timur. Remote from Samarcand, the seat of empire, the Indian provinces were kept in subjection rather by the terror of those numerous and disciplined forces, chiefly cavalry, that remained with the viceroy at Gazna, or Candahar, ever at hand to enforce obedience, and crush rebellion, than by any fixed veneration for the laws or name of Timur. However those motives might afterwards operate when Sultan Baber and his descendants had again effected the conquest of India, the former were as yet little known, and the latter little respected. Confined as is our knowledge of the internal history of that country at this æra, yet as Abusaid is affirmed by the Oriental writers, cited in Herbelot,† to have personally extended

* See Orme's Dissertation on the Mohammedan Conquests in India.

† See the article Abusaid Mirza, p. 34. His authorities are professedly the NIGHIARISTAN and KHONDEMIR. Ferishta's account of this period will occupy the next chapter.

his dominions from Multan in Hindostan to Karazm on the Caspian sea, it may justly be supposed that intestine commotions had rendered his presence absolutely necessary in that remote region.

The death of Abusaid was not so glorious as his life had been, since it happened not in the field of battle, but by the hand of the executioner; for having in a war with Hassan the Turcoman,* in too great confidence advanced upon the frontiers of Azerbigian he was in his retreat taken prisoner, and ungenerously doomed to suffer an ignominious death in the camp of his enemy in the year of Christ 1468, and in the seventeenth of his reign.

With Abusaid expired the glory of the mighty empire of Timur, established in Great Tartary: an empire, which, in its full meridian and animated by the soul of its great founder, eclipsed all (excepting perhaps that of Gengis Khan) that the world had ever beheld; extending far as the river Ganges to the east, and to the Archipelago on the west. The symbol displayed on its banners, the SUN RISING ON THE BACK OF A RECUMBENT LION, had long blazed in every region of terrified Asia. It now hastened rapidly to its decline; yet, in the very evening of its final extinction it diffused a beam of bright though transient effulgence, over the political horizon, and the nations of the east bowed to its setting, scarcely less than to its rising ray. But it declined at Samarcand, only to rise with renovated splendour at Delhi. A spark of the genius of Timur yet remained to animate to glory another great branch of his posterity, and, in the remote regions of that empire, from the ashes of the old, to form a new government equal in renown, if not in extent, to the former.

* The Turcomen, have been already described as having originally been natives of Turkestan, who had established themselves along the coast of the Caspian Sea. They by degrees, became very powerful, gave rise to two monarchies, that of the *Black Sheep* and that of the *White Sheep*, and were formidable both to Timur's descendants who reigned in Tartary, and the Uzbeks who succeeded them. This Hassan, who afterwards usurped the province of Chorasan, was the sixth of the dynasty of the *White Sheep*. Such were the symbols painted on their ensigns.

SULTAN AHMED; SEVENTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

Ahmed, the eldest of eleven sons left by Abusaid, mounted without opposition, the hereditary throne of the house of Timur; but wanting the vigour and military abilities of his father, the extensive acquisitions made by his arms were soon lost, and the successive incursions of his powerful neighbours, in a short time reduced his dominions to the most contracted circle. In a few years the imperial domain comprehended little more than the country of Mawhranhar, or Great Bokhara; and after a reign, distinguished by no brilliant event on record, this inglorious monarch died at Samarcand in A. H. 899, or A. D. 1493, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

SULTAN BABER; THE EIGHTH AND LAST SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR ON THE THRONE OF TARTARY, AND THE PROPER FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN INDIA.

Baber, son of Omar, (fourth son of Abusaid, grandson of Miran Shah, third son of Timur), from the sovereignty of Andekan, a province of Tartary, which he inherited from his father, succeeded on the death of Ahmed to the vacant throne. The nation that had been so highly instrumental to the greatness of Abusaid, proved fatal to the authority of his grandson. Dispersed in vast numbers throughout the whole region of Tartary; eye witnesses of the feeble administration of the affairs of the empire, and of the relaxed discipline of the troops destined to defend it; no wonder that the rapacious and military race of Uzbecks, aspired to the sovereignty of a country which their valour had contributed to conquer for another. Invited probably by his subjects settled in that kingdom, and

flushed with victories already obtained in the surrounding region, Shah Bakht, Khan of the Uzbeck tribes, with a mighty army in the fifth year of Sultan Baber's reign invaded Great Bokhara. The unfortunate Sultan, in the present debilitated state of the monarchy, unable to make head against such numerous and disciplined forces, was compelled to abdicate the throne of his ancestors, to which he never returned. Indeed no descendant of Timur, after this period reigned in Samarcand, for Shah Bakht, still wider extending his conquests, retook Chorasan from the usurper Hassan, whose family he extirpated, and, adding to his new possessions Karazm and many neighbouring principalities, laid the foundations of a monarchy whose posterity still retain the supreme dominion, while the whole of that country has since gradually assumed the name of the conquerors, and is now called Uzbeck Tartary.

Baber, as he afterwards proved, wanted neither spirit nor perseverance in any cause he undertook; but he soon saw that the empire he had lately governed, from the weakness of his predecessor, was irretrievably ruined. Instead therefore of engaging in ineffectual contests for a throne, now irrecoverably lost, he determined with equal wisdom and boldness, to plant his standard on a soil where no laurels had been lately reaped, and immortalize himself by becoming the founder of a new empire. He turned his eye eastward, and in a kind of prophetic transport beheld the glory of India's future sovereigns that were to descend from his loins. Resolved to succeed or perish in the attempt, with a mind inflamed with these sanguine hopes, the ROYAL EXILE retired to Gazna, that baleful source of the evils of Hindostan, there to plan the scheme of his future conquests, and the renovation of the fallen splendour of his family.

During the last inactive reign the provinces of Hindostan had almost entirely shaken off the Tartar yoke, which was equally odious to the Mohammedan chiefs and the native princes. The

Afghans had taken possession of the city and kingdom of Delhi, for by that name was the surrounding district then called; the great rajahs had rendered themselves for the most part independant of all foreign authority; and thus a new and wide field lay open to the aspiring genius of Sultan Baber. The plan he had thus boldly formed, he prepared with vigour and celerity to execute. With an army, small in number, but terrible in battle, and warmly attached to their leader, he set out at length on this hazardous expedition; but so rooted an abhorrence of the Tartar government had taken place in the countries he meant again to subjugate, so united and general was the opposition made to his arms both by Afghans and Indians, that for several campaigns he made but slow progress, was often repulsed, and sometimes totally defeated; nor, till he gained a final and decisive victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, in his fifth invasion, could he at all be said to have gained a permanent footing in India. This engagement took place on the 1st of May 1526, and gives us the highest idea both of the military talents of Baber, and the obstinate intrepidity of the troops under his command, since, with hardly 12000 effective men, he put to flight an army of 100,000 Afghans, supported by an immense body of elephants, trained to war. We are more astonished at such success, with such disparity of numbers, because it was not, we are told, with the enervate Indian, but the hardy Afghan with whom he had to contend. It must however, be supposed that, from their frequent and prolonged incursions into the Indian territories, his veteran bands had arrived at a pitch of perfection in the science of war unequalled in those days, and were absolutely unconquerable but by troops of the same excellence, animated by a general of the same experience.

Thus a remote though lineal descendant of Timur, a fugitive from his own country, ascends in person the throne of Delhi, near 130 years after the acquisition of it by that great conqueror; and thus that portion of his dominion, which, in his meridian of glory, was

but a bright appendage to his other more valued conquests, now becomes the sole seat of his remaining empire, and the last refuge of his exiled race.

Had the Institutes by which Timur governed, been adhered to by his descendants in Tartary; had that rigid discipline, established through his vast army, been regularly and scrupulously maintained; had they inherited with its throne the personal activity, the intuitive wisdom, the enlarged policy of its great legislator, it was an empire from its very principles well calculated, as it was certainly intended by him, to continue for many centuries the admiration and terror of the world.

Timur possessed a mind at once daring and prudent. Of a temper ardent, resolute, and ambitious in the highest degree, his native fire was moderated by long habits of reflection, his resolution never betrayed him into acts of desperate precipitancy, and his ambition he so far kept within bounds, that it seldom exceeded his ability to accomplish its aims. Of the immense treasures he possessed he was liberal, but not prodigal; kept his chief officers and great omrahs in strict subordination to his authority, and seldom trusted to others for the execution of any grand, or hazardous project. Those, among his descendants, who trod in his steps, and made his illustrious life their example, arrived at a point of eminence in fame and power, that nearly bordered on his own. Such was the immortal Shahrock; such was the invincible Abusaid. The rest were in general fierce without fortitude, profuse without generosity, and instigated by a wild ambition that spurned every bound of reason and justice; seldom appearing at the head of their own armies, and then ruining the best concerted measures by precipitate ardour, or vindictive violence. All discipline in military life became neglected; and all regularity and economy in the administration of civil concerns was at an end. The disposal of the most important offices was left to the fluctuating caprice of slaves and sycophants; the

great omrahs in the distant provinces grew by degrees independent of their sovereign; while those nearer home enriched themselves by the plunder of the empire, and rioted in luxuries purchased by the oppression of laborious industry. The final ruin of that empire was the consequence; it remains to be seen whether in a second, established by his posterity, they will derive wisdom from past experience, and act more conformably to the life and maxims of their vaunted progenitor.

After the preceding very considerable, but not, I trust, irrelevant nor unentertaining digression, let us return to the consideration of what Ferishta has collected on the subject of the domestic history of Hindostan during this dark period, from the irruption of Timur till the final establishment of Baber on the throne of Hindostan. With respect to the irruption itself, as the work of Ali of Yezd, or Sherefeddin, must have been his principal guide in the narration, equally as it has been mine, there cannot be expected, and there will not be found, any material deviation in the great line of historical fact. An attempt, indeed, is made, on traditional authority to exculpate Timur from the charge of the guilt of the massacre of Delhi;* but it is weak and futile. Idolaters and their property were attacked with religious and political fury, the least resistance in the Tartar and Arab creed of faith, justified unlimited massacre. The following is the substance of that writer's account of the melancholy catastrophe of the Delhian insurgents.

The consternation of Mahmud and his minister Eckbal, after the battle of the third of January, 1399, was so great, that, not trusting to the fortified walls, they both deserted, in the night, the capital; the former flying to Guzzurat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which coming up with Mahmud, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons prisoners.

* Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 9.

Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered the royal proclamation and titles to be read in his own name in all the mosques. The next day he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scriveners of the city, and magistrates, to regulate the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the mean time, lodged, that several omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependents, and refused to pay down their share of the ransom. This obliged Timur to send troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. A general confusion, uproar, and spoliation immediately ensued, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who at the same time, dared not acquaint the king that their authority was contemned by the troops.

Timur, according to his custom after success, was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival, on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of these proceedings. The first notice he had of them, was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos seeing their wives and daughters violated, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and themselves insulted, beat, and abused, at length, with one consent, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murthered their wives and children, and ran out like mad-men against their enemies.

But very little effect had the despair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who were collected from every quarter, and began a general massacre. Some streets were rendered impassable, by the heaps of dead: and, in the mean time the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a scene of horror, much easier to be imagined than described. The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians was at length quenched in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, and submitted themselves

like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive, that cowardice is the mother of despair. In the city, the Hindoos were, at least, ten to one, superior in number to the enemy, and had they possessed *souls*, it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house, and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault. But though the Indians had the savage resolution to imbrue their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them still the slaves of fear, and shrinking at the approach of that death, which they could so readily execute upon others.

This massacre is, in the History of Nizam, otherwise related. The collectors of the ransom, says he, upon the part of Timur, having used great violence, by torture and other means, to extort money, the citizens fell upon them, and killed some of the Moguls. This circumstance being reported to the Mogul king, he ordered a general pillage, and, upon resistance, a massacre to commence. This account carries greater appearance of truth along with it, both from Timur's general character of cruelty, and the improbability of his being five days close to the city without having intelligence of what passed within the walls. But the imperial race of Timur take, to this day, great pains to invalidate this opinion, nor do they want arguments on their side. The principal one is this; that, in consequence of a general plunder, the king would have been deprived of the ransom, which must have been exceedingly great, instead of which he only received the elephants and regalia. Neither have we any account of his taking any part of the plunder from his army afterwards, though it must have been very immense.*

The city of Delhi remained in anarchy for the space of two months after the departure of Timur, when it was taken possession of by the

* Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 9.

pretended emperor Nuserit,* with only two thousand horse, from Merat. Two chiefs, Shab and Almass, with their troops and ten elephants, joined him soon after from the same place; Nuserit sent immediately Shab, with his troops, towards Birren, against Eckbal, who had there taken up his residence. But Shab was attacked, in the night, upon his march, by the zemindars in the interest of Eckbal, and slain; Eckbal pursuing this advantage, took all the baggage of Shab's army.

This success raising the reputation as well as spirits of Eckbal, he, in a few days, thought himself in a condition to make an attempt upon the capital, which he did with success; for Nuserit, upon his approach, fled to Merat; and Eckbal resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who escaped the massacre and had fled to different places, retaining still a natural prejudice in favour of their old abode, began to assemble again, and the place in a short time, put on the appearance of populousness, especially the quarter called the New City.†

Ferishta agrees with Sherefeddin in the circumstance of Timur's having appointed Chizer Khan, a kind of tributary sovereign of Multan, Lahore, and Debalpour, but we learn from the former author, that, on his return to Samarcand, and during his subsequent campaigns in the distant confines of Egypt and Syria, the whole east and south of India was convulsed with the efforts of rival competitors to obtain that throne on which the weak Mahmud, though still in existence, a miserable phantom of imperial grandeur, was not able firmly to maintain his seat. These competitor sin their respective districts assumed the title and exercised the authority of kings; but two pre-eminently so, the one styling himself the KING OF THE EAST, meaning the vast provinces stretching on each side of the Ganges; and the other, the KING OF THE WEST, who reigned in Guzzurat;

* Concerning this person, see what is said Vol. I. p. 505 of this History.

† Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 9.

and these arrogated titles continued to be enjoyed for a long period by their posterity. Thus, we are told by Ferishta, that Eckbal possessed Delhi, and the country between the two rivers, for Sultan Mahmud, which, with a small district round the city, was all that now belonged to the capital. Guzzurat was seized upon by Azim; Malva by Delawir; Cannouge, Oude, Kurrah, and Gehanpour by Jehan, commonly called the King of the East; Lahore, Debalpour, and Multan by Chizer; Samana by Ghabil; and, in the same manner, the remaining provinces were occupied by other great omrahs, through the whole extent of the empire. Mahmud retained only the nominal title of Emperor, and was wholly at the mercy of his minister Eckbal, who, during many years, held his sovereign in disgraceful bondage, disposing of him wheresoever it best suited his convenience or inclination, in cities and in fortresses; and we now find him a sovereign in Canouge, and now an unpitied exile in Guzzurat. Eckbal at length met in battle Chizer, the most formidable of his rivals, and paid with his life the forfeit of his numerous perfidies. Mahmud once more, with a feeble hand, and for a short time, was permitted to assume the sceptre; but was at length besieged in Delhi by Chizer himself, who finally ascended a throne to which he was far better intitled by his prudence and valour. Mahmud died of a fever in A. H. 816, and in A. D. 1413, after a disastrous, interrupted, and inglorious reign of twenty years and two months. With him became extinct the dynasty of Afghan princes descended from FEROSE of the tribe of Chilligi*.

* The first 50 pages in this chapter are, as I before stated, from a MANUSCRIPT composed by me, long before I had seen Ferishta, from Sherefeddin, Arabshah, and the Authorities produced in the Bibliotheque Orientale. The remainder of this and the principal part of the succeeding chapter, are abridged from Ferishta. The MANUSCRIPT will be resumed at a future period.

CHAPTER II.

Dynasty of the SEYDS, *or Race of the Prophet.* CHIZER *assumes the supreme Authority in the Name of* TIMUR—*an able and just Prince, but cannot restore the Empire, shaken to its Foundation by the Irruption of* TIMUR, *to its former stability and glory.* MUBARICK II.—*In his Reign two rival Kingdoms are formed, that* OF THE EAST, *including the Provinces lying on and near the* GANGES; *and that* OF THE WEST, *comprehending Guzzurat, and the Districts bordering on the* INDUS—*assassinated by his Vizier, who raises to the Throne—Mohammed, a Grandson of Chizer, who proving an indolent, luxurious Prince, gives opportunity to* BELOLI, *an Afghan of the Tribe of* LODI *to plan his Downfall and the Subversion of this Dynasty.—The latter rebels, and marches twenty thousand Horse to Delhi, which he besieges for some Months, but in the end is compelled to retire.—After a turbulent reign of twelve Years, Mohammed dies, and is succeeded by his Son*—ALLA II.—*a pusillanimous, irresolute Prince, during whose Reign all the great Rajahs rise in Rebellion, assuming in their respective Provinces the title of* KINGS.—*The more daring* BELOLI *again marches to Delhi, takes it, and mounting the Throne, puts a Period to the Power of the* SEYDS.—*The Dynasty of* LODI.—BELOLI—*a warlike and vigorous Prince, who vindicates the invaded Rights of the Kings of* DELHI, *and establishes the Empire in its ancient splendour.—After a long and glorious Reign, he is succeeded by his Son*—SECUNDER I. *who, in valour and in wisdom, treads in the footsteps of his Father.—He removes the Court to* AGRA, *which he makes his Capital—succeeded by his Son*—IBRAHIM—*arrogant and revengeful, he disgusts the great Omrahs, who join in a general Rebellion against*

him, and invite SULTAN BABER, *the Mogul, from Cabul to invade Hindostan.*—BABER *obeys the Summons, and in the decisive Battle of* PANNIPUT, *deprives him of his Life and Kingdom, and with him terminates the Afghan Dynasty of* LODI.

CHIZER.

WE are told of Chizer that he was of the race of the Prophet, and consequently what the Mohammedans call a SEYD. Chizer, therefore, and his three successors are distinguished as the dynasty of the SEYDS. His father, Soliman, being a person of some distinction, became the adopted son of Dowlat, governor of the province of Multan in the reign of Ferose. Dowlat was, upon his death, succeeded in his government by his own son Malleck; and he soon dying, Soliman was appointed to that viceroyship, which descended to Chizer from his father. Chizer being defeated, as we have already observed, by Sarenk, the brother of Mellou Khan, and driven from his country, waited upon Timur, after the conquest of Delhi, and, having gained his favour, was by him reinstated in his former government, with the addition of all the countries watered by the five rivers, commonly called Panjab and Dibalpour. This great accession of strength soon paved his way to the empire.

Chizer, upon his accession, distributed favors, governments, and dignities among the great omrahs, but would not assume the imperial titles to himself, declaring that he held the empire for Timur: and ordered the coin to be struck in his name. The Chutba, or form of public prayer, during the life of Timur, was read in that conqueror's name in the mosques; and after the decease of Timur in that of the Emperor Sharock his son, the name of Chizer being mentioned after him. He even sometimes sent a tribute to Samarcand. This was sound policy in Chizer, as he

could govern his fellow omrahs, with less envy, in the name of the Tartar prince, than if he had assumed the name of king himself, to which he had no claim but what his sword gave him.

It does not appear, however, that the imperial authority assumed by Chizer, was by any means established on that permanent foundation on which it rested in the time of the great Ferose, and other sovereigns of the preceding dynasty. Though the most splendid success, on many occasions, crowned his arms in his numerous conflicts with the rival omrahs; yet as the hydra was many-headed, the flame of insurrection was no sooner quenched in one province than it broke out with rekindled fury in another. At the same time, though vigour and ability marked his councils and domestic government, yet the country, shaken to its profoundest centre by the irruption of Timur, continued in a very distracted state, during the whole of his reign. Some of the more striking and prominent events that occurred in it shall be now taken notice of.

On his ascending the throne, he appointed Malleck Joppa his vizier, and sent him, in the first year of his government, with an army towards Kittar, which he subdued, and drove Rai Narsingh to the mountains; but upon paying a tribute, the latter was again put in possession of his country. Mohabut, subah of Badoon, at the same time came to meet Malleck, and promised allegiance; and from thence the vizier marched towards Koer, Kumbul, and Chidewar, and levied the revenues which were due for some years before. After recovering Jellasar out of the hands of the Rajaputs of Chundwar, he marched to Atava, which he brought under subjection, by changing the administration; and after these exploits returned to Delhi.

Soon after, a tribe of Turks, who were of the adherents of Byram, assassinating Malleck, the governor of Sirhind took possession of that country. Chizer sent Zirick, with a powerful army, against them; and, upon his approach, the Turks crossed the Suttuluz, and

retreated to the hills. Zirick pursued them thither; but these mountains being a continuation of those of Naugracut, which were then possessed by powerful zemindars who assisted the Turks, he could effect nothing material against them; and, in the end, he was obliged to retreat.

Intelligence was, in the year, A. H. 819, received at Delhi, that Ahmud, who stiled himself KING OF GUZZURAT, had advanced to Nagore. Chizer mustering all his forces, marched against him, but Ahmud declining battle, turned off towards Malva. When Chizer Khan had reached Hanir, Elias, governor of that beautiful city, which had been built by sultan Alla, came out to meet him, and was honourably received. Chizer proceeded thence to Gualior, where he levied the tribute upon the rajah, and then continued his march to Biana, receiving tribute also from its governor Kerim. After these transactions he returned to Delhi.

In the year 820, Tân, chief of those Turks who had assassinated Malleck, lay at the head of a great army before Sirhind. Zirick, governor of Sammana, was immediately dispatched by Chizer, with a strong force, against the Turk who besieged Sirhind, and he was once more driven back to his hills, and a seasonable relief was accomplished for the empire. Zirick, having in the pursuit of the enemy, reached the village of Pael, Tân consented to pay tribute, and gave him his son as a hostage, expelling the murderers of Malleck. Upon this pacification he was left in possession of Jallender, and Zirick returned to Sammana, sending the hostage, and contributions which he had raised, to the royal presence.

The emperor, in the year 821, sent his minister against Raja Narsingh. The vizier, without ending the war, plundered and laid waste the province of Kittar, and returned to Budaoon. Crossing then the river, he came to Atava, where he raised contributions, and thence returned to Delhi. Chizer went in person against the rebels of Kittar, and, upon his march, chastised the banditti of Schole.

He crossed the Rahib, laid waste the country of Simbol, and Kittar, and, without coming to battle, returned to his capital.

He continued at Delhi a few days, and then moved towards Budaoon, crossing the Ganges at Pattali. Mahabut being alarmed at his approach, shut himself up in Budaoon, where the king besieged him for six months. In the course of the siege, Cawam, Achtiar Lodi, and all the old friends of the emperor Mahmud, formed a conspiracy against the life of Chizer. The sultan discovering the plot, decamped from before Budaoon, and returned towards Delhi. On his way, he prepared a sumptuous entertainment, to which all the conspirators were invited, and the guards setting suddenly upon them, they were, to a man, assassinated.

After the sultan returned to Delhi, he was informed, that an impostor had appeared at Matchewarrah, under the name of Saring (Sarenk in Sherefeddin,) and had, by that means, collected a great body of people together. The king ordered Malleck Lodi, who, with the title of Islam Khan, was, at that time, governor of Sirhind, to march against him. The impostor was defeated, driven to the hills, and pursued by the joint forces of the governor of Jallender, the governor of Sammana, and the governor of the country between the rivers. The impostor's army on this deserted him, each man skulking away in the best manner he was able, to his private residence. The imperial forces having no further service to perform, also separated, and returned to their respective stations. But, in the year following, Saring, the impostor, issued again from his hills, and having made an alliance with the governor of Jallender, they invested the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the country far and near. The king sent a great army against them, who, giving them a total defeat, drove them out of the kingdom.

In the year 824, Chizer marched towards Mewat, taking and destroying the fort of Kotillah. The vizier dying at that time, the vizarit was conferred upon his son. The sultan turned thence

towards Gualior, where he raised contributions, and then hastened to Attava, levying tribute on the son of Rai Sibber, who then possessed that country. Death, the greater conqueror, however, put a stop to his triumphs; for falling sick during his progress, he returned to Delhi, where he expired, after a reign of seven years and a few months. His death was greatly lamented by the people, Chizer, being, on the whole, esteemed a just, generous, and benevolent prince.

Sharock, the son of Timur, sat on the Mogul throne, during this reign, and ruled the vast empire conquered by his father, with great ability, justice, and moderation.

MUBARICK II.

Mubarick, his eldest son, by his father's appointment, ascended the vacant throne. The early years of his reign were greatly disturbed by the attempts of Jesserit, an ambitious prince of the savage mountaineers called Gickers, to seize upon Delhi and its imperial throne; but those attempts were defeated, and himself driven back with disgrace to the hilly recesses whence he issued. The obstinate rebellion of the people of Mewat, a race of banditti inhabiting a woody mountainous tract of great extent that stretches south-west of Delhi, gave him considerably more trouble; but they also were eventually subdued, and their country totally ravaged. In this reign too it is recorded that a great army of Moguls, commanded by Ali, the governor of Cabul, for Sharock, then sitting on the Tartar throne, committed dreadful ravages in Hindostan; but the good fortune of Mubarick ultimately prevailed. Ferishta, in the course of this reign,* records a variety of conflicts in which Mubarick engaged with the self-created sovereigns of the distant provinces, particularly with Ibrahim, KING OF THE EAST, and the great rajah of Gualior, the princes of which stupendous hill-fort seem to have been always the objects of the hatred and jealousy of the kings of

* Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 34.

Delhi, till it was finally conquered by Akber; but the detail is little more than a repetition of what has occurred in former pages, and is by no means important enough for the notice of general history. The circumstances of his death are thus related.

Jealous of the enormous power assumed by his vizier, Mubarick endeavoured to curb it, by joining with him in the vizarit, a nobleman named Kammal; and the latter, being esteemed a man of superior abilities, soon engrossed the favour of his sovereign and the people.

The vizier enraged at this slight, formed a project to dethrone his master. Having gained over Sidarin and Sidpal, two great Hindoo chiefs of the tribe of Kettra, and other distinguished omrahs, they watched an opportunity to assassinate the king. About this time, Mubarick had ordered a city to be founded upon the banks of the Jumna, calling it the city of Mubarick, and made an excursion towards Tibberhind, with intent to take the diversion of hunting. Having, on the way, received advices that Tibberhind was taken, he returned to the new city. He there received intelligence that war was carrying on between Ibrahim, king of the Eastern provinces, and Hoshung of Malavi, near Calpie, intelligence extremely agreeable to him, as he sought an opportunity to expel Ibrahim from his dominions. He therefore gave orders to muster his army, and pitching his tent without the city, spent a few days in regulating and collecting his forces, during which time he continued to visit the new works without fear of danger, having never given offence to his nobility, except in changing or expelling them from their governments when they misbehaved.

Upon the ninth of the month of Rijib, in the year eight hundred and thirty-seven, according to his custom, he went to worship at a mosque which he had recently constructed in the new city, with only a few attendants. The conspirators clothed in armour, rushed in with drawn swords upon him, and basely assassinated him. The

vizier having previously settled matters with Mohammed, one of the grandsons of the emperor Chizer, immediately raised that prince to the throne.

Thus perished Mubarick II. after a turbulent reign of thirteen years, three months, and sixteen days. He was esteemed a man of talents, just and benevolent; his memory was respected, and his end pitied.

Little alteration happened in the north of Asia, during the reign of Mubarick. Sharock still sat on the throne of the Moguls, and seemed more inclined to rule his dominions with justice and equity, than to extend their limits towards India.

MOHAMMED.

Exalted to the empire by a guilty and blood-stained traitor, Mohammed neither sate upon it with safety nor with dignity. The hand lifted against his grandfather was soon raised to exterminate himself. The king in an insurrection of the indignant omrahs being besieged in his palace, and perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined, if he should adhere to the vizier, endeavoured to conciliate matters with the besiegers, and, at the same time, sought an opportunity of making his escape, or cutting off the vizier. The vizier discovering this plot, designed to be beforehand with the king; accordingly, one night, with the sons of Miran Sidder, and some of his own adherents, he broke into the king's apartment. But the emperor having suspected him of these murderous intentions, had privately a guard at hand, who, on a signal given, burst in upon the conspirators. They immediately betook themselves to flight; but the vizier was cut to pieces, as he was rushing out at the door, and thus met the fate he designed for his sovereign. Mohammed, after this escape, is said to have devoted himself entirely to pleasure, neglecting all the cares and necessary affairs of government. The accounts of the king's luxurious indolence soon affected the state.

Dissatisfaction began to appear first in Multan, where a tribe of Patans rose in rebellion. At the same time, Beloli Lodi, who was afterwards emperor, but at this time the governor of Sirhind, had, without any orders, possessed himself of the city and districts of Lahore and Debalpour, with all the country quite to Panniput.

The sultan receiving intelligence of this revolt, sent his whole army against him, who drove him back to the hills. In the retreat many chiefs of distinction were put to the sword; but Beloli recruited his army, and, when the imperial forces were withdrawn, he again possessed himself of all the countries from which they had driven him. Mohammed, the next time, sent Hissam Khan, the vizier's deputy, against him, who was defeated, and beat back to Delhi; upon which, Beloli wrote word to the king, that if he would put Hissam to death, who, by his intrigues, had been the occasion of this rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The king was weak enough to listen to this arrogant proposal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hissam. He also deprived Cummal of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Hamid, appointing another person deputy, with the title of Hissam Khan. The governors of the provinces observing this pusillanimous and impolitic behaviour of the king, predicted his destruction, and endeavoured to secure their own independency; while the subjects and zemindars, foreseeing the convulsions that must happen in the state, withheld their rents, in hopes that they might be passed over, in the general confusion.

Ibrahim, sovereign of the eastern provinces, possessed himself of several districts, adjoining to his dominions; while Mahmud Chilligi king of Malva, made an attempt on the capital; and advanced within two cosses of the city. Mohammed, struck with terror in this urgent situation of affairs, imprudently sent an embassy to Beloli, to request his assistance. Beloli accordingly, with twenty thousand Persian horse, came to Delhi; Mohammed, though his

army was greatly superior in number to the enemy, was afraid to take the field himself, but committed the charge of the whole to his omrahs, and reposed himself in the haram. The omrahs, according to orders, advanced with the army against the enemy, Beloli leading the van.

When Mahmud Chilligi was given to understand, that the king of Delhi was not present, he thought this circumstance was intended as an affront to him; and, to be on a footing with Mohammed, he committed the charge of his army to his sons Yeaz ul Dien and Kuddir Khan. The two armies having engaged, the troops of Delhi gave way, and left Beloli alone to dispute the field, which he maintained with invincible resolution, till the fugitives, ashamed of their behaviour, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory was left undecided. Mahmud Chilligi being greatly frightened by a dream that night, and having heard, in the morning, that Ahmed, king of Guzzurat, was advanced as far as Mundo, he was more and more intimidated, and began to be desirous of making peace: but shame prevented him from expressing his wishes. At the same time, Mohammed, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, gave himself up to base fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival to solicit peace.

Mahmud Chilligi was overjoyed at these proposals, which saved the appearance of his reputation, and immediately accepting them, marched from the field. Beloli, who now began justly to despise them both, and to aspire to the empire, marched out of the city with his own troops, and pursuing Mahmud Chilligi, attacked him upon his march, defeated him, and took all his baggage. The weak sultan, who did not hitherto see through his palpable intentions, gave him the title of Khan Khanan, or first of the nobles, and adopted him for his son.

In the year 845, the emperor marched to Sammana, giving the governments of Lahore and Debalpour to Beloli, and ordering him

to expel Jisserit. He himself returned to his capital. Beloli, by this means, became extremely powerful, and recruited a great army of Afghans; but, instead of fighting Jisserit, he brought him over to his party, and began to seize upon several districts, without any orders from the king. At length, without any apparent reason, but his ambition, he drew his army against Delhi, which he besieged for some months, but, in the end, was obliged to abandon his enterprize.

The king's power was greatly weakened, and began to decay very rapidly. The zemindars of Biana put themselves under the government of Mahmud Chilligi. In the mean time, Mohammed fell sick and died, A. H. 850, or A. D. 1446; leaving behind him the character of a weak, dissolute, and unwarlike prince. He reigned twelve years and some months, and his son Alla succeeded him in the empire.

Sharock, emperor of the Moguls, dying this year, the conquests of Timur were divided among his grand-children, the sons of the prince Basankar. The eldest son of Sharock, the famous Ulug Beg, enjoyed the imperial titles, but his power was almost confined to the western Tartary, or Transoxania.

ALLA II.

Alla, the son of Mohammed, mounting the throne upon the demise of his father, all the omrahs, except Beloli Lodi, who secretly aspired to the empire, came and swore allegiance to him. This contempt of Beloli, the new sultan was in no condition to chastise; but having collected an army, in the beginning of A. H. 850, or A. D. 1447, he marched to recover Biana. While he was upon the way, there was a rumour propagated, that the king of the East was advancing towards Delhi, which immediately brought back the emperor to his capital; though he was warned by Hissam, the vizier, how ridiculous it would appear in a king to be guided by a

mere vague report. This reprimand brought upon the vizier Alla's displeasure.

This fatal step, however, proved ruinous to the sultan's reputation, and the meanest of the people feared not to say publicly, that he was a weaker man in point of intellect, than even his weak father. He marched in the following year to Budaoon, where he remained some time, laying out gardens, building pleasure-houses, and making entertainments, and then returned to Delhi. Pretending that the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expressed an inclination of making that city his residence; to divert him from which purpose the vizier took great pains, but only incurred his more severe displeasure.

All Hindostan was, at this time, divided into separate states; for in the Deccan, Guzzurat, Malava, Jionpoor, and Bengal, there were princes who assumed the style and dignity of kings; while Panjab, Debalpour, and Sirhind, even to Panniput, were possessed by the aspiring Beloli. Merowli, and all the country to the Serai of Lado, within fourteen miles of Delhi, were in the hands of Ahmed of Mewat; Simbol, close to the walls of this city, was possessed by Deria Lodi; Kole, by Isah; Rabari, by Cuttub the Afghan; Cumpela and Pattiali, by the Indian prince Partab; Biana was subject to Daood Lodi; so that the city of Delhi, and a few small districts, remained only to the king.

Beloli made, about this time, another attempt upon the city, but was not more successful than he was before. The king, relieved from this danger, began to consult the means of recovering part of his lost empire, and advised on this important subject with Cuttub, Isah, and Partab. Those chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him that the omrahs were all disgusted with his vizier; that, should he be turned out of office, and imprisoned, they were ready to pay him due allegiance, and made no doubt but the affairs of the empire would put on a more favourable aspect. The weak

Alla became the dupe of those traitors, and accordingly imprisoned and disgraced his vizier. He immediately ordered preparations to be made for removing his court to Budaoon, from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him; though they represented in a strong light, how impolitic it would be, at such a juncture, to change his capital.

Alla accordingly, in A. H. 852, or A. D. 1447, set out for Budaoon, leaving his vizier Hissam in the government of Delhi. When the sultan arrived at his new capital, Cuttub and Partab waited upon him, and told him, that as long as the vizier was alive, the omrahs could not be brought to trust themselves at court. The weak king was prevailed upon to command him to be put to death; but the vizier's brother having notice given him of this bloody purpose, found means, with the assistance of some his friends, to release him, and escape to Delhi. He there took immediate possession of all the king's effects, and turned his haram out of the city.

Alla put off the time by ridiculous procrastinations, by idle excuses of the weather, and unlucky times, till the vizier had summoned Beloli to take upon him the empire. Beloli exulting in the opportunity, amused the sultan, by writing him word that he was coming to chastise the vizier, till he arrived and took possession of the city, taking upon himself the title of sultan Beloli. He, however, gave place to the name of Alla, in the Chutba, so late as the year of the Hegira, 854.

Having then given the city in charge to his son, Chaja Baezid, he marched in person to Debalpour, and collected together a great army of Afghans. He wrote word, at the same time, to Alla, that, upon his account, he had expelled the vizier; and he received for answer, from that weak prince, that as his father had adopted Beloli as his son, he would esteem him his brother; he moreover promised to cede to him the empire, upon condition that he would permit him to live quietly in the possession of Budaoon. Beloli threw

immediately the name of Alla out of the public prayers, and spread the umbrella of empire over his own head. Alla remained at Budaoon till his death, which did not happen till A. H. 883, or A. D. 1478; his reign in Delhi being seven years, and his government of Budaoon near twenty-eight. A weak, and sometimes a wicked prince, while he retained the empire; in private station, a peaceable, if not a virtuous man.

Persia, and the western Tartary, were in confusion during the short reign of Alla, owing to a series of hostilities between the descendants of Timur, who had divided his conquests among them. The Mogul empire ceased, in fact, to exist, though Abusaid, the son of Miran Shah, and grandson of Timur, sustained the name of it, in the western Tartary and Chorasan.

BELOLI.

Beloli was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, a race of men who forming themselves into a commercial society, carried on a commercial intercourse between Persia and Hindostan. In the time of the emperor Fersoe, Ibrahim, the grandfather of Beloli, being possessed of wealth, made his way at the court of Delhi, and raised himself to the government of Multan. When Beloli was yet a youth in his uncle's service, one day he was permitted to pay his respects to a famous derveish of Sammana, whose name was Sheidai. While he sat in a respectful posture before him, the derveish cried out, in an enthusiastic manner, "Who will give two thousand "rupees for the empire of Delhi?" Upon which, Beloli told him, he had only one thousand six hundred rupees in the world, which he ordered his servant to bring immediately and present to the derveish. The derveish accepted the money, and, laying his hand upon the head of Beloli, saluted him king. The companions of Beloli ridiculed him very much for this action; but he replied,

"That, if the thing came to pass, he had made a cheap purchase; "if not, the blessing of a holy man could do him no harm."

When Mohammed, father of Alla, basely complied with his desire of cutting off the vizier, Beloli, according to his promise, waited upon the king, that he might be better able to carry on his ambitious intrigues. He managed his affairs at Delhi so artfully, that the government of Sirhind was conferred upon him, and together with other districts near it, confirmed to him in jaghire; which were the means that enabled him to mount the throne, as we have already seen, in the former reign.

In A. H. 855, being the first year after his obtaining the imperial dignity, determined to vindicate as far as possible the invaded rights of that empire, he left Delhi under the charge of his eldest son Baezid, and marched towards Multan to recruit his army, and to regulate all the western provinces. Some of his omrahs being dissatisfied at this time, left him, and joined Mahmud, king of Jionpour,* who, during the absence of Beloli, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty-six, advanced with a great army, and laid siege to Delhi. Beloli hastened back from Debalpour by rapid marches, nor halted till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of Delhi.

Mahmud sent thirty thousand horse, and thirty elephants, under the command of Herevi, against him. When the action began, Cuttub, an omrah who excelled in archery, having sunk an arrow in the forehead of one of Herevi's elephants, the animal became outrageous, and broke the lines. At the same time Diria Lodi, one of the disaffected omrahs, was prevailed upon by the same Cuttub to quit the army of Mahmud, and he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Patans, or Afghans, in Herevi's army. The other

* Joinpour was at that time a great city, the capital of these self-created kings of the East, but is now one of the lowest class in India. Its situation is on the river Gounty, about forty miles to the north-west of Benares.

troops being thus deserted, gave way, and Herevi was taken prisoner; but having, with his own hand, just killed the brother of Rai Kirren, that omrah, in revenge, struck off his head, and sent it to the emperor. Upon receiving the news of this defeat, Mahmud raised the siege of Delhi, and retreated with great precipitation to Jionpoor.

The power of Beloli soon became firmly established, and he began to turn his thoughts upon new acquisitions. His first movement was towards Mewat, where Hamid, the vizier, submitted himself to his authority. The emperor took seven pergunnahs from Hamid, and permitted him to hold the remainder in fee. Beloli from thence marched to Birren, and other districts; every where conquering the rebellious governors, and exacting the tribute of compelled obedience.

An omrah, called Jonah, about this time quitted the court in disgust, and joined Mahmud king of the East, from whom he received the government of Shumseabad. Jonah instigated Mahmud to make another attempt upon Delhi, who, for that purpose, took the route of Attava, where he met Beloli. The armies, the first day of their appearance in sight, on both sides sent out parties to skirmish, but nothing very remarkable occurred, and, the next day, they began to treat, when it was agreed, that Beloli should keep possession of all the countries possessed by the emperor Mubarick, and that Mahmud should hold all that was in the possession of sultan Ibrahim, of Jionpour; that the former should give up all the elephants taken in the engagement with Herevi, and the latter expel Jonah from his government.

Mahmud, immediately after this pacification, returned to Jionpour, and Beloli went to Shumseabad to take possession of it. This latter expedition of Beloli greatly offended Mahmud, and he immediately returned to Shumseabad, where the omrahs Cuttub and Diria surprized his camp in the night. But during the attack, the horse of

Cuttub having trod upon a tent-pin, threw him, and he was taken by the enemy, and his party retreated to their own camp. Beloli drew out his army in the morning, but received advice that Mahmud had just expired, and that the omrahs had set up his son Mohammed; and, by the mediation of Bibi Raja, the young king's mother, who probably had received previous assurances, a peace was immediately concluded. Mohammed returned to Jionpour, and Beloli took the route of Delhi.

It was not long before the omrahs conspired against Mohammed, king of the eastern provinces, and having assassinated him, advanced Hassen, his brother, who had fled to Canouge, to the throne. Beloli, for what reason is not known, took no advantage of these disorders, but now entered into a truce with Hassen for the space of four years. Soon after, on account of the rebellion of the viceroy of Multan, and the disorders in Punjab, he marched towards that quarter. Upon his way, he heard, that the Eastern monarch Hassen was advancing, in his absence, with a great army, to take Delhi. He therefore, through necessity, returned, and leaving Delhi in charge of Cuttub and Jehan, he went out to meet the enemy. The two armies having met at the village of Chundwar, they skirmished without intermission for seven days. A peace was at length concluded for the term of three years. At the expiration of this truce, Hassen invested Attava, took it, and drew over Ahmed, governor of Mewat, and Rustum of Koli, to his interest, while Ahmed, who commanded at Selwan, and was also governor of Biana, struck money, and read the chutba in his name. Hassen, with one hundred thousand horse and a thousand elephants, marched from Attava towards Delhi; and Beloli, no ways intimidated by that great force, marched out boldly to meet him. The two armies having advanced to Battevara, encamped for some time in sight of each other, and after some skirmishes, in which there was no superiority of advantage on either side, they again concluded a peace; a peace by no

means permanent. Hassen advanced again towards Delhi some months after, and was opposed at the village of Sinkar, and obliged to depart upon peaceable terms.

In the year 883, the abdicated emperor, Alla, died at Budaoon, upon which Hassen went to settle matters at Budaoon, and, after the funeral ceremonies were over, he took that country from the children of Alla. Marching from thence to Simbol, he imprisoned Mubarick, governor of that province; then marching towards Delhi, he crossed the river Jumma near Gutteruitch. Beloli, who was at Sirhind, upon receiving intelligence of this invasion, returned with all expedition to save his capital. Several slight actions ensued, in which Hassen had, in general, the advantage.

Cuttub dispatched a person to Hassen, informing him, that Beloli was ready to relinquish all the countries beyond the Ganges, upon condition he should leave him in possession of all the provinces on this side of that river. These terms being accepted, they reversed their hostile spears, and Hassen marched homeward; but Beloli, in a perfidious manner, broke the peace, and, pursuing Hassen, attacked him upon his march, killing a great number, and taking forty omrahs prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Beloli pursued his victory, and took several districts belonging to Hassen, and appointed agents to manage them under himself. But when he had pursued Hassen as far as Arumbidger, the latter stood his ground, and engaged Beloli. The victory being dubious, a peace was patched up between them, the village of Doupamou being settled as the boundary between the empires. After this pacification, Hassen proceeded to Raberi, and Beloli returned to Delhi.

Hassen could not, however, forget the perfidy of Beloli. He recruited his army, and some time after marched against him, and met him at the village of Sinhar, when an obstinate battle ensued, in which Hassen was defeated, and lost all his treasure and baggage;

Hassen having retreated to Raberi, he was followed thither by Beloli, and venturing upon a second engagement, he was again totally defeated. After the battle, he retreated towards Gualior; the rajah of Gualior brought him some lacks of rupees, elephants, horses, camels, and a fine set of camp equipage, and accompanied him to Calpie (Calpy on the Jumna).

Beloli marched, in the mean time, to Attava, where he besieged Ibrahim, the brother of Hassen, and took the place by capitulation. He, however, generously made him a present of the fort, and proceeded to Calpie; Hassen met him upon the banks of the river, where they remained for some months. But Rai Chand of Buxar, coming over to Beloli, shewed him a passable ford in the river, by which he crossed, and attacking Hassen, defeated him and drove him to Jionpour, upon which Beloli turned off to the left towards Canouge. Hassen again met him near that city, but he was once more defeated with great slaughter. His regalia and equipage were taken, and also the chief lady of his seraglio. Beloli returned after this victory to Delhi.

Having recruited and regulated his army, he advanced the spear of hostility again towards Jionpour. He conquered that country, and gave it to Mubarick Lohani, leaving Cuttub, Jehan, and other omrahs at Migouli, to secure his conquests. He himself went to Budaoon, where he soon after heard of Cuttub's death. Jehan, Mubarick, and other omrahs, though they maintained the appearance of fidelity, were, after the death of Cuttub, concerting measures to throw off Beloli's yoke. Beloli being apprized of their intentions, marched towards Jionpour, and drove away Hassen, who had made an attempt to recover it, and placed Barbec, one of his own sons, upon the throne of Jionpour. He himself returned to Calpie, which he took, and gave to his grandson, Azim Humaioon, the son of his eldest son Baizied. He directed thence his march to Dolipore, raising a tribute upon the rajah of that place, who began to rank

himself among Beloli's subjects. The king marched from thence to a place in the districts of Rantimpore, which he plundered, and soon after returned to Delhi.

Beloli being now extremely old, and infirmities beginning daily to increase upon him, he divided his dominions among his sons, and nephews. In this division it is alone necessary to mention that Delhi, with several countries between the two rivers was allotted to his son Nizam, known afterwards by the name of Sultan Secunder, whom he appointed his successor in the imperial dignity.

Some time after this division, the emperor proceeded to Gualior, and raising a tribute of eighty lacks of rupees from the rajah of that place, came to Attava, from whence he expelled Sickit Sing, and then turned his face towards Delhi. Falling sick upon his march, many of the omrahs were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they urged, was the undoubted right of Humaioon, his grandson. The sultana, upon this, wrote to her son Nizam, who, having heard of his father's illness, was setting out from Delhi, by no means to come, otherwise he might be imprisoned by the omrahs: at the same time the king, by the advice of other omrahs, ordered public letters to be sent him, to hasten him to the camp, that he might see him before his death. Nizam was greatly perplexed how to act upon this nice occasion. He, at length, was advised by Cuttuluk, the vizier of the Eastern emperor Hassen, who was then prisoner at Delhi, to pitch his tents without the city, and to advance by very slow marches. In the mean time the king's disease overcame him, and he died at Malauli, in the pergunnah of Sikite, in A. H. 894, or A. D. 1488 after a long reign of thirty-eight years, eight months, and seven days.

Beloli was esteemed a virtuous and mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as his companions than his subjects. He was extremely temperate in his diet, and though a man of no great literature himself, he was

fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He had given so many proofs of personal bravery that none could doubt it; at the same time he was often cautious to excess, never choosing to trust much to chance, and delighting greatly, as we have seen by his frequent treaties with Hassen, in negotiation.

During the long reign of Beloli, in Delhi, the empire of Persia remained divided into a number of petty principalities, most of them subject to the descendants of Timur Bec and Gengis Khan. Transoxiana, the greatest part of Chorasan, and the provinces towards the Indus, were subject to the posterity of Timur, who were engaged in almost uninterrupted hostilities against one another.

SECUNDER I.

The omrahs, immediately upon the death of Beloli, formed themselves into a council, in which some appeared to be attached to the interest of Humaioon, some to Barbec, eldest son of the sultan, then living, and some to Nizam, who had assumed the name of Secunder, in consequence of his father's will. While they were debating, the mother of Secunder, whose name was Rana, originally a goldsmith's daughter, but raised to the sultan's bed by the fame of her beauty, came behind the curtain, in the great tent, and made a speech to the omrahs in favour of her son. Upon which Isah, the nephew of Beloli, answered her in a disrespectful manner, and concluded with saying, that a goldsmith's offspring was not qualified to hold the empire.

Firmilli, who had been dignified by Beloli with the title of first of the nobles, a stout daring man, rebuked him, and told him, that Beloli was yet scarce cold in his hearse, and that the man who threw such ungenerous aspersions upon his family, deserved only contempt. Isah replied, that silence would better become him, who was only a servant of the state. Instantly the other rose up in

a rage, declaring he was indeed a servant of Secunder, and would maintain his right against all who durst oppose it. He then rushed out of the council, followed by all his party, and carried off the body of the deceased king to Jellali, where he was met by Secunder, who there ascended his father's throne.

Secunder sending the corpse of his father to Delhi, marched against Isah, and having defeated him, afterwards forgave his offence. Returning then to Delhi, he, in the manner of his father, conferred favours upon all his kindred.

Secunder soon sent a trusty person to Barbec, his brother, king of Jionpour, desiring he would do him homage, and order his name to be read first in the chutba all over his dominions. Barbec rejected these proposals, and Secunder marched against him. Barbec and Calla Par came out in order of battle to meet him. An action ensued, in which Calla Par, charging too far among the troops of Delhi, was taken prisoner. Secunder, upon seeing him, alighted from his horse and embraced him, saying, that he esteemed him as his father, and begged to be looked upon as his son. Calla Par, confounded at the honour done him, replied, that, except his life, he had nothing to offer in compensation for such kindness, desiring a horse, that he might show himself not wholly unworthy of the royal favour. He was accordingly mounted, and perfidiously sold his reputation for a compliment, turning his sword against Barbec; which circumstance, in some measure, contributed to the success of Secunder. The troops of Barbec seeing Calla Par charging them, imagined that all his forces were also gone over to the enemy, and betook themselves to flight. Barbec did all that bravery could perform; but finding himself deserted, he fled to Budaoon, while Mubarick, his son, was taken prisoner. Secunder pursuing him close, invested Barbec in Budaoon, who, soon driven to distress, capitulated, and was received with great kindness and respect. The king carried Barbec with him to Jionpour; but as Hassen, the

expelled king of the eastern provinces, was still a powerful prince in Behar, he thought Barbec would be the properest person to check him, and accordingly confirmed him as before in the government of Jionpour; leaving, however, some trusty friends at his court, upon whom he bestowed estates and jurisdictions, to keep them firm in his own interest.

In 897 Lickim, the son of Rai Bhede, and other zemindars, wrote to sultan Hassen, the titular king of the East, now in possession of the province of Behar, that the cavalry of Secunder was in a wretched condition, and that it was an excellent opportunity for him to take satisfaction for his former defeats. This induced Hassen to put his army in motion, and march directly against Secunder. The emperor hearing of his intentions, put his army upon the best footing possible, and crossed the Ganges to meet him, which he did thirty-six miles from Benares: an obstinate battle was fought, in which Hassen was defeated, and fled to Battea.

Secunder leaving his camp with a proper guard, pursued the fugitives for three days, with a party of horse; but hearing that Hassen was gone to Behar, he stopped, and upon the ninth day returned to his camp. He soon after marched with his whole army towards Behar, but upon his approach, Hassen left Cundu to guard the city, and fled himself to Calgaw, in the dominion of Bengal. Alla, then king of Bengal, called Hassen to his court, and treated him with the greatest respect during the remainder of his days, which he passed with him; so that with Hassen the royal line of Jionpour was extinguished.

Secunder having regulated his army, marched towards Bengal; but when he had reached Cuttlishpoor, Alla king of Bengal sent Danial his son to oppose him. Secunder detached Zere Zichme, one of his generals, to acquaint him that he had no intention to subdue the country; but as their dominions now bordered upon each other, it became necessary to know upon what footing he

must consider *Alla*, before he left that country. The king of Bengal gladly accepted of a peace, wherein it was stipulated, that neither monarch should permit any of their governors to invade each other's dominions, and that neither of them should give protection to the other's enemies.

Secunder having asked the daughter of Sal Bahin, rajah of Battea, in marriage, the father refused to comply with his request. Secunder, to revenge this affront, put his army in motion against the rajah, in the year 904, and marching to Battea, sacked it. After having ravaged the country round Bandugur, he returned to Jionpour, where he spent some time in the civil regulations of the empire. About this time, the accounts of Mubarick Lodi being inspected for the time of his administration in Jionpour, and a great balance being found due to the royal revenue, the king ordered it to be levied upon him. This severity greatly disgusted the omrahs, among whom Mubarick was very much esteemed. A faction accordingly arose in the army, which first discovered itself by private quarrels. For, one day, as the sultan and his court were playing a party at club and ball, on horseback, the club of Hybut, by accident or design, wounded one Soliman in the head. Chizer, the brother of Soliman, came up, and returned the compliment to Hybut; so that, in a few minutes, the parties on both sides joined in the quarrel, and the whole field was in arms.

Secunder, fearing a conspiracy, fled to the palace; but nothing of that kind transpiring, he made another party at the same game some days after, and a quarrel of the same nature ensued, for which Shumese Khan, who began it, was disgraced, and bastinadoed. However the sultan would not be satisfied but that there was some plot in agitation, and therefore ordered his guards to be selected, and to keep upon the watch.

Secunder, in the year 905, marched to Simbol, where he spent four years in pleasure, and in transacting civil affairs. But hearing

of some mal administration of Asghir, the governor of Delhi, he sent an order to Chawass Khan, governor of Matchiwarri, to march to Delhi, and send Asghir prisoner to court. The governor receiving advice of this order, left Delhi, and threw himself at the king's feet, but not being able to form any excuse for his bad practices, he was ordered into confinement.

In the year 907, Rai Man Sing, of Gualior, sent one of his dependants, called Nehal, to the king with rich presents; but as this embassador talked in too high a strain, Secunder ordered him to depart, and declared war against his master. He was prevented however, from the execution of his purpose, for some time, by the death of Firmilli, governor of Biana, and by those disturbances in that province which succeeded that governor's death. The government of Biana having devolved upon Ameid Soliman, the son of Firmilli, who was yet too young and unexperienced for such a charge, the king gave that appointment to Chawass. Sifder was sent with a force to reduce Agra, which belonged to the province of Biana, and had then revolted; another detachment being sent, at the same time, to reduce the fort of Dolipour, which was in the possession of Rajah Benacdeo, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Here Chaja Bein, a warrior of great fame, fell by the sword, which so irritated Secunder, who had a great esteem for him, that he marched himself against that place. Upon his approach Benacdeo left some friends in the fort, and fled towards Gualior; but the garrison, the next night, evacuated the place, and left the king to take possession of it. He remained there about a month, and then marched to Gualior. The rajah of that place, changing his haughty style, now humbly sued for peace, sending to him various rebels, who had, at different times, fled from Secunder, and taken protection under him. At the same time he sent his own son, Bickermajit, with presents, who had the address to procure peace.

Secunder returned to Dolipour, which he again bestowed upon Benacdeo; then marching to Agra, he, for the first time, made that city imperial, by fixing his residence there, and abandoning the city of Delhi. Here he remained during the rains, and, in the year 910 marched towards Munderael, which he took, and destroyed the Hindoo temples, ordering mosques to be built in their stead. Secunder returning to Dolipour, removed the rajah from his office, and gave it to one Kimir. He passed from thence to Agra, giving his omrahs leave to return to their respective estates.

In the following year, 910, there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that the mountains shook on their bases, and every lofty building was levelled with the ground, some thousands being buried in the ruins. Secunder in the same year moved towards Gualior, and stopped by the way some time at Dolipour, where he left his family, and, with an unincumbered army of horse, proceeded to the hills, to plunder some Hindoo rajahs, from whom he took great spoils, and ravaged their peaceful habitations. Just as the king was passing by the town of Javer, in the dominions of the rajah of Gualior, he was attacked by a resolute body of men, who had lain in ambush for him; but, by the bravery of Awid and Ahmed, the sons of Khan Jehan, the Hindoos were defeated, and a great number of rajaputs slain.

The sultan returned to Agra; and, in the year 912, went towards the fort of Awintgur; and, as he had despaired of reducing Gualior, he bent his whole strength to the reduction of this place. It was accordingly in a short time taken, and all the rajaput garrison put to the sword, the temples destroyed, and mosques ordered to be built in their place.

Secunder, eyeing from his march the ruins of Agra, moved towards Narvar, a strong fort in the district of Malva, then in the possession of the native rajahs. He ordered Jellal, governor of Calpie, to advance before him and invest the place, which was

accordingly done. When the king arrived before Narvar, Jellal drew up his army, out of respect, that the king might review them as he passed. This circumstance proved very hurtful to Jellal; for, from that time, the king became jealous of his power, and determined to ruin him. Secunder surrounded the place, which was sixteen miles in circumference, and began to carry on the siege. The siege was now protracted eight months, when the sultan received intelligence, that a treasonable correspondence was carried on between some of his omrahs and the garrison, for which Jellal and Sheri were imprisoned in the fort of Awintgur. The garrison, soon after, was obliged to capitulate, for want of provisions, and the king remained, for the space of six months, at Narvar, breaking down temples, and building mosques. He there also established a kind of monastery, which he filled with divines and learned men.

We find no other transactions worthy of memory in the empire, till the year nine hundred and twenty-two. Ali Nagori, subah of Suisuper, in that year prevailed upon Dowlat, governor of Rantimpore, which he then held of Malva, to deliver the fort to Secunder, if that monarch should come in person to take possession of it. Secunder, with great joy, closed with the proposal, and set out towards Biana, to which place the governor of Rantimpore came to meet him, and was graciously received. But Ali, who had been disappointed in some favours which he expected for bringing this matter to issue, resolved still to prevent the accomplishment of it. He had so much influence upon the governor, that he made him retract his promise relative to giving up the fort, though he had put himself in the sultan's power. The sultan having found out the cause of this change, disgraced Ali, and deprived him of his government, but was obliged to return to Agra without succeeding in his design upon Rantimpore, setting the governor at liberty, notwithstanding he had so egregiously deceived him.

To Agra, in which city the king had constructed many superb edifices, adorned with spacious gardens, as the future capital of the Indian empire, Secunder summoned all the distant omrahs together, with an intention to reduce Gualior. But he was, in the midst of his preparations, taken ill of a quinsey, of which he died, A. H. 922, or A. D. 1516, after having reigned, with great reputation and ability, twenty-eight years and five months. The talents which he exhibited during his reign, justified the choice of his father, who singled him out, though a younger son, as the person most capable of supporting a title to which his family had no claim by inheritance.

IBRAHIM II.

Secunder dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim immediately succeeded him on the throne. This prince, contrary to the maxims and policy of his father and grandfather, behaved himself with insupportable pride and arrogance to his friends and family. One absurd expression of his was, that kings had no relations, but that every body should be the slaves of royalty. The omrahs of the tribe of Lodi, who were always before honoured with a seat in the presence, were now constrained to stand by the throne, with their hands crossed before them. They were so much disgusted with this insolence, that they privately became his enemies.

A conspiracy therefore was formed by the omrahs of Lodi, in which it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and a few dependent provinces, and to place the prince Jellal, his brother, upon the throne of Jionpour. Jellal marched from Calpie, by the aid and advice of the disaffected omrahs, and mounted the throne of Jionpour. He appointed his cousin Fatte Khan his vizier, who brought over all the omrahs of the eastern provinces to his interest.

Jehan Lohani came at that time from Beri, to congratulate

Ibrahim upon his accession, and, in a very indignant strain, inveighed against the omrahs for dividing the empire, which, he said, would be attended with many evil consequences to the family of Lodi. The omrahs, sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as Jellal could not be yet well-established, to send messengers, soliciting his immediate return; but Jellal took no notice of their solicitations and intrigues. Ibrahim, and his omrahs, in consequence, issued a proclamation, declaring all those omrahs, who should join him, traitors to the state; at the same time sending presents and messengers to all the principal officers in those parts. These means had the desired effect, and the omrahs on the side of Jellal were gradually seduced from his interest. The affairs of Jellal being in this declining state, he saw that nothing but a resolute attempt could retrieve them; accordingly marching to Calpie, he secured his family in that fort, and, collecting all his strength, assumed the title of emperor, under the title of Jellal ul Dien, determined to try his fortune in the field. He sent at the same time a trusty ambassador to Azim Humaioon, who held Callinger for Ibrahim, and had a great army in pay, to beg his assistance. Azim was prevailed upon to join him; and a resolution was formed, first to settle the countries about Jionpour, and afterwards to enter upon affairs of still greater moment. They accordingly marched with all expedition against Mubarick Lodi, subah of Oude, whom they drove to Lucknow.

Ibrahim, informed of these transactions, marched his army to that quarter, sending his other brothers, in confinement, to Hassi, where he pensioned them for life. Upon his march towards Oude, he was informed that Azim Humaioon had deserted Jellal, and was now upon his way to meet him, which gave him great joy. He sent some omrahs to escort him to his camp, where he was very favourably received. A number of other omrahs of those parts joined Ibrahim; and he dispatched the greatest part of his army

under the command of Azim Humaioon Lodi, against his brother. But before Azim could come up with Jellal, he threw a strong garrison into Calpie, and, with thirty thousand horse, marched by circuitous and unsuspected routes towards Agra, while Azim laid siege to Calpie. Jellal had it now in his power either to take possession of, or to plunder the treasury. But he seems to have been perfectly infatuated. Adam, the governor, who was in the city with a small garrison, not only prevailed upon him to relinquish that advantage, but amused him with hopes of his brother's favour, till he sent him all the ensigns of his assumed royalty. Adam went so far as to promise to Jellal the government of Calpie, and other advantages, without having any powers of treating from the king.

Adam sent the whole to Ibrahim, and made him acquainted with every particular. But the king having by this time taken Calpie, and the treaty having been concluded without his authority, he took no notice of it, but marched against Jellal, who, now deserted by his army for his pusillanimity, was obliged to fly to Gualior, and solicit the protection of the rajah of that place. Ibrahim returned to Agra, where he remained to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of Secunder, had fallen into great confusion. The omrah Karim was sent to take charge of Delhi, and Mungu to Chundri.

In the year 925, the king formed a resolution of reducing Gualior, that great eye-sore to the monarchs of Delhi, and ordered Azim Humaioon to march from Kurrah against it, with thirty thousand horse, and three hundred elephants. Seven other omrahs, with armies, were sent to reinforce Azim. Jellal, who had taken refuge in Gualior, being intimidated, fled to the king of Malva. The imperial army arriving before Gualior, invested the place, and in a few days rajah Man Sing, who was a prince of great valour and capacity, died, and his son Bickermajit succeeded him in the rajahship. After the siege had been carried on some months,

the army of Ibrahim at length possessed themselves of an outwork at the foot of the hill, upon which the fort called Badilgur, stood. They found in that place a brazen bull, which had been for a long time worshipped there, and sent it to Agra; whence it was afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and placed at the gate of Bagdat.

The unfortunate Jellal, who had gone over to king Mahmud of Malva, not being well received there, fled to the rajah of Kurykatka, but was seized upon by the way, and sent prisoner to Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim pretended to send him prisoner to Hassi, but gave private orders to assassinate him upon the way, which was accordingly done. What are those charms in power which could induce a man to shed the blood of a brother? Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with the death of Jellal; he imbrued his hands in the blood of several omrahs of great distinction. The sultan having received advices of the reduction of Gualior, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leisure to turn all his power to suppress other rebellions, to which his cruelty, revenge, and arrogance had given birth.

Ibrahim placing very little dependence upon the fidelity of the troops which he had near him, issued orders for those of the distant provinces to repair to his standards. He, in the mean time, conferred great favours upon Ahmed, the brother of Azim Humaioon, and giving him the command of the army, sent him against Islam, who had erected in Kurrah the ensign of insurrection. Ahmed having arrived in the environs of Canouge, Eckbal, a dependant of Azim Sirwani, rushed out from an ambush with five thousand horse, and having cut off a number of the imperial troops, made good his retreat. The king was greatly exasperated against Ahmed, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat. He sent him word not to expect his favour, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels; at the same time, by way of precaution, he dispatched another army to support him. The rebels were now about forty thousand strong

in cavalry, independent of five hundred elephants, and a great body of infantry. When Ahmed had received the reinforcement which we have mentioned, and the two armies came in sight of each other, rajah Bochari, who was esteemed the first man for parts in that age, was desirous of bringing affairs to an amicable accommodation. Overtures being made, the rebels consented to dismiss their army, upon condition that Azim Sirwani should be set at liberty. Ibrahim was too proud to hearken to these terms. He sent orders to the governor of Behar, and others who commanded troops in that quarter, to advance with all their combined forces against the insurgents; while they imprudently permitted themselves to be amused till those armies had joined. The treaty being then suddenly broken off, they were reduced to the necessity of either flying, or fighting upon unequal terms. They resolved upon the latter, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged on by despair, and fired with resentment, they did justice to valour, and were upon the point of defeating the imperialists, when Islam their general was killed, and Seid, the second in command, was dismounted and taken. These unfortunate accidents damped the courage of the rebel host; they stopped short, and soon after turned their backs and fled. Their dominions, treasure, and baggage, fell at once into the hands of the king.

Ibrahim now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the omrahs of Secunder, and many of them were barbarously put to death. Azim Humaioon Sirwani, Miah Boah, and others, who were in confinement, were at the same time assassinated, and mistrust and terror took possession of every heart. These cruelties and assassinations gave rise to other rebellions, which distracted the close of this tyrannical reign.

Dirai, of the tribe of Lodi, subah of Berur, died about this time, and his son, of the same name, assumed the title of emperor, under the name of Mohammed, with all the ensigns of royalty. He was joined by all the discontented omrahs, and found himself at the

head of a hundred thousand horse, with which he took possession of all the countries as far as Simbol, defeating the imperial troops in repeated engagements. Ghazi Lodi hastened down with the army from Lahore, by the sultan's orders; but having heard of his tyrannies by the way, he was apprehensive of danger to himself, and returned to his father Dowlat, at Lahore. Dowlat seeing no safety but in extremity, revolted from the sultan, and solicited sultan BABER, THE MOGUL, who then reigned in Cabul, to undertake the conquest of Hindostan. But the great project of BABER for the invasion of Hindostan, was not yet mature. Alla, the brother of Ibrahim, who had been ejected from his government of Debalpour, had fled in disgust to Cabul, and he was dispatched with a great force to his assistance. Alla in his progress was joined by most of the omrahs of those parts, so that his army soon consisted of upwards of forty thousand horse, with which he marched to, and invested Delhi. Ibrahim resolved to march against him, but when he came within six cosses of Alla's army, his camp was surprised by that prince in the night. A confused and tumultuous fight was maintained till day-break, when Ibrahim found that he was deserted by some of his omrahs, who had joined Alla ; but at the same time observing that the troops of Alla were dispersed in bodies, plundering the royal camp, he rallied a number of his troops, and the greatest part of his elephants; with these he returned to the attack, and drove him off the field, with great slaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph, and Alla, seeing no hopes of reducing it, retreated to Panjab.

No other remarkable event happened in the empire till Baber led his army against Ibrahim, as in the next reign will be related more at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire from the Afghan tribe of Lodi, to the family of the great Timur Bec. His death on that field took place, after a reign of twenty years, in

A. H. 932, or A. D. 1525. Ibrahim possessed bravery and talents; but both were obscured by his haughty and sanguinary disposition.

For the first eight years of the emperor Ibrahim, Ismael, the first of the Sofi family, reigned in Persia. He was succeeded by his son Shah Tahmasp, who acceded to the Persian throne, upon the death of his father, which happened in the nine hundred and thirtieth year of the Hegirah.

CHAPTER III.

BABER, *Founder of the* MOGUL DYNASTY *in India—the History of his Irruptions and Progress in the Conquest of Hindostan from the* VAKEAT BABERI, *or* BABER'S *Commentaries—after the Defeat and Death of* IBRAHIM, *the Conqueror every where attacks the* PATANS, *and for the most part successfully—liberal to profusion of the vast Treasures found at* DELHI *and* AGRA*—attempted to be poisoned by the Mother of Ibrahim, but surmounts the Danger—his great martial Skill, and his unequalled Magnanimity under extreme Difficulty—in a general Battle he again defeats the combined Omrahs of* PATAN *extraction—his Death and exalted Character.*—HUMAIOON *ascends the Throne of his Father—commences a vigorous War against* BAHADUR, *King of Guzzerat, and displays, in the course of it, uncommon Gallantry.—Rebellion of* SHERE KHAN, *the Afghan; ungenerous Conduct of the Brothers of* HUMAIOON*—that Prince unfortunate in several Engagements with* SHERE; *compelled at length to fly from Hindostan, and seek Refuge at the Court of Persia—dreadful Distress endured in that Flight*—SHERE KHAN *seizes upon the Throne.—Short History of this daring Usurper.—By a Stratagem he takes* ROTAS, *a Fortress deemed impregnable—conquers the Kingdom of* BENGAL*—reduces* MALVA*—takes* RANTAMPORE*—takes* CHITORE, *at the Siege of which he is killed by the bursting of a Shell.—Though an Usurper, his Conduct as an Emperor marked by strict Justice, and by Deeds of public Magnificence, of which many Monuments yet remain in Hindostan.—Succeeded by his younger Son* SELIM*—in Opposition to the just Claim of* ADIL, *his eldest.—In consequence of this Infringement of a Brother's Right, his Reign is distracted by Commotion and Rebellion.*

*—Having escaped various Attempts to assassinate him, he is carried off by a Fistula, after a short Reign, distinguished neither by prominent Virtue, nor glaring Vice.—*MOHAMMED *having massacred Feron, the infant Son of Selim, causes himself to be crowned—ignorant, debauched, polluted with Blood and Crime, he is soon driven from his ill-gotten Throne by* IBRAHIM III. *his Cousin and Brother-in-law, who, in his turn, is attacked and defeated by* SECUNDER, *bound by the same ties of affinity, and who afterwards assumes the Imperial Titles at Agra. These intestine Commotions pave the way for the triumphant Return of* HUMAIOON *to the Throne of his illustrious Progenitor, and by that Return was effected the Extinction of the second* PATAN *Dynasty, commencing in* SHERE, *and terminating in* IBRAHIM.

BABER, THE FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL DYNASTY IN INDIA.

THE reader has already been presented, towards the close of the preceding chapter, * with a concise sketch of the daring character, and singular adventures of Sultan Baber, extracted from Herbelot, and all the attainable sources in my power at the time that portion of this work was originally composed. As the history of Baber, in Ferishta, is professedly taken from the VAKEAT BABERI, or *Commentaries of Baber,* written by himself; we shall pay more than usual attention to that authentic narrative of the exploits of the GREAT FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL DYNASTY OF INDIAN SOVEREIGNS.

With the early efforts of his bravery when manfully contending against the overwhelming armies of Uzbeck Tartars, headed by Shah Bakht, that eventually deprived him of his patrimony, the thrones of Fargana and Samarcand, this history has no particular

* Consult page 46 preceding, et seq.

concern. Compelled finally to abdicate the throne of his ancestors, we have seen the royal exile retire to GAZNA, on the frontiers of Hindostan, which his arms had subdued, to plan the subjugation of that great empire.

When Secunder, the emperor of Hindostan, died, he was succeeded, as we have already related, by Ibrahim the Second, in whose reign the Patan, or Afghan chiefs of the imperial family of Lodi, became so factious, that they totally broke the power of that empire. Baber esteemed this a good opportunity to establish himself in India, the conquest of which he had long meditated, though he was always embroiled in other affairs. Baber accordingly, in the year A. H. 925, or A. D. 1519, marched his army as far as the Nilab, or blue river, one of the branches of the Indus. He subdued all the countries in his way, and crossing that river, advanced to Berah, in Panjab, raising heavy contributions, according to the Mogul maxims of war, for with-holding his troops from plunder. He sent from Berah an embassy to the emperor Ibrahim, acquainting him, that as that country had been for many years in the possession of the house of Timur, it was proper he should now relinquish his pretensions to it, and thus prevent the war from being carried further into India. He appointed Hassen Beg, governor of the conquered countries as far as Chinaab; he then marched in person against the Gickers, and besieged the fort of Pirhala, whither Hati, their chief, had retired. The Gickers were tempted to take the field, and were defeated by Doost Beg, the Mogul general, while the king in person cut off their retreat to the fort, and obliged them to fly to the mountains. The fort, in which there was a considerable treasure, fell by this means into his hands, which satisfied Baber for the present, and he returned to Cabul.

In the latter end of the same year Baber returned to Hindostan, with an intention to take Lahore, and in his way chastised some

Patans of the tribe of Zehi, who molested him in his march. He built a fort at Peshawir, and then advanced to the Indus. He there received intelligence, that the king of Kashgar, or Little Bucharia, had marched into Badachshan, which obliged him to return, leaving the prince Mohammed, one of the descendants of Timur, with four thousand horse, to support his authority in that country. He had not, however, reached Cabul, before he heard that the king of Kashgar had been obliged to retreat. Baber, therefore, turned his face against the Afghans, who began to make depredations upon the kingdom of Cabul in his absence, and severely chastised them for their insolence, spoiled their country, and returned to his capital.

Baber, in the following year, marched a third time towards India, chastising the Patans in his way, till he reached Salcot, the inhabitants of which country submitted, and saved their possessions. But the people of Seidpoor, erecting the standard of defence, were, in the end, put all to the sword, their wealth given up to depredation, and their children and wives carried away captive. Baber was here alarmed by intelligence from Cabul, that obliged him to return, for the Kandharians had invaded his country. He marched against them, drove them out of the field, and invested their capital.

Soon after the surrender of Kandar, Dowlat Lodi, apprehensive of the emperor Ibrahim, sent a deputation to Baber, at Cabul, begging his protection. Baber, in the year 930, augmented his army, and advanced within six crores of Lahore, where Par Lodi, and Bicken Lohani, who were powerful omrahs of Panjab, joined their forces, and opposed him; but they were defeated with great slaughter. Baber, in person, marched to Lahore, and took it, setting fire to the bazar, according to a superstitious custom of the Moguls.

The king remained four days only in Lahore, and then advanced against Debalpoor. He summoned the place to surrender; but

as the garrison forced him to risque an assault, in which he was successful, he put them all to the sword. Dowlat Lodi, with his three sons, joined Baber at Debalpoor, and the father was appointed to the government of Jallender, Sultanpoor, and other districts of Panjab, which rendered him very powerful. From particular circumstances that greatly affected Baber's interest in Hindostan, he thought it no ways advisable to proceed to Delhi this year. He accordingly returned to Lahore, and having appointed governors to the different countries in his possession in India, set out for Cabul.

During Baber's absence, Dowlat Lodi, marching with a formidable army to Debalpoor, fought Alla, the brother of the emperor Ibrahim, and Baba Kiska, and defeating them, subdued that country. Alla fled to Cabul, and Baba to Lahore. Dowlat sent five thousand Afghans against Salcot, but Mir Aziz, governor of Lahore, immediately marched, with what forces he had, to the assistance of Kokiltash, who held the government of Salcot, and meeting with this detachment of Afghans, defeated them, and returned to Lahore.

Much about this time, an army, on the part of Ibrahim, emperor of Delhi, marched against Dowlat Lodi and his son. Dowlat turned his army to give them battle, and, having met them at Bidwarrah, found means to stir up a faction in his own favour in the imperial camp, insomuch that such as were not disaffected were obliged to fly the camp, and return to Ibrahim.

Alla, who had lost his government of Debalpoor, and had fled to Cabul, now arrived in Lahore, with orders from Baber to all his officers in those parts, to join him with all their forces, and march towards Delhi, and that he would support them in person as soon as his affairs at home would permit. Dowlat and Ghazi Lodi, hearing of this order, acquainted the Mogul omrahs, that they were glad to find that Baber espoused the cause of Alla, who was the very person they themselves would choose to raise to the throne of

Delhi; that if they would, therefore, send him to them, they would undertake to place him upon the musnud. The Mogul chiefs, having first obtained a grant for Baber of all the countries to the north-west of the Indus, permitted Alla to join the Lodis himself, without complying further with their master's orders. When accordingly Alla arrived in their camp, Dowlat and his son supplied him with the greatest part of their force, with which he marched towards Delhi, and invested it, as before related, with forty thousand horse. In the mean time, the emperor Ibrahim advanced against his brother from Agra, and was surprised in the night, when he had nearly reached the city; but, by the irregular behaviour of Alla's army, who, in the morning, dispersed themselves to plunder, they were fallen upon by Ibrahim, and defeated in their turn, which obliged Alla to retreat in great distress to Panjab. When Baber heard of the defeat of Alla, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury which he had indulged for some time in Cabul, and, in the beginning of the spring of the year 932, marched the fifth time towards Hindostan. He was joined by his son Humaioon, with a great force, from Badachshan, and Chaja Callan, with the troops from Gazna. He took the rout of Lahore, and in the way used to hunt rhinoceroses, with which that country abounded, and thus had an opportunity of putting the personal bravery of most of his chiefs to trial, as that was a dangerons and warlike exercise. Many of those animals were killed, and some taken alive in toils.

Upon the first of the month Ribbi, Baber crossed the Indus, and upon the banks of that river mustered his army, which consisted of only ten thousand chosen horse. Crossing then that branch of the Indus which is called Behat, he advanced to Salcot, where Alla met him, and likewise Ali, governor of Cullanore, and Hassen, the collector of the revenues in those provinces. Dowlat Lodi and his son Ghazi who had enrolled themselves publicly in the service of Alla, now lay upon the banks of the Ravi, near Lahore, with an

army of forty thousand men; but when Baber advanced towards them, they fled; Dowlat to the fort of Milwit, and Ghazi to the skirts of the hills. Baber invested Milwit, and Dowlat, after a few days, capitulated. It seems, that some days before he put on two swords, and boasted what he would do to Baber. Baber now ordered those two swords to be hung round his neck, and in that manner Dowlat was brought to his presence; but notwithstanding his behaviour, the king forgave all his crimes, and took him into favour. When the gates of the fort were opened, the troops pressed in an irregular manner, and began to plunder. Baber, upon this, mounted his horse, and entering, was under the necessity of using violence, to prevent their outrages. He killed, upon this occasion, a principal officer of his son Humaioon's retinue, with an arrow, for which he was extremely grieved, as it happened by mistake. The king, by this means, saved the honour of Dowlat's family, who were all in the place, and preserved a noble library which he had collected, Dowlat being a poet and a man of learning.

Baber having, in several actions, perceived the inferiority of the Indian troops to his own, determined to delay no longer his final attempt upon the empire. He accordingly marched towards Delhi, having some letters of encouragement, at the same time, from a few of the malcontents at the court of Ibrahim. When he had reached the banks of the Giger, he heard that the governor of Firosa was waiting to oppose him in front, with the troops of those parts. Baber, therefore, sent his son Humaioon, with some of his most experienced officers, to drive the governor from his post, which they effected, and returned victorious to the army. As this was the first battle in which Prince Humaioon commanded, his father was greatly rejoiced, and gave him the countries of Firosa and Jallender in jaghire. Two days after, Meian, a chief of the party of Ibrahim, appeared in sight, and desired to join Baber's colours with three thousand Patan horse, and was accordingly entertained in his service.

Baber having arrived within two stages of Shawabad, received intelligence that Ibrahim, with a great army, had marched out of Delhi to oppose him, and that Daood and Hatim formed his vanguard with twenty seven thousand horse. The sultan immediately detached Timur, and other nobles, with all the troops of the left wing, against this advanced post. They accordingly fell in with them the next morning at sun-rise, and after an obstinate conflict, put Daood and Hatim to flight, but the latter fell in the pursuit. The victors took seven elephants, and a great number of prisoners, with whom they returned to Baber; but he, deviating from his usual humane conduct, put them to death, by way of striking terror into his enemies.

Baber advancing to the field of battle, encamped there six days, ordering chains to be made to link the carrriages of his guns together, to prevent the horse from breaking through them. The imperial army under Ibrahim, by this time, consisted of one hundred thousand horse, and a thousand elephants; that of Baber, of thirteen thousand only. When Ibrahim had advanced sufficiently near, Baber ordered five thousand horse to attack the Indian camp in the night; but, finding the enemy upon their guard, this detachment returned without attempting any thing.

This retreat hastened Ibrahim to action, and accordingly he marched next morning to Panniput. Baber, at the same time, advanced within twelve miles of Ibrahim's encampment. Upon the day after, the two armies came in sight of each other. Baber divided his troops into two lines, and four grand divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front. The first division on the right was commanded by Prince Humaioon. The first on the left was under the orders of the King's cousin Mohammed. The second, on the right towards the centre, was commanded by Timur. The second, to the left towards the centre, by the noble Chalifa. Chusero, and other omrahs, were appointed to command the light horse in the front. There was a

reserve in the rear of both lines, that on the right commanded by Casim, and that on the left by Ali. The king himself took his post in the centre of the first line, after having personally given orders to his generals.

The emperor Ibrahim, ignorant of the art of war, observed no regular order of battle, but drew up his forces in one great line or column of unequal depth, and ordered them to charge the Mogul army, vainly imagining that he could bear them down with numbers. But he found himself soon fatally deceived. So formidable were the Moguls to the Patans, from their known courage and steady order, that the emperor's unweildly column began to break and grow thin, before they came up to the charge, which was directed against the centre of the Mogul army. Those who advanced were repulsed with great bravery, but when they sought to retreat, they found themselves surrounded; for the two bodies of reserve, in the rear of the Mogul line, had wheeled round their flanks, and meeting in the centre, fell upon the rear of those who had advanced to the charge, by which means the Patans were almost all cut to pieces. The reserve having performed this service, retired to their post in the rear, and the Mogul lines advanced, sustaining various irregular charges from the Indian army, whom they repulsed with great slaughter.

Ibrahim, at last roused with shame and indignation, advanced in person, followed by the flower of his army, and gave such a violent shock to the Mogul line, as threw it into disorder. Nothing now but personal bravery was left to decide the day; but in this, and the compact form in which the Moguls whole force was wedged, they were still superior to the Indians. Five thousand fell with Ibrahim in one small spot of ground. The Patan army, when their king was slain, recoiled like surges from a rocky shore, and the torrent of flight rolled towards the banks of the Jumna, dying the course of that river with blood; for so far did Baber continue the

pursuit; but being wearied with slaughter, he gave hope to fear, and respite to death.

According to the most moderate accounts there were sixteen thousand Patans killed in this action, though some say fifty thousand. Of the loss of Baber we have no information; conquerors having it always in their power to conceal the number of their slain. We may date from this battle, the fall of the Patan empire, though that race afterwards made many efforts, and recovered it, for a few years, as we shall see in the life of Humaioon.

Baber did not fail to make the best use of his victory. Immediately after the battle, he detached the Prince Humaioon, and three of his principal omrahs, to Agra, before they could have time to recover from their consternation, or to remove their wealth. He also sent his cousin Mohammed, and three other chiefs, to Delhi, to take possession of that capital, while he himself came up in the rear, and, on the twelfth of Rigib, entered the city. The chutba was read in his name, by Zein the metropolitan of Delhi; and, after having surveyed the city, and visited the tombs of the saints and heroes, he set out for Agra, where he arrived the twenty-fifth of the same month, and immediately invested the fort, which was in possession of the former government, garrisoned by the troops of the Raja of Gualior, who had been killed in the action. But so much had the terror of the Mogul arms now taken possession of every mind, that they immediately desired to capitulate, and sent him, by way of ransom, a perfect diamond weighing two hundred and twenty-four ruttys,* which was formerly the property of the emperor Alla. Baber presented it to his son Humaioon. Thus, upon the fifth day after his arrival, he was put in possession of the place, in which he found the mother of Ibrahim, who was treated with becoming respect, and permitted to enjoy all her wealth.

Upon the twentieth of Rigib, Baber went into the treasury, which

* A rutty is seven eighths of a carat.

was very rich. He reserved not a single dinar for himself, but divided the whole among his omrahs and troops; the share of the former amounting to two lacks of rupees each; and those of others were proportionable to their rank and stations. A part was sent to Cabul, to be divided among Baber's subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharoch,* besides presents, which he sent to Samarcand, Chorasan, Mecca, Medina, and other holy places, in charity. This generosity, which bordered upon prodigality, fixed upon Baber the name of Collinder, whose custom it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

As the Patans were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, they still refused to submit, and appeared every where in arms, strengthening their forts, and erecting the standard of defiance in their different provinces. But as it was necessary to form an alliance for their mutual defence, they unanimously appointed Par Chan, the son of Diria Lodi, their general, or, rather, king, by the title of Sultan Mohammed; and all rendezvousing at Canouge, advanced towards Agra. At the same time Mai, the Afghan chief who had joined Baber, deserted him, with all his adherents: even the inhabitants of the country round Agra cut off his foraging parties, and rendered it very difficult for him to support his cavalry, or supply his troops with provisions: Add to this, the intolerable heat of the weather, by which a great many Moguls, not being accustomed to such a climate, died.

In this situation of affairs, Baber received an address from all his chiefs, requesting him to return to Cabul; to which he replied, That a kingdom which had cost him so much pains in acquiring, was not to be wrested from him but by death alone. He at the same time issued a proclamation, that he was determined to abide his fate in India; but if any person was desirous of returning to Cabul, preferring safety to glory, and ignoble ease to the manly toils and dangers of war, they might retire in peace, and leave him only

* A silver sharoch is in value about a shilling sterling.

those whose valor would reflect honour on themselves, and glory on their king and country. The omrahs hearing this, were ashamed of their former behavior, and, striking their breasts, swore they would never forsake him. When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindostan, as his ancestor Timur had done, some omrahs, who were willing to be first in favor, began to come over to him; first, Gurin, with three thousand horse, from between the rivers, offered his service, which was accepted. The next was Formalli, from Mewat, to redeem his sons who had been taken in the battle; then Firose and Chirmali, with the whole of their dependents. Baber, encouraged by this, sent his son Humaioon, with the greatest part of his army, against the confederate Patan omrahs, whose forces amounted to fifty thousand horse; but, upon Humaioon's approach, they retreated from Canouge to Jionpoor. Humaioon having prevailed upon Fati, the former emperor's vizier, to join him, sent him to the king at Agra, who treated him with the utmost respect and favour, which induced several other Afghan chiefs to come over to his interest.

Nizam, governor of Biana, though he was now hard pressed by Rana Sinka, who aspired to be the sole master of that province, still refused to submit to the king's authority, which obliged Baber to send Baba Kuli against him with a detachment, which was defeated. But Rana Sinka soon after reduced Nizam to such extremities, that he sent a deputation to Baber, begging pardon for his offence, and requesting he would support him, for which he was ready to pay him due allegiance. The king, glad of the opportunity, made no hesitation to embrace the offer, and, sending a force to drive off Rana, Nizam was put in possession of the place, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, for the annual payment of twenty lacks of rupees.

Tatar and Saring, who were in possession of the fort of Gualior, being besieged by the Indian prince of that country, in the same

manner addressed the king for succours. Baber dispatched a detachment, which defeated the rajah, but Saring recalled his promise, and refused to deliver up the place. However, it was at length obtained by a stratagem, in which philosophy condescended to become the pander to ambition.

In the year 933, Chajagi, who had been sent ambassador from Cabul to congratulate Shah Tahmasp, king of Persia, upon his accession, returned, accompanied by Soliman, and brought various curiosities; but that which pleased the king most, was two beautiful female slaves, just come to maturity, of whom he became greatly enamoured. The mother of the emperor Ibrahim, who had been before the greatest favourite in the seraglio, incensed at this change in the sultan's affections, conspired with the taster and cook to poison him. The poison was accordingly administred in some hare-soup; but the king, after eating a few spoonfuls, nauseated the taste, and immediatele vomited, which saved his life. After proper enquiry had been made, the taster and cook denying their knowledge of any such thing, the king ordered a dog to be brought, who having eat of the soup, was soon seized with convulsions, and died. Two of the under cooks being also brought to the trial, expired in the same manner: upon which the taster and head cook, with several of their assistants, were put to the torture. The plot was discovered, and the mother of Ibrahim cast into prison, and all her wealth confiscated. One of Ibrahim's sons was sent at the same time to Cabul, where he remained in banishment. Prince Humaioon having defeated the omrahs at Jionpoor, left Birlass to keep those provinces in awe, and returned himself to court, having upon his way conciliated matters with Allum, governor of Calpee, who now accompanied him, and was received with great respect.

The king was, at this time, suddenly alarmed by advices that many Patan omrahs, with Mahmood, the son of the emperor Secunder, and other chiefs and rajas in alliance, whose force

exceeded one hundred thousand horse, were preparing to attack him. Baber, having no dependence on the Patan chiefs who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls hastened towards the enemy. His van guard falling in with their's, upon the frontiers of Biana, after a sharp conflict, were repulsed by the enemy with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the king's small army. Neazi fled to Simbol, Hassen joined the enemy, and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters. Nor did the predictions of Sherif a little add to the general consternation. This pretended wizard averred, that Brisput* (in Sanscreet VRIHASPATI) was in the east, and consequently, that whoever marched from the west should be overthrown.

The king perceiving this panic, called, immediately, a council of war. The greatest part of the officers gave it, as their opinion, that as the superiority of the enemy was evident, it was advisable to leave a strong garrison in Agra, and to retreat with the bulk of the army to Panjab. Baber, with a sullen aspect, fixed his eyes in silence upon the ground. He at length sternly asked the chiefs, What would the world say of a monarch, whom the fear of death should oblige to abandon such a kingdom? "The voice of glory," said he, "is loud in my ear, and forbids me to disgrace my name, by giving up what my arms have, with so much difficulty, acquired. But as death is at last unavoidable, let us rather meet him with honour, face to face, than shrink back, to gain a few years of a miserable and ignominious existence; for what can we inherit but fame, beyond the limits of the grave." The whole assembly, as if inspired with one soul, cried out at once, "War! War!" The king, having been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow never to drink any more, should he, upon this occasion, prove victorious.

* The planet Mars.

Upon the ninth of the second Jimmad, of the year 933, which happened to be Norose,* Baber formed his line of battle, with his guns and rockets in his front. In that order he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the distance of six miles. But after he had advanced two miles he halted, and encamped his army. Several young warriors, fond of distinguishing themselves, issued out, under the command of Mohammed Casim, to skirmish with the enemy's scouts and advanced guards, among whom they did great execution.

The king next day advanced two miles further, and marked out his camp at the village of Kava, but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy advancing upon him. He formed his line with great expedition, in the manner which he had practised for some days before, and in a few minutes was able to receive the shock of battle. His order of fight was as follows: the line, which upon this occasion was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the king's life guard's in the centre, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the king placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery and rocket-waggons were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and center. The guns were chained together, so that there was a kind of fortification formed against the enemy's cavalry. The brigade immediately to the right of the center was commanded by Timur, consisting of his own tribe, and the troops of many other omrahs of distinction. The brigade to the left of the centre was under the immediate orders of Allum, a descendant of the emperor Beloli, and composed of his national troops, and those of five other nobles. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by prinoe Humaioon, and of these the right-hand brigade consisted of the troops of Casim Hussein, and other chiefs of family

* New-year's day.

and experience in war. The left-hand battalion of prince Humaioon's division was made up of the troops of Seid Amir, and of those of other six nobles of the Mogul race.

The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Chaja; the left-hand battalion of whose division was composed of different squadrons, commanded by their respective chiefs. The right-hand brigade was made up of the troops of Angi the Mogul, and those of Kumal, of the race of Alla, formerly emperor of India. The light horse of the left wing were commanded by Tirdi Beg; and those of the right wing by Mahmud Casim. Mohammed, the captain-general, took post before the king, with all his yessawils,* and a choice body of horse.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy, charging the right of the Moguls, soon fell in hand to hand, with the battalions of Kokultash and Malleck Casim, and compelled them to give way. But Timur, by the Sultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, seized upon their ground, and falling upon the assailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light horse pursuing them with great slaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being so numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the king, and came down upon him from all sides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was condensed into a circle. In this position he resisted the repeated assaults of the Patans till three o'clock, Alla Kuli of Rumi †, who commanded the artillery, making great slaughter among them.

Baber finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated assaults, determined to act offensively, to drive them quite out of the field.

* Aids-de-camp.

† Rumi is the Mohammedan name of the lesser Asia, so called from its being a part of the Roman empire. It is remarkable that the Eastern nations call the Ottomans, Romans to this day.

He therefore put himself at the head of the brigades of Timur and Allum, and charging them like a lion rushing from the forest, after an obstinate resistance put their whole army to flight. Hassen of Mewat was killed with a cannon shot, and Raw Luddive, Chunder Ban, Mannuk Chohan, Kirim Sing, all powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the dead. The king, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazi; and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built upon an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lack of rupees, and banished from the kingdom.

In the year 934 the king marched for the purpose of hunting towards Kole and Simbol. Having diverted himself with the chase for some time, he returned to his capital, and was taken ill of a fever, of which however he soon recovered. He then marched towards Chinderi, where Medeni Rai, a Hindoo chief, had shut himself up with a strong garrison of Rajaputs. The place was invested, and the Rajaputs sallied out and attacked the king; but they paid dear for their rashness, and lost six thousand men upon the field. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it longer against the enemy, according to their dreadful custom, murdered their wives and children in the following manner: they placed a sword in the hand of one of their chiefs, and he successively slew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent, of their own accord, their necks before him; they even contended among themselves for the honour of being first slain. The soldiers then sprinkled a yellow powder over their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, issued forth with their swords and shields, and sought after that death,

which they all obtained. The fort, wholly empty, fell into the hands of the Moguls.

The Emperor's relation Ashkari, who governed Multan, was this year ordered to court, and having exhibited the tokens of obedience, he was commanded to go against Nuserit, one of the Patan chiefs, on the borders of the Decan. Nuserit, hearing of the approach of the Moguls, sent an ambassador to the king, subjecting himself to the royal authority. Nizam Beri, prince of Ahmednagur, at the same time sent to congratulate Baber on his good fortune, and proffered obedience. Baber, towards the close of this year, received advices that Mahmud, the son of the emperor Secunder Lodi, had possessed himself of the province of Behar, and that one Bellocha had erected the standard of rebellion in Multan. The king sent orders to his omrahs in the north-west, concerning the affairs of Multan, and marched in person towards Behar. When he arrived at Kurrah, Jellal, descended of that dynasty of Patans who stiled themselves Emperors of the East, prepared a royal entertainment for him, and was honoured with his presence. Zeman was detached from Kurrah to the conquest of Behar, and he quickly drove Mahmud out of the field.

But a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting themselves together a second time, advanced to the Ganges, opposite to Hideri. The king detached Ashkari with a division of the troops to oppose them, and the next day followed that officer with the whole army. When he came to the banks of the river, and saw the enemy on the opposite bank, he was preparing boats to cross; but Timur begged permission to go before. As soon as he made his landing good with eighty horse, Ashkari, who had crossed at another place, appeared in the enemies rear; and they immediately took to flight. The king, after this action, left Junied Birlass to prosecute the war in conjunction with Nuserit, and returned to pass the rainy season in Agra.

In the year 936 the sultan fell sick, and his disorder continued daily to gain strength, in spite of the power of medicine. Despairing at last of life, he recalled his son Humaioon, who was then besieging the fort of Callinger, and appointed him his successor. Upon Monday, the fifth of the first Jemmad, in A. H. 973, or, A. D. 1530, he resigned in peace that life which he had so often exposed in war. According to his will, his body was carried to Cabul, and interred in a holy sepulchre.

What shall we say of Baber, the wonder of the age in which he lived! He mounted a throne at twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty-eight. He was a prince of great humanity, and carried his generosity to such excess, that it bordered upon prodigality.

He was of the sect of the Hanifites, in whose doctrine and tenets he was perfectly versed; yielding more to the evidence of reason, than to the absurd legends of superstitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worship which is due to the great Creator, nor a contemner of those laws and ceremonies which are founded on sound policy. He was a master in the arts of poetry, writing, and music. He wrote his own Commentaries in the Mogul language, with such elegance and propriety, that they are universally admired. This work was translated, in the reign of Akbar, by Chan Chanan, into the Persian language, and from it we have abridged the preceding history of the life of Baber.

In his person, he was something above the middle size, nervous, and well formed. His countenance was pleasant, and in disposition he was easy, facetious, and affable.

To establish his reputation for justice and honor, we shall relate one instance out of many. When he was prince of Argana, a rich caravan of Chitta and China, which was crossing the mountains of Indija, was buried in the snow. He ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident,

and bring the owners, or their heirs, to his court. Upon their arrival, at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them all their goods, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for his expences.

Notwithstanding his great vigour in war, he was much addicted to wine and women, and all the fashionable pleasures of courts. He sometimes used, when he had an inclination to make merry, to fill a fountain with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this purpose: " Jovial days! Blooming springs! Old wine, and young maidens! Enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is not twice to be enjoyed!" He then would sit down in the midst of his friends, drink freely, and feast his eyes on the daughters of beauty who danced before him.

Whithersoever he marched, or rode, he had the road measured after him. He also made a statute concerning the measurement of distances, which still remains in force.

With respect to his military character, he seems to have had few that could equal him. He rendered the most dangerous enterprizes easy, by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much more the object of admiration in his adversity, than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he forget himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterises a soul truly heroic.

Tahmasp, the second of the Sophi dynasty, began his reign seven years before the death of Baber. He held the empire of all Persia and Maver-ul-nere or Transoxiana, in peace for more than ten years after his accession. The provinces between Chorasan and India remained in the house of Baber.

HUMAIOON.

The Prince HUMAIOON, immediately after the death of Baber, mounted the throne of his father, in India. He was devoted to the study of astronomy, and took great delight in judicial astrology. He is said to have fitted up seven houses of entertainment, and named them after the seven planets. In each he gave public audience, according to the ruling planet of the day, ordering all the furniture, paintings, and also the dresses of those who waited upon him, to bear something that was an emblem of the tutelar star of the house. In the house of the Moon met foreign ambassadors, travellers, and poets; military men attended him in the house of Brisput;* and judges, lawgivers, and secretaries, were received in that of the Recorder of Heaven.†

But the urgency of public affairs did not permit Humaioon to follow long these innocent vagaries of peace and leisure. In the first year of his reign he led an army against the strong fortress of Callinger, and invested the place. While the king carried on the siege, Mahmud, the son of the emperor Secunder Lodi, in conjunction with Bein the Afghan, took possession of Jionpoor, and kindled the flames of war in the eastern provinces. Humaioon, having received intelligence of these commotions, decamped from before Callinger, marched to Jionpoor, in a pitched battle overthrew the Afghans, and reinstated Juneid Birlass in his former government of that province.

The emperor, after this signal victory, returned to Agra, and bestowed honorary dresses upon above twelve thousand of his courtiers. He in the mean time dispatched a herald to Shere Khan, and demanded possession of the fortress of Chunâr,‡ which

* The planet Mars. † Mercury.

‡ Chunâr is a very strong fortress in the province of Oude, within seven crores of Benares. Both Shere Khan and Sultan Bahadur were governors under the former empire, and had, after the death of Ibrahim, assumed independence.

being refused, Humaioon marched his army that way. When the king lay before Chunâr, he was informed that Bahadur, king of Guzzurat, had turned towards him the points of his spears. This obliged him hastily to conclude a sort of peace with Shere, and to return towards Agra. Cuttub, the son of Shere, whom the emperor had taken as an hostage, found means on the way to make his escape, and to return to his father at Chunâr.

Mohammed Zeman, of the race of Timur, the grandson of Hussein, aspired to the throne, and was supported in his pretensions by the omrahs of Chigittai. The plot was discovered, and the leader of the conspiracy pardoned; but Humaioon finding him a second time meditating treasonable practices, he ordered him to be confined in the fortress of Biana. Orders were given to put out the eyes of Mohammed Sultan and Nuserit Mirza, for being the principal abettors of the prince's ambitious designs; but the person to whom it was intrusted to inflict this punishment, saved the eyes of the former, while the latter found means to escape to Guzzurat. Sultan, by the aid of his sons Ali Mirza and Shah Mirza, who formed a party, was carried away to Canouge, where he was joined by about six thousand Moguls, Afghans, and Rajaputs.

Humaioon sent to Bahadur, under whose dominion was the city of Canouge, and commanded him to deliver up Mohammed; but he rejected the orders in an insolent manner, which obliged the emperor to march against him. Bahadur king of Guzzurat had, about this time, resolved to wrest the fort of Chitor from the Rana. Rana threw himself under the protection of Humaioon; but the emperor, for what reason is not known, having advanced as far as Gualior, encamped there for two months, and returned, without effecting any thing, to Agra. Rana, despairing of relief, sent a crown and a considerable sum of money to Bahadur, which induced him to raise the siege.

Bahadur, whose affairs were now in a very prosperous situation,

by the reduction of Mandu, and other places, began to shew his contempt of Humaioon, by advancing the conspirator Mohammed to great honours. He also prompted Alla, descended of the emperor Beloli Lodi, to attempt possessing himself of the throne of Delhi. He for this purpose made Tatar, the son of Sultan Alla, his general, and dispatched him, with forty thousand men, against Humaioon, with which he subdued Biana, and advanced to the environs of Agra.

This pressing danger awakened the king from his lethargy. He immediately sent his brother, the prince Hindal, with a force to oppose Tatar. When the armies approached one another, there was so great a desertion from Tatar's troops, that, in the space of ten days, ten thousand horse scarce remained to him. He however resolved with these to stand his ground, and give battle to the imperial army; but he was totally overthrown, lost the greatest part of his troops, three hundred officers of distinction, and his own life. Hindal after this victory retook Biana, and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, and returned in triumph to Agra.

Bahadur, in the year 940, marched a second time towards Chitore; and in the mean time Humaioon ordered a fort to be built in Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna, which he called Panna. The sultan soon after marched towards Saringpoor, then governed by Bahadur, as king of Guzzurat, and wrote to him a sarcastic couplet, unworthy of the dignity and majesty of a king.

Bahadur, after receiving the above insult, summoned a council of war. It was the decided opinion of the majority, that as Humaioon had all his force with him, it were better to raise the siege, and march against him, and thus at once terminate the contest. Others urged, that Humaioon was so rigid in his religious principles, that he would not disturb them in their war with idolaters; that therefore it was most adviseable to finish the siege, which was now far

advanced, and afterwards to think of other matters. Bahadur himself favoured the latter opinion. The siege was accordingly continued; and Humaioon, piquing himself upon his religious principles, continued loitering at Saringpoor till Bahadur had taken the fort. Bahadur, in the year 941, marched with great expedition against Humaioon, who, hearing of his approach, marched forward to meet him. The two armies appeared in front of each other near Munsoor. Bahadur, who had collected a great train of artillery, by advice of his engineer, Rumi Chan, entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in his front. This prevented Humaioon from risquing an attack, and both armies continued in sight of each other for the space of two months. Daily skirmishes were in the mean time fought, with various success.

Humaioon, finding that he could not draw Bahadur out of his trenches, employed all his attention to cut off his supplies. He ordered his horse, in successive bodies of five or six thousand, to scour the rear of the enemy, by which means famine began soon to be severely felt in their camp; men, horses, elephants, and camels, perishing daily in great numbers.

Bahadur, instead of making one brave effort to relieve himself, permitted base fear and despair to seize upon him; and, with only five friends, left his camp in the night, and fled towards Mandu. This was no sooner known than the flight became general, the chiefs dispersing themselves with their adherents. Humaioon in the morning ordered the pursuit to commence, which was continued as far as Mandu, with great slaughter of the unfortunate victims, who had neither the power to escape, nor the means to defend themselves. Bahadur threw himself into Mandu, and the place was closely invested.

In a few days three hundred Moguls scaled the walls of Mandu in the night; and though the garrison consisted of many thousands,

such was their panic, that they all betook themselves to flight. Bahadur escaped to Chapanier, which was then the capital of Guzzurat, while Sidder Khan, his captain general, who was dangerously wounded, not able to proceed farther, shut himself up in the fort of Sunkar, where, being besieged, he capitulated the second day, and was, on account of his excellent character, received into great favour. Sidder, during the pursuit, saved Bahadur, when almost taken by Humaioon, by throwing himself in between the kings, till his master had an opportunity of making his escape. But he himself was attacked with such violence by Humaioon, in person, that, after receiving many wounds, he got off with great difficulty.

The king, three days after the taking of Mandu, renewed the pursuit of Bahadur, who, having taken all his treasure and jewels out of the city of Chapanier, fled towards Amedabad. The king, giving up the city of Chapanier to plunder, and committing the siege of the citadel, which still held out, to Dowlat Birlass, continued to pursue Bahadur. The unfortunate Bahadur, hearing of his approach, fled to Cambay, but Humaioon pursuing him thither, he retired to the island of Diu; Humaioon arrived in Cambay the very evening of the same day in which Bahadur forsook it.

Humaioon remained a few days in this place, but hearing that Bahadur's wealth was mostly in the citadel of Chapanier, he returned to carry on that siege. Achtiar, who commanded in the place, defended it with great bravery. But though he had several years provision in the fort, he was covetous of more, and took in daily supplies by a certain part of the citadel, which was covered by a thick wood. The king, one day, reconnoitring the place, observed the proceedings of Achtiar, with regard to the provisions. He immediately seized upon a party of country people who carried the supplies through the woods. He persuaded, or rather commanded

them, to carry him, in disguise, to the place. They had admittance. The king made the necessary remarks, returned to his camp, and the same night ordered a quantity of iron spikes to be made.

He himself, with three hundred select men, went to the place, while feigned attacks were made upon every other quarter of the fort. As the access to this part of the fortress was extremely difficult, the attention of the enemy was entirely drawn towards other points of assault. This negligence of theirs furnished the king with an opportunity of fixing his iron spikes in the wall, by which means thirty-nine officers mounted, and the king himself made the fortieth. Before sun-rise his whole detachment was within the walls, when he displayed a signal which had been previously settled with his troops. They accordingly made a violent assault upon all sides, while Humaioon, at the head of his detachment, cried out, Alla Akbar! and forcing his way, sword in hand, through the enemy, possessed himself of one of the gates: he immediately opened it and admitted his troops, and all, except Achtiar and his family, who were in an outwork, were put to the sword. The governor defended himself so bravely, that he obtained terms of capitulation. The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness of the attempt by which it fell, rendered this action of the king equal, in the opinion of all mankind, to any thing of the like nature recorded in history. Here the treasure of Guzzurat, which had been collected in the course of many years, was distributed among the troops. He gave to the officers and soldiers what wealth could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value of the things to their rank and merit. All the riches of Europe and India, which had been there collected to a vast amount, were delivered over to plunder.

Soon after intelligence concerning the insurrection of Shere Khan, the Afghan, reached the royal ear. Humaioon, having marched into the eastern provinces, invested Chunâr, and reduced

that strong fortress, after a siege of six months. Having then gained the passes, he entered Bengal. Shere, in the mean time, carried away the treasure of the princes of Gour and Bengal, whom he had reduced, and fled to the mountains of Jarcund. The king continued his march to Gour, then the capital of Bengal, and took it. Having resided in that city for the space of three months, he was obliged, on account of the moist air of the country, by which the greatest part of his army fell sick, as well as by the rebellion of his brother the prince Hindal at Agra, to return.

Hindal had been sent to suppress Mohammed Mirza, who had escaped to Canouge; but instead of performing that service, as soon as he saw himself at the head of an army, the prince began to aspire to the throne. He accordingly marched back to Agra, where he discovered his treasonable intentions, by putting some of the principal people, who rejected his authority, to death. He thus enforced obedience, and throwing away every disguise, ordered the chutba to be read in his own name, and, with all the ensigns of royalty, marched to Delhi, and besieged it. The king, having heard of these proceedings, left Jehangire and Ibrahim to command in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. When he was about half way, Mohammed Zeman, of the race of Timur, who had formerly joined Bahadur, returned from Sind, and, being promised a pardon, joined the king with a considerable party. In the mean time Shere the Afghan, finding the king's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and his affairs further perplexed by the rebellion of Hindal, marched with his troops from Rotas, and came behind the king on the Jossa.* Both armies lay three months inactive, at a time when the king ought to have run all hazards, being every day insulted, and more and more distressed by the enemy, who prevented his crossing the river.

To add still to Humaioon's misfortunes, his other brother,

* Perhaps the Sone.

Camiran, instead of assisting him, ungenerously aspired to his throne, and marched with ten thousand horse from Lahore. When he arrived at Delhi, prince Hindal prevailed upon him to join his forces with his own, after which they both continued the siege. Ali, who commanded in the city, acquainted Camiran, that he could never think of betraying his trust, and rather than be so ungrateful to his prince, he was determined to shed the last drop of his blood; but that, if he would first possess himself of Agra, the capital, and entirely subdue his brother, he would then, and not till then, give up the city of Delhi. When Camiran and his brother found the governor so determined, and that the siege would cost them much blood and time, they set out together for Agra. When they had reached the environs of that city, the jealousy which the brothers naturally entertained of each other, the eyes of both being turned towards the throne, broke out into open war. Hindal, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwir with five thousand horse and three hundred elephants; and Camiran, entering Agra, assumed all the imperial ensigns.

Humaioon endeavoured, by every possible argument with his brothers, to bring about a coalition of interests against Shere, telling them, that their family quarrels would certainly, in the end, lose them that mighty empire, which had cost their father so much pains to conquer, and involve the family of Timur in one common ruin; that it was therefore adviseable to join against the common enemy, and afterwards divide the empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with his brothers, who were so blinded with ambition, that they were determined rather to lose all, than be contented with a part. They vainly hoped that after Shere had defeated Humaioon, they should be able to subdue Shere; and each had the folly to suppose, that he would be able to exclude the other, and thus reign alone.

At this juncture Shere sent the learned Chelili, a dervish of great

reputation, to Humaioon, to treat about a peace, which the king accepted with gladness, upon the following conditions: that Shere should content himself with Bengal and Behar, which he was to hold in the king's name, paying a small acknowledgment.

When the conditions were signed and ratified by mutual oaths, Humaioon, trusting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourse between both armies. This was what the perfidious Shere aimed at by the peace. He accordingly, next morning, surprised the emperor's camp before day-break, and totally defeated him. As the bridge of boats, which the king had been preparing, was not finished, there was no way of escape left, but by plunging into the river; all the boats being seized by a party of the enemy, who had turned the rear of the emperor's army. Humaioon, his nobles, and a great part of his army, were forced into the stream, where eight thousand Moguls, exclusive of Hindoos, were drowned, among whom was the prince Mohammed Zeman. This terrible overthrow happened to Humaioon in A. H. 946, or A. D. 1539.

The king, by the assistance of a waterman, having with great difficulty swam across the river, with a few who had survived the slaughter of this dreadful day, fled to Agra. Prince Camiran hearing of this defeat, hastened from Agra to Alwir, to consult with his brother Hindal. Finding that the Afghans were likely to prevail, they were ashamed of their behaviour to their brother, and, when it was too late, thought proper to support him. In the mean time, all the Mogul omrahs who were dispersed in the provinces, seeing that the power of their nation had sustained such a violent shock, found it also necessary to unite their strength. They accordingly hastened from all quarters to Agra; Jehangire and Ibrahim having left Bengal, and even Mohammed Mirza, who had rebelled in Canouge, joined now in the general cause against the Afghans.

Shere, in the mean time, advanced with an army to the banks of the Ganges, and detaching his son Cuttub over the river, possessed

himself of the adjacent provinces. Humaioon having received intelligence of these motions, ordered Hussein the Usbek against him with a great army. They met the enemy near Calpie, where an obstinate engagement took place, in which victory declaring for the Moguls, Cuttub, with a great part of his army, was cut off, and his head sent to Agra. The generals at the same time invited the king to come and have the honour of conquering Shere in person.

Humaioon accordingly marched with a hundred thousand horse, and crossing the Ganges near Canouge, sat down for the space of a month before the army of Shere, which consisted of little more than half his number. In the mean time Mohammed Mirza and his sons, who were remarkable for their treachery and ingratitude, fled to the enemy, with all their adherents, drawing many more after them, which again plunged the king into distress; for his army being dispirited, began to desert by thousands. To complete his misfortunes, the rainy season now commenced, and his camp was quite overflowed with water. The king therefore resolved to move his camp to higher ground.

On the tenth of Mohirrim, 947, Humaioon put his army in motion. He was attacked by Shere on his march, and defeated with great slaughter. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river then close to his rear, the flight turned that way, and thousands, to avoid the swords of the enemy, chose a more ignominious death in the water. A few only escaped with the king over the river, with whom he fled to Agra; the rest submitted themselves to the conquerors, or dispersed by various routes.

Shere, immediately after this victory, advanced towards Agra. The king was forced to retreat to Lahore, and there joined the greatest part of his Mogul omrahs, who had been dispersed since the action. Shere still continuing the pursuit, to make the best use of his victory, crossed the river of Jullanpoor, upon which the king was compelled to pass the river of Lahore, and retreat towards

Tatta and Bicker, upon the Indus. Camiran, now sensible of his ungenerous and impolitic behaviour, was himself obliged to fly towards Cabul, and saw an empire wrested from his family, by the effects of that base envy, which could not behold even a brother's greatness without pain.

Humaioon having crossed the Indus on his way to Bicker, halted at Lori, and sent an ambassador with a horse and dress to his cousin Hussein, governor of Tatta, to request his aid, that he might be able to possess himself of Guzzurat. Hussein seeming to listen to his request, detained the king, by various artifices and excuses, for five months, by which means his small army, distressed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. The prince Hindal, his brother, in the mean time, left him, and went to Kandahar, being invited thither by the governor of that province.

Humaioon with his little army laid siege to Sewan for seven months, without effect, when Hussein, desirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced with a great force from Tatta, and surrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Humaioon's army was soon greatly distressed, as well as the garrison. The king, driven to extremities, requested Eadgar, to whom he had recently given the government of Bicker, to join him with what forces he could raise; but this ungrateful man chose rather to join Hussein, who promised to give him his daughter, and to secure him in his government. Thus basely deserted, at this dangerous crisis, Humaioon was obliged to retreat precipitately from before Sewan towards Bicker. He could not even obtain, in that place, a few boats from his own perfidious subjects, to waft his small army over the river. After a search of some days, and wandering along the banks, he discovered some boats that had been sunk, raised them, and transported his troops to the other side. But on neither side was there safety for Humaioon. A rebellion soon after broke out in his army, and a

treacherous Hindoo chief, Maldeo, to whose frontiers he had fled for succour, formed the black design to seize him, and deliver him up to the usurper Shere. Humaioon, informed of the intended treachery by an old domestic, mounted his horse at midnight, and attended by a few faithful troops, fled towards Amercot, which is about one hundred crores from Tatta. His horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, and the soldiers of Maldeo urging close behind, he was compelled, for want of another, to pursue part of his journey on the back of a camel. The country through which they fled being an entire sandy desart, the troops soon began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; and nothing was heard on every side but dreadful screams and loud lamentations. A well at length was fortunately found, and their pangs alleviated; but marching forward, they were soon more distressed than before, there being no water found during two whole days journey. On the fourth day of their retreat they fell in with another well, which was so deep, that the only bucket they had took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the people when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The unhappy men were so impatient for the water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it, before it quite reached the verge of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was lost, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all again became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themselves in agony on the hot sand; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate, and consequently an easier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he saw this terrible situation of his few faithful friends! The next day, though they reached a brook, was not less fatal than the former. The camels, that had not tasted water for several

days, now drank so much, that the greatest part of them died. The people also, after drinking, complained of an oppression of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

A few, with the king, after this unheard of distress, reached Amercot. The rajah being a humane man, took compassion on their misfortunes. He spared nothing that could alleviate their miseries, or express his fidelity to the king.

At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in A. H. 949, or A. D. 1541, the immortal Akber, was born. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Rana, the prince of Amercot, and, by the aid of that rajah, marched against Bicker. But a mutiny arising among the troops, they dispersed, so that nothing could be effected. Some of the king's own omrahs deserted him, and the gallant Ali, one of his principal adherents, was killed in an action in which Humaioon was defeated. The king fled towards Candahar and was on his way, joined by that gallant Mogul chief Byram Khan, from Guzzurat. The prince Camiran had, at that time, taken the fortress of Candahar from his brother Hindal; and Ashkari governed there by his appointment. Hussein, who governed at Tatta, changing his mind with the increase of Humaioon's misfortunes, wrote to Ashkari, that the king was in the utmost distress, and that if he would now favor him, so meritorious an action could not be forgot. Ashkari, instead of listening to this request, attacked the king when he approached, obliging him to leave behind him his infant son Akber, and fly himself, with the Sultana Mariam, and only twenty-two horse, to Chorasan. Ashkari expressed great sorrow at the king's escape, and plundering all his effects, carried the young prince to Candahar.

The king, by repeated trials, found that he could place no faith in his brothers. When he arrived upon the frontiers of Seistan, he was met by Shamlu, who was there governor on the part of

Tahmasp, king of Persia. He brought Humaioon to the capital of Seistan, and treated him with the greatest respect, presenting him with all the money of which he was possessed, and furnishing the Sultana with slaves. The king received just what supplied his occasions, and returned the rest. He from thence set out for Herat, and was in that city met by the prince Mohammed, the king of Persia's eldest son. This prince forgot nothing of that generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character. He provided the unfortunate exile very effectually with all necessaries for his journey to the Persian court. In the progress of Humaioon towards the capital of Persia, all the governors of the provinces and great men paid him their compliments, and made magnificent entertainments for him. When he arrived at Kizvi, he dispatched Byram to the Persian king at Ispahan, and waited for his answer. Let us now leave Humaioon, to give an account of the transactions in Hindostan during his exile.

SHERE.

The original name of Shere was Ferid. His father was Hussein, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh, a mountainous country on the confines of India and Persia. When Beloli ascended the throne of the Indian empire, the grandfather of Shere, Ibrahim, came to Delhi in quest of military preferment, and, soon after, engaged himself in the service of an omrah of the court of Beloli. When the empire fell to Secunder, the son of Beloli, the noble Jemmal, a chief of high renown, was appointed subah of Jionpoor, and he took Hussein, the son of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He found him a youth of parts, and favored him so much, that, in a short time, he gave him the districts of Sassaram and Tanda in jaghire, for which he was to maintain five hundred horse. Hussein had eight sons; Ferid and Nizam of one mother, of a Patan family; the other sons were born of slaves.

Hussein had no great regard for his wife, and he therefore neglected her sons. Ferid, upon this, left his father's house, and enlisted himself a soldier in the service of Jemmal, the governor of Jionpoor. Hussein wrote to Jemmal upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated. But all that Jemmal could say had no effect upon Ferid. Jionpoor, he said, was a better place for instruction than Sassaram; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to so good an effect, that he soon could repeat the works of the celebrated poet Sadi, and was, besides, a proficient in all the learning of the country. He, however, employed most of his time in history and poetry, being supported by the liberality of Jemmal.

After three or four years had elapsed, Hussein came to Jionpoor, and, by the mediation of friends, the father and son were reconciled. Hussein gave Ferid the charge of his estate, and remained himself at Jionpoor. Ferid, when he took leave of his father, said, "That "the stability of government depended on justice, and that it would "be his greatest care not to violate it, either by oppressing the "weak, or permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impu-"nity." When he arrived at his jaghire, he actually put this resolution in practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and reducing to order such of his zemindars as opposed his authority. He by this means had his revenues punctually paid, and his country well cultivated. His reputation grew apace; for all his actions discovered uncommon genius and resolution.

We pass over as too unimportant for the page of GENERAL HISTORY, his disputes with his brothers relative to the family estate. His soul was formed for empire; he grasped at, and obtained it. Amidst the distractions that ensued on the invasion of Sultan Baber, he joined the standard of Pir Khan, the son of Dirio Lohani, who had subdued Behar, and assumed the royal dignity, under the name of Mahmud. As that monarch was one day on a hunting party, he

roused an enormous tiger, which Ferid immediately attacked and killed with one blow of his sabre. For this bold action, which was done in Mahmud's presence, he was honored with the title of Shere Khan.* We find this daring Afghan soon after in the service of the Emperor Baber, whom he attended in his expedition to Chinderi.

After Shere had staid some time in the Mogul camp, and observed their manners and policy, he, one day, told a friend, that he thought it would be an easy matter to drive those foreigners out of Hindostan. His friend asked him, what reason he had to think so? Shere replied, "That the king himself, though a man of great "parts, was but very little acquainted with the policy of Hindostan; "and that the minister, who held the reins of government, would be "too much biassed in favour of his own interest, to mind that of the "public. That therefore if the Patans, who were now at enmity "among themselves, could be brought to unite in mutual con-"cord, the work was completed; and should fortune ever favour "him, he imagined himself equal to the task, however difficult it "might at present appear." His friend burst out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion. Shere, a few days after, had, at the king's table, some solid dishes set before him, with only a spoon to eat them. He called for a knife, but the servants had orders not to supply him with one. Shere, that he might not lose his dinner, drew his dagger without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without minding those who diverted themselves at this odd behaviour. When he had done, the king, who had been remarking his manner, turned to Amir Chalifa, and said, "This Afghan is not to be disconcerted with trifles, and "is likely to be a great man." Shere perceiving, by these words, that the king had been informed of his private discourse to his friend, fled the camp that night, and went to his own estate of Sassaram in Behar.

* Shere signifies a lion.

Mahmud of Behar dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son Jellal, a minor. The young prince's mother, the Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere. The Sultana dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into the hands of Shere. Allum, the governor of Hadgipoor, on the part of Mahmud, king of Bengal, being guilty of some misdemeanor, threw himself under Shere's protection. Mahmud, to revenge this insult, ordered Cuttub, governor of Mongier, with a great force, against Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconsiderable, in comparison of those of Bengal, Shere made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the sword, he resolved to stand the unequal contest, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub was slain, and all his treasure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly advanced the political designs of Shere.

After this victory, the Patan tribe of Lohani the cousins of Jellal, the young king of Behar, envying the fortune of Shere, formed a conspiracy to take away his life. Shere discovering the plot, taxed Jellal with it, who was privy to the conspiracy, being very jealous of the great influence of his minister. He, on this occasion, told the young prince, that there was no necessity of taking such a base method of getting rid of his servant, for that if he should but once signify his inclination, Shere was ready to resign that government, which he lately so successfully protected. The prince, either suspecting his sincerity, or being equally suspicious of the other omrahs, would by no means consent to his resignation. This so much disgusted the conspirators, that they took every possible measure to make a breach between the prince and his minister. Shere, finding that he had no security, but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited use he made of it, justly excited the prince's jealousy to such a pitch, that, one night, accompanied by his

omrahs, he fled to Mahmud of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Shere, who had usurped his throne.

Mahmud, joining his compassion for the young prince to his personal hatred of Shere, sent Ibrahim, the son of that Cuttub whom Shere had formerly defeated, with a considerable army against the usurper. The Bengalese besieged Shere in a mud fort, for a long time, without success; so that Ibrahim was obliged to send home for succours. Shere, informed of this circumstance, marched out, offered battle, and, by means of a common stratagem, ordering his troops to fly at the first onset, to draw the enemy into an ambush, defeated them, and took all their guns and elephants. Ibrahim himself was slain in the action, and the young prince Jellal fled in great distress to Bengal.

Mahmud of Bengal shut himself up in Gour, the capital, which Shere for a long time besieged. One of the zemindars of Behar having raised a disturbance, he left Chawass to carry on the siege, and returned himself to Behar. Provisions becoming at length very scarce in Gour, Mahmud fled in a boat to Hadgipoor; and Shere, having settled affairs in Behar, returned and pursued him. Mahmud being compelled to give battle, was defeated, and being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Humaioon, returning from his expedition to Guzzurat, thought it necessary to put a stop to the rising power of Shere. He for that purpose turned towards the reduction of Chunar. Jellal, a son of Shere, who commanded there, left the defence of the place to Ghazi, of the Soor tribe of Afghans, and retired to the hills of Bercundah, whence he very much annoyed the besiegers. The siege had been carried on six months, when Rumi Khan, who commanded the king's artillery, by some kind of a floating battery, which he sent down the river close to the wall, reduced the place. Humaioon left two hundred soldiers in garrison there,

and marched towards Bengal. Mahmud, who, as we have already observed, was wounded in the action with Shere, threw himself under the protection of Humaioon. When the king had advanced to the pass of Gurhi, which is the frontier of Bengal, he found that Shere had sent his son Jellal, Chawass, and a considerable detachment to guard that defile. He immediately ordered Kulli, and some other chiefs, to dislodge them; but they were repulsed in several attacks. Being however supported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in sight, a successful assault was made, and the Moguls became masters of the pass. Jellal fled to his father Shere at Gour, who, being in no condition to engage so superior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of Jarcund, and begun to project a scheme for possessing himself of Rhotas, that he might there lodge his family and wealth in security,

To take Rhotas by open force was an impossible attempt. It was therefore necessary to devise some stratagem, that might ensure success. Shere, for this purpose, sent a message to Raja Berkis, who was in possession of this impregnable fortress, informing him, "That as he himself was going to attempt the recovery "of Bengal, he hoped, from their former friendship, that he would "permit him to send his family and treasure into the place, with a "few attendants." Berkis at first rejected this request, but Shere sent an artful ambassador to him, a second time, with some handsome presents, acquainting him, "That it was only for his women "and treasure he requested his princely protection: That should he "be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper "acknowledgements for the favour on his return; but if he should "lose his life in the contest, he rather chose that his family and "wealth should fall into the hands of Berkis, than into those of the "Moguls, his inveterate enemies." Berkis, suffering himself to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in possession of the treasure, to keep it, and therefore consented to Shere's request.

The Afghan having provided covered chairs, filled them all, except two or three, which were to go first, with armed men and arms. He, at the same time, filled five hundred money bags with leaden bullets, and appointed some of his best soldiers to carry them, in the disguise of slaves, with sticks in their hands, who were destined in appearance to assist in carrying the treasure up the mountain. The men, who carried the close chairs, were disguised in the same manner. This train accordingly set out, and the first and second chair being examined at the gate, and found to contain only old women, all further examination was neglected. The raja was in the mean time busy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the chairs had reached the house which the raja had appointed, the wolves rushed out among the sheep, and began to dye the fold with their blood. The disguised soldiers used their staves, till they supplied themselves with arms from the chairs. They easily subdued the garrison, who were off their guard, and admitted Shere, who was encamped at a small distance. Berkis himself, with a few followers, found means to escape into the woods, by a private passage behind the fort.

Thus fell one of the most impregnable fortresses in the world into the hands of Shere, together with a vast treasure, which had been accumulating there for ages.

Rhotas is built upon the summit of a lofty mountain; the only entrance to it is a very narrow road, through a steep ascent of two miles, from the foot of the hill to the gates, which are three in number, one above another, defended by guns and rolling-stones. The square contents of the fortified table land, on the top of the mountain, are more than ten miles. In this space are included towns, villages, and corn fields, and water is found a few feet from the surface. On one side runs the river Sone, under an immense precipice, and another river, in the same manner, passes close to the other side, and both meeting a little below, form the hill into

a triangular peninsula. There is a very deep valley on the third side, full of impervious woods, which spread all over the mountains, and render access that way next to an impossibility.

Shere had now a secure retreat for his family, and his friends began to acquire fresh spirits by this piece of success. Humaioon, in the mean time, spent three months in luxurious pleasures at Gour, the capital of Bengal. He there received advices that his brother, prince Hindal, had revolted in his governments of Agra and Mewat; that he had put to death Shech Phoul, the only man of consequence who would not break his allegiance to the emperor, and coined money in his own name. Humaioon therefore left Kulli with five thousand horse in Gour, and returned towards Agra.

By the excessive rains and bad roads, the king's cavalry and beasts of burthen perished in great numbers, on his march, through fatigue and want of forage. Shere, who had now raised a numerous army, entrenched himself on the banks of the Jossa, in a place by which the king must of necessity pass, and, by treachery, defeated him with great slaughter, in the manner which we have already related. Shere did not immediately push forward to the capital: anxious to leave no enemy behind him, he returned to Bengal, engaged Kulli in several battles, defeated him, and at length cut him and his army to pieces.

Shere, immediately after the reduction of Bengal, assumed the imperial title of Shah, struck the coin, and read the chutba, in his own name. He marched the next year with a great army towards Agra. The unfortunate Humaioon was by this time deserted by his brother the prince Camiran, and hated by his Mogul omrahs, on account of his attention to his Turkman mercenaries. He however crossed the river with one hundred thousand horse, and met Shere, who had but fifty thousand. Shere, as has been already mentioned, defeated Humaioon, and

pursued him to Agra, Lahore, and Choshab; from which place the king retreated towards the Indus.

After the flight of Humaioon to Persia, Shere, now acknowledged emperor, left the captain-general with a great army in the north-west, and returned towards Agra. He was in that city informed that Chizer, whom he had placed in the government of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmud, the former king of that province, and affected all the state of a sovereign prince. Having experienced, in his own fortune, the danger of permitting such conduct to go unpunished, he marched immediately to Bengal. Chizer being unexpectedly surprised, submitted without resistance, and was imprisoned. Shere very prudently divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of chiefs, independent of one another, and appointed Kasi Fazilit, a native of Kurrah, famous for his learning and policy, to superintend the whole. He himself, after these transactions, retired to Agra.

In the year 949, Shere led his army towards Malava. Having advanced as far as Gualior, Suja the Afghan, who had before invested the place on the part of Shere, found means to settle matters with Abul Casim, governor of Gualior for Humaioon, and he delivered up that strong fortress into his hands. Shere having entered Malava, the Mogul governor of that province submitted without a blow. A few days after, being seized with sudden alarm, he fled from the king's camp, and Hadjee Khan was appointed to that government; Suja had also a jaghire conferred upon him in that country. Shere having marched from thence to Rantimpore, Mullu fell upon the governor of Malava and upon Suja, but he was defeated. Suja having acquired all the honour of the victory, Hadjee was superseded and recalled, and the government conferred upon Suja.

Shere arriving before Rantimpore, had the address to get possession of that important fortress from the governor, on the part of

the pretended emperor Mahmud, who had still kept it. The emperor, after taking Rantimpore, returned to Agra; he remained in that city a whole year, settling the internal police of the empire, and regulating his army. He in the mean time ordered Hybut to wrest Multan from the tribe of the Bellochies. This Hybut soon effected by defeating Fatti Bellochi, and entirely subduing that country. He had, on account of this exploit, the title of Azim Humaioon conferred upon him.

Shere after this returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months to refresh and recruit his army, he marched towards Marwâr; during his march he intrenched himself every night, as well for security as to exercise his troops, and to make them expert in this necessary service. When crossing the sandy deserts, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the rajah of Nagor and Todnoor, whose name was Maldeo, and esteemed the most powerful Hindoo prince in India. He opposed the king with fifty thousand rajahputs, and both armies lay thirty days in sight of one another. Shere would now have been glad to retreat quietly, but the danger was too great; at the same time the enemy was so advantageously posted as to render an attack too hazardous. In the midst of this alarming situation, a successful stratagem suggested itself to the king. Maldeo having conquered that country, to which he had no right by inheritance, Shere forged a letter in the Hindoo language and character, in the name of the rajah's generals, addressed to himself, setting forth, "that, being conquered by the rajah, they had, through "necessity, served him till then with fidelity; but that they were "in secret, very weary of his yoke. That if Shere would, therefore, "reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to "make him a due acknowledgment for the favour." On this letter Shere superscribed, as usual, in Persian, that they should fear nothing, desiring them to persevere in their intentions, and

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that they might rest assured that he would comply with their demand.

This letter was purposely thrown into the way of Maldeo, who, being always in dread of his chiefs, was easily deceived. He therefore declined the battle, which he intended to give that day. He was even more and more confirmed in his unjust suspicion, by the eagerness which they expressed to engage. Upon the fourth day he ordered a retreat; but Cunia, one of his principal omrahs, having found out in what manner Maldeo had been deceived by these forgeries, endeavoured to persuade him of his mistake. Having found that the rajah's suspicions could not be removed, he told him, that the suspected treachery was unprecedented among true rajahputs, and that he was determined to wipe off the stain which Maldeo had thrown upon their reputation with his own blood, or the conquest of Shere with his own tribe.

Maldeo continued to retreat, but the gallant Cunia, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men separated themselves from their prince and turned back, with an intent to surprise Shere's camp. They, however, by some mistake, lost their way, and it was clear day-light before they saw the enemy. Shere immediately formed, and came out against them. Though the king's army, by the smallest computation, consisted of eighty thousand fighting men, this handful of brave rajahputs repulsed them repeatedly, and would have certainly defeated them, if Jellal Selwani had not at that instant arrived with a fresh reinforcement, to join the imperial army. Shere falling upon the rajahputs with renewed vigour, broke them; and the brave Cunia, with almost his whole army, was cut to pieces.

Shere, finding himself in possession of a victory of which he had at one time despaired, exclaimed, "that, for a handful of barley, he "had almost given the empire of India to the wind." This grain, it seems, was all the scanty produce of that sandy country, for

which the inhabitants fought with so much obstinacy. Maldeo having heard of this action, and the loss of so many brave men, fell into deep affliction; and being, for his pusillanimity, deserted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Sodpoor.

Shere, after this bloody victory, turned his army towards the fort of Chitor, which was surrendered to him by capitulation. He then directed his march to Rantimpore, and gave that country in jaghire to his son Adil Khan, who fixed his residence there. The king, in person, moved towards Callinger, which is esteemed one of the strongest forts in Hindostan. The Indian prince of Callinger, on account of the king's treacherous behaviour to Paran Mull, would make no submission, but prepared himself for hostilities. Shere, having drawn a line of circumvallation, began to carry on his approaches to the place; he raised mounds of earth for his artillery, and sunk mines under the rock. The royal batteries were now advanced very near the walls, breaches were made, and a general assault ordered, when a live shell, which had been thrown against the fort by the imperialists, rebounded back into the battery in which the king stood. The shell burst in the midst of a quantity of powder, which had not been properly secured. Several gunners were blown up; and the king and many of his omrahs were burnt in so terrible a manner, that they were carried for dead to their tents.

In this dreadful condition the king began to breathe, in great agonies; he however encouraged the continuance of the attack, and gave orders, till in the evening news was brought him of the reduction of the place. He then cried out, "thanks to the Almighty "God!" and expired. The death of Shere happened on the twelfth of the first Ribbi, in A. H. 952, or A. D. 1545. He spent fifteen years in a military life before he mounted the throne; and he sat upon the musnud five years, as emperor of Hindostan.

The character of Shere is almost equally divided between distinguished virtue and the most degrading vice. In administering public justice he was inflexible; in private concerns, he was guilty often of the basest perfidy. His aspiring soul made him look up to the empire, and he cared not by what steps he was to ascend.

Shere left many monuments of his magnificence behind him. From Bengal to the Nilâb, which is fifteen hundred cose,* he built caravanserais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every cose; he also raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran, and priests. He ordered that at every stage, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expense. He at the same time planted rows of fruit trees along the roads, to preserve travellers from the scorching heat of the sun, as well as to gratify their taste. Couriers were placed at proper distances, as well for forwarding quick intelligence to government, as for the advantage of trade and correspondence. This establishment was new in India. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to sleep on the highway. He was buried at Sassaram, his original estate, in a magnificent marble mausoleum, which he had built in the middle of a great reservoir of water.†

Tahmasp still sat on the throne of Persia, and reigned in peace, protecting Humaioon during the usurpation of Shere in Hindostan.

* About three thousand of our miles.

† This fine monument of the magnificence of Shere still remains entire. The artificial lake which surrounds it is not much less than a mile in length.

SELIM.

When Shere became numbered with the dead, his eldest son Adil, whom he had appointed his successor, was at Rantimpore, and his younger son Jellal, in the village of Rewin, near Pheta. The omrahs, who favoured Jellal more than his brother, then at so great a distance, urged the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible. They for that purpose dispatched expresses to Jellal, who arrived in five days in the camp. Jellal, by the influence of Isah Khan and his party, in consequence mounted the throne, in the fortress of Callinger, and assumed the title of Islam Shah, which, by false pronunciation, was turned to that of Selim, by which name he is more generally known. The efforts of Adil, and the omrahs attached to his fortune, to wrest from the new emperor his usurped sceptre, occupy a considerable portion of the life of Selim in Ferishta. As they were utterly unsuccessful, we shall pass them over as irrelevant.

After being firmly seated on the throne, the king moved towards Rhotas, to bring the treasure, which his father had deposited in that place, to Agra. Seid, the brother of Humaioon, governor of Lahore, deserted him on the way, and fled to Lahore. The king, from this circumstance, concluded that a new rebellion was in agitation, which determined him to return immediately to Agra. He soon assembled his forces from all quarters, and marched to Delhi, where he ordered the new city which the emperor Humaioon had built, to be walled in with stone. At Delhi, Suja joined him with the army from Malva. The king remained only a few days in Delhi to regulate his army, and then took the rout of Lahore. Azim Humaioon, Chawass, and other disaffected chiefs, with double the king's forces, came out before him at Ambatta. Selim arriving within sight of the rebels, dismounted, and, with a few friends, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring; when he had for some

time viewed their disposition, he said: "It is not consistent with "my honour to hesitate one moment in attacking a rebellious army;" and at these words he ordered his line to be formed, and to advance against them. It happened very fortunately for the affairs of Selim, that, upon the preceding night, there had arisen a dispute among the rebel generals, about the succession to the throne. Chawass, still a friend to the family of his patron Shere, insisted that search should be made for prince Adil; and Azim Humaioon strenuously affirmed, "That the empire was no man's inheritance, but should always "follow the fortune of the sword." This plainly pointed out his own views; on this head, animosity and faction arose, so that as soon as the rebels had formed the line, Chawass retreated, with all his troops, without striking a blow. This circumstance so much discouraged the remaining part of the rebels, that their resistance was faint, and an unexpected victory fell to Selim.

But, in the midst of this tide of good fortune, the emperor narrowly escaped with his life, from a daring attempt of Seid, the brother of Azim Humaioon. This gallant chief, with ten of his friends in armour, mixed, without discovery, with the king's troops, and advanced towards him, as if they were about to congratulate him upon his victory. An elephant-driver, who stood near the king, observed and knew Seid, and struck him with his spear: yet, in spite of all the guards, and the army which stood round, Seid and his party cut their way through, sword in hand, and escaped. The rebels, who called themselves the Neazies, being mostly of that family, retreated, after this defeat, to the mountains, Selim pursuing them as far as the new fort of Rhotas, which his father had built. He thence detached Serwani, with a strong force after them, and returned himself to Agra, but soon after proceeded to Gualior. Suja, governor of Malva, going one day up to the fort before the king, one Osman, a person whom Suja had deprived of his right hand some time before, had concealed

himself by the side of the road, with a desperate intention to be revenged upon that omrah. The assassin rushed out upon Suja, and inflicted a wound with his dagger. Suja, without enquiring into the matter, imagined that the whole was done by the instigation of the king, and therefore fled with great precipitation, and made his way towards Malva with all his forces. The king pursued him as far as Mondu, but hearing that he had fled to Banswalla, he returned, leaving his own cousin, with twenty thousand horse, at Ugein, to observe his motions.

Serwani having been some time before left to carry on the war against the Neazi rebels, engaged them near Dincot, and was defeated by Azim Humaioon, who pursued him as far as Sirhind. Selim hearing of this defeat, assembled a great army, and dispatched it, under proper generals, against the rebels. Azim Humaioon was obliged to retreat in his turn to Dincot. The rebels turned upon the imperial army at Simbollo, but were overthrown with great slaughter. Azim Humaioon's mother, and all his family, were taken prisoners. The Neazi rebels, after this defeat, threw themselves under the protection of the Gickers among the mountains bordering on Cashmire. Selim, finding that he could never have real peace without effectually crushing this rebellion, marched in person towards the Indus, and, for the space of two years, carried on a war with the Gickers, who supported the Neazies.

In this expedition a person concealed himself in the narrow path, by which the emperor one day ascended the mountain of Mannicot, and rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Selim, having time to draw, saved himself, killed the assassin, and perceived that his sword was one that he himself had formerly presented to Eckbal Khan. The Gickers being driven from one place to another, without being in a condition to face the emperor, Azim Humaioon, with his followers, went into the kingdom of Cashmire; but the prince of that country, fearing Selim's resentment,

opposed the rebels, and, having defeated them, sent the heads of Azim Humaioon, his brother Seid, and Shabass, to the king. Selim being now secured against further disturbance from that quarter, returned to Delhi. The prince Camiran, much about this time, flying from his brother the emperor Humaioon, who was now on his way from Persia, took protection under Selim. But he was very ill received by that prince, and he therefore fled to the mountains of Sewalic, among the Gickers.

Selim, after returning from his expedition, had only remained a few days at Delhi, when he received advices, that the emperor Humaioon had reached that branch of the Indus which is distinguished by the name of Nilâb, or the blue river. The king was at that instant under the operation of drawing blood by cupping; he immediately started up, issued orders to march, and he himself encamped that evening six miles without the city. He there waited for his artillery, which was dragged by men, till the bullocks, which were grazing in the country, could be brought together. The artillery being very heavy, each gun was drawn by one or two thousand men; yet in this manner he marched with great expedition towards Lahore. But in the mean time Humaioon retreated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. Selim returned to Delhi, and from thence proceeded to Gualior, where he took up his residence.

Selim taking, one day, the diversion of the chase, near Atri, a body of banditti, who had been set on by some of the king's enemies, lay in ambush to take his life. But he perceived them time enough to avoid the snare. When they were seized and examined, they impeached many chiefs, who were immediately executed; after which the king became extremely suspicious, and put numbers to death upon the slightest presumptions.

Chawass, the captain-general of the armies of Shere, of whom frequent mention has already been made, a man justly renowned

for personal courage, strict honour, great abilities in war, and extensive generosity, being long driven about from place to place, came to Taji Kirrani, who had owed his preferment to him, and was now governed by Simbol. The ungrateful villain, in violation of his oath, and the laws of hospitality, to ingratiate himself with Selim, basely assassinated Chawass. His body being carried to Delhi, was there interred. His tomb is frequented by the devout to this day, who number him among the saints of India.

Not long after this base assassination, in which Selim was concerned, he was seized with a fistula in ano, by which, in the year A. H. 960, or A. D. 1532, he bled to death, having reigned nine years. In the same year, Mahmud the Patan king of Guzzurat, and the Nizam of the Decan, who was of the same nation, died. Selim possessed not the abilities of his father, and consequently carried neither his virtues nor his vices to such extremes. He possessed personal bravery, and was not unskilful in the field of war. Like Shere, he was magnificent, and studied the convenience of travellers. From Bengal to the Indus, he built an intermediate serai between each of those which his father had erected; all who passed along the great road being entertained at the public expense.

When Selim travelled the road of mortality, his son Ferose was, at twelve years of age, raised to the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Soor at Gualior. He had not reigned three days, when Mubarick, the son of Nizam Soor, nephew to the late emperor Shere, brother of Selim's wife, and the uncle of Ferose, assassinated the young prince. Mubarick assumed the title of Mohammed Adil,* to which his infamous treason had no right, and usurped the empire. He perpetrated this barbarous deed with his own hand, in the Mahl. The villain's own sister, Bibi Bai, defended, for some time, her son in her arms, presenting her body to the dagger. In vain did she intreat and weep: his soul was hardened against pity. He tore

* Adil signifies the *Just*.

the young prince from her arms, and, in her presence, severed his head from his body. This was the return which he made to the unfortunate Bibi Bai, for saving his life repeatedly, when Selim, foreseeing his atrocities, would have put him to death.

The state of Persia suffered no change during the reign of Selim in India. Tahmasp continued upon the throne.

MOHAMMED.

The infamous Mohammed, having always given himself up to pleasure, neglected even the common accomplishment of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and associated with illiterate fellows like himself, whom he raised to the highest dignities in the empire, among whom one Himu, an Indian of low birth, but gigantic in person, and of a desperate undaunted spirit, was now entrusted with all the weight of the administration.

The king in the mean time, heedless of what passed, spent his time in all the luxurious debaucheries of the haram. Having heard much in praise of some of the former emperors, particularly Ferose, for their great generosity, he mistook prodigality for that virtue, and to exceed them all, opened the treasury, and lavished its riches without distinction. When he rode out, he used to head arrows with gold, which he shot among the multitude. This foolish extravagance soon dissipated the great treasures of his predecessors; and all his reward from the people was the nickname of Adili, which in the Indian language signifies literally the blind, and metaphorically, the foolish.

When Himu found himself invested with the whole executive power of the empire, his pride and insolence, though he was otherwise a man of good parts, exceeded all bounds. This naturally made all the Patan chiefs his enemies. They began to conspire for his destruction, and to revolt from his authority. The king became more and more despicable every day in the eyes of the people,

while all order and government totally declined. Mohammed giving one day public audience, and distributing estates and governments among his omrahs, he ordered the province of Canouge to be taken from Firmalli, and given to Sermust Sirbunna. Secunder, the son of Firmalli, a brave young man, being present, said aloud to the emperor, "Is my fortune then to be conferred on a seller of "dogs?" for it appears that Sermust was descended of one of that low occupation. The elder Firmalli, who was also present, endeavoured to check the impetuosity of his son; but he only inflamed his passion the more: he charged the king, in plain terms, with a base design to extirpate his family. Sermust, who was a man of uncommon strength and stature, seeing this behaviour to the king, and being also personally affronted, seized Secunder by the breast; Secunder drew his dagger, and killed him on the spot. He then flew at all who endeavoured to oppose him, killed several chiefs, and wounded many more. He then made directly for the king, who leapt from the throne, and ran into the Mahl; Secunder pursuing him, had the door thrown in his face, which stopped his progress, till Mohammed drew the bolt, and secured himself. The desperate youth, finding himself disappointed in his design upon Mohammed, resolved to revenge himself upon his base minions, and rushing back into the audience chamber, dealt death to all who opposed him. In the mean time Ibrahim, of the tribe of Soor, the king's cousin and brother-in-law, attacked Secunder with some of his people, and cut him to pieces. Dowlat Lohani killed at the same time the good old man, Firmalli, who could not have been blamed for his son's rashness.

The king soon becoming jealous of the popularity of his avenger Ibrahim, gave private orders to seize him; but his wife, who was sister to the king, having heard of this design in the Mahl, informed her husband of it. He fled from Chunar to his father, Ghazi, governor of Biana, and was pursued by Isah Neazi, who coming up with

him at Calpie, an engagement ensued, in which Isah was defeatd, and driven back from further pursuit. Ibrahim soon after raised a great army, and possessed himself of the city of Delhi, where he mounted the throne, assumed the ensigns of royalty, marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces.

Mohammed marched from Chunar to suppress this usurpation, and on the way received an embassy from Ibrahim, promising that if he would send Hussein and other chiefs, with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The king was weak enough to comply with his request. The omrahs went; and Ibrahim, by presents, promises, and courteous behaviour, soon drew them over to his own interest. Mohammed finding himself in no condition to oppose so strong a confederacy, fled towards Chunar, and contented himself with the eastern provinces. Ibrahim immediately erected the spear of empire in the west, by the title of Sultan Ibrahim. This event took place in A. H. 961, or A. D. 1552.

IBRAHIM III.

Ibrahim had no sooner mounted the throne, than another competitor started up in the province of Panjâb. This was Ahmed, a nephew of the emperor Shere, and also brother-in-law to Mohammed, the expelled emperor. Ahmed having attached Hybut, and other chiefs, raised to the dignity of omrahs by the late emperor Selim, to his interest, assumed the title of Secunder Shah, and marching with ten or twelve thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Firrah, within four miles of that city. Ibrahim, with seventy thousand horse, came out to meet him, having in this army two hundred omrahs who pitched velvet tents, and possessed the dignities of the spear, drum, and colours.

Secunder, seeing this formidable army, began to repent of his invasion, and made overtures of peace. The only condition he asked was the government of Panjâb. But Ibrahim, in the pride

of superiority, would grant him no terms, and therefore both armies drew up and engaged. Secunder committed all the ensigns of royalty to one of his omrahs, and with a choice body of horse took post in a wood, where he could not be discovered. Ibrahim, upon the first charge, broke through the army of Secunder; his troops quitted their ranks, and were intent upon nothing but plunder, when Secunder, rushing out upon them, struck a panic into the whole army; they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by those whom they had so easily discomfited before. The emperor Ibrahim, after this defeat, abandoned his capital, and retreated to Simbol. Secunder took possession both of Agra and Delhi; but he had not long enjoyed his good fortune, when he was obliged to march to Panjâb, to oppose the Mogul emperor Humaioon; who, having returned from a long exile, was now rapidly advancing to recover his dominions.

To that monarch and his affairs, passing over many incidents of less important consideration, amidst the struggles for empire of numerous inferior competitors, we now return.

THE RETURN OF HUMAIOON FROM PERSIA.

Humaioon at the court of Tahmasp, king of Persia, had been treated as his rank and his virtues merited. The particulars of his reception there, and his renewed contests in Afghanistan with his rebellious brother, prince Camiran, whose perfidy and rancour had so much contributed to his exile, occupy many pages in Ferishta. It is my wish only to exhibit him in his more striking character of a king and a conqueror; and therefore coming at once to the point most interesting to the studious in Indian history, it will be sufficient to remark that after an absence, according to Fraser, our best authority in respect to chronological dates,* of five years and

* See Fraser's short History of the Mogul Emperors, prefixed to his Nadir Shah, p. 9.

an half at that court, having received from Tahmasp an assistance of ten thousand horse, in A. D. 1545 he commenced his march back to Hindostan; that on the 1st of September of that year he took Candahar from Ashkari, who governed that fortress for prince Camiran; that on the 16th of November he conquered Cabul from Camiran himself; and in the spring of the following year conquered Badakshan from the Mirza Soliman, who is said by Fraser to have revolted, and to have usurped that government.* By the conquest of rebellious chieftains, and by the strong power of the ruling dynasty of the Afghan emperors, who had usurped his throne in India, he was detained in that region, and prevented from making any vigorous attempts to regain that throne, till the year A. D. 1554.

In that year Humaioon received an address from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting him that Selim, the Afghan emperor of India, was dead, and that all the tribes of the Patans were engaged in a civil war: that it was, therefore, a proper opportunity for the king to return and take possession of his empire. Humaioon discovered great joy upon this intelligence, and though he could only collect fifteen thousand horse, determined to undertake an expedition into India. He left to Monim the government of Cabul, and the tuition of his young son Hakim, and immediately began his march from that capital. The king was joined at Peshawir by Byram, with all his veterans from Candahar. When he had crossed the western branch of the Indus, he appointed Byram his captain-general, and ordered him to lead the van with Chizer, Tirdi Beg, Secunder, and Shubiani.

Upon the approach of the king, Tatar, the Patan governor of the province of the five branches of the Indus, who commanded the new fort of Rhotas, evacuated the place, and fled to Delhi. Humaioon

* See Fraser's short History of the Mogul emperors, prefixed to his Nadir Shah, p. 10.

pursued Tatar to Lahore, which place was also evacuated by the Patans, and the king peaceably entered the city. From Lahore he dispatched Byram to Sirhind, and that able general possessed himself of all the country as far as that place. The king having received intelligence, that a large body of Afghans were assembled at Debalpour, he ordered Abul Mali, whom he used to honour with the name of son, with a strong detachment against them. Abul Mali having overthrown them, returned with the plunder of their camp to Lahore. The emperor Secunder had, in the mean time, dispatched Tatar Khan, and Hybut Khan, with an army of forty thousand horse from Delhi against Humaioon; but Byram Khan, notwithstanding their vast superiority in number, boldly attacked, and completely defeated them; taking a vast spoil in elephants, baggage, and horses. Byram Khan sent the elephants to the king at Lahore, and encamped at Matchiwarrah. He dispersed detachments on all sides, and possessed himself, by means of his increased cavalry, of the whole country, almost to the walls of Delhi itself. The king exceedingly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred upon Byram the title of Khan Khanaun, or Lord of Lords, the grateful friend.

When the news arrived of the overthrow of Tatar, the emperor Secunder exacted an oath of fidelity from his omrahs, and marched with eighty thousand horse, a great train of artillery, and a number of elephants, towards the Indus. Byram thought proper to shut himself up in Sirhind, and to provide against a siege, by laying in provisions, and throwing up new works. Secunder encamped before Sirhind, and Byram sent continual letters to Lahore, to hasten the king to his relief. Humaioon accordingly marched, joined Byram, made repeated sallies from the city, and greatly distressed the enemy in their camp.

Upon the last day of Rigib, when the young prince Akber, then only thirteen years of age, was going the rounds of the camp, the

Patans suddenly drew up their forces and offered battle. This had the intended effect on the impetuous valour of that young prince, who could not bear to be insulted. He accordingly, having obtained his father's permission, also drew out the Mogul army. Humaioon gave the command of the right wing to Byram, and of the left to Secunder, which was composed of the troops of Abdulla the Uzbek, Abul Mali, Alla, and Tirdi Beg, who were to begin the action. He took his station in person in the center, and advanced slowly towards the enemy, who waited the attack. The left wing having charged, according to the orders which they had received, the enemy were broke, and they never after recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown. The action however continued warm for some time; Humaioon and his gallant general Byram displayed great conduct, while the young prince Akber distinguished himself by acts of heroic personal valour. The Moguls were so animated by the behaviour of that young prince, that they seemed even to forget that they were mortals. The enemy at last were driven off the field with very great slaughter, and the emperor Secunder fled with precipitation to the mountains of Sewalic.

This victory decided the fate of the empire, which now fell for ever from the Patans. Secunder the Uzbek, and some other omrahs, were detached to take possession of Delhi and Agra, which they effected without opposition. Humaioon conferred the government of the province of Panjab upon Abul Mali, and ordered him to pursue the fugitive emperor. In the month of Ramzan the king entered Delhi in triumph, and became, a second time, Emperor of Hindostan. Byram, to whose valour and conduct the king, in a great measure, owed his restoration, was now rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had princely estates assigned to him.

But the end of the glory of the reign of Humaioon was rapidly approaching, for in the evening of the seventh of the first Ribbi,

Humaioon walked out upon the terrace of the library of the palace, and sat down there for some time to enjoy the fresh air. When the emperor began to descend the steps of the staircase from the terrace, the crier, according to custom, proclaimed the time of prayers. The king, conformably to the practice of the Moslem religion, stood still upon this occasion, and repeated the Culma, or Mohammedan creed; he then sat down upon the second step of the stairs till the proclamation was ended. On rising he supported himself upon a staff, which unfortunately slipt upon the marble, and the king fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the staircase. He was taken up insensible, and laid upon his bed; he soon recovered his speech, and the physicians administered all the art and power of medicine; but in vain, for upon the eleventh of the same month, about sun-set, his soul took her flight to Paradise. He was buried in the new city, upon the banks of the river; and a noble tomb was erected over him some years after, by his son Akber. Humaioon died at the age of fifty-one, after an interrupted reign of twenty-five years in Cabul and India.—A. H. 963, or A. D. 1555.

The mildness and benevolence of Humaioon were excessive; if there can be any excess in virtues so noble and elevated as these. His affection to his brothers proved the source of all his misfortunes; but they rewarded him with ingratitude and contempt. He was both learned himself, and a lover of literature, and the generous patron of the men of genius who flourished in his time. In battle he was valiant and enterprizing; but the clemency of his disposition prevented him from using his victories in a manner which suited the vices of the times. Had he been less mild and religious, he would have been a more successful prince: had he been a worse *man* he would have been a greater *monarch*. *

* The two preceding chapters are the substance of Ferishta's account of the domestic events of Hindostan during this dark and troublesome æra. His book is the

only authentic record of them, and the author had the archives of the state to assist him in his researches. He often disgusts by the minute detail of facts neither important nor interesting. I have throughout, therefore, used the pruning-knife freely, and have sketched only the grand features and predominant incidents in each reign. A swarm of historians and travellers, Asiatic and European, many of them eye-witnesses of the facts related, about this period start into existence, and from them principally, compared with Ferishta, both as to events and date, will the following chapter be composed. The task of *mere abridgement* is not the most pleasant one; and I trust both in point of general arrangement and style, that chapter will be found more deserving of the reader's approbation.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author quitting FERISHTA, *proceeds from other Sources to detail the History of the restored Dynasty of Mogul Emperors.—Additional particulars concerning* HUMAIOON, *from a* MANUSCRIPT *History long ago composed by himself from contemporary Writers and Travellers.—Apology for delaying to give the History of the European settlers in India till the close of the reign of Jehanguire.—The Life of* AKBER *from the same* MANUSCRIPT *compared with Ferishta.—Uncommon Display of both military and political Talents in that young Prince at a very early Period.—Conquers, and with his own Hand kills* HIMU, *the Patan General, discards his Vizier, and assumes himself the Reins of Government.—Advances against and takes* CHITORE.—*Builds the superb Castle and Palace of* AGRA.—*Adorns Fettipore; reduces Guzzurat; reconquers Bengal from the Patan Chiefs; renews the War with the rebellious Rajahs, and takes their principal Fortresses.—Meditates the Conquest of Uzbek Tartary, and actually marches to Cashmere, but renounces that Intention, and devotes his remaining Life to his favourite Project of subjugating the Deccan.—The Life of* JEHANGUIRE *from the same Manuscript, compared with* FERISHTA.—*Selim, the Son of Akber, having ascended the Throne by that name, his son Sultan Khosro rebels.—Battle of Lahore, and extinction of that Rebellion.—The Emperor enslaved by his Passion for the fair Nourmahall.—Successful War with the Ranna and other rebellious Rajahs in Malva.—The Deccan reconquered.—Rebellion of Shah Jehan.—He is repulsed at Agra;—defeated by the Imperial Army, and submits.—Again rebels, and is victorious in Bengal; but is totally defeated by his Brother, Sultan* PARVEZ.—*Sir* THOMAS ROE.

the English Ambassador, arrives at the Court of JEHANGUIRE. *—Rebellion of* MOHABIT.—*The Emperor seized and confined by that Omrah, but afterwards released.—Death and Character of* JEHANGUIRE.

WITH the preceding chapter terminated that regular, though concise, abridgement of Ferishta's domestic history of India, which was absolutely necessary to fill up a large chasm in its annals, for the closing of which there are few authentic materials to be collected from any other existing author. After all, it is little more than a rapid and dreadful detail of perfidy and massacres, and of the same sanguinary cast, it is deeply to be regretted, are nearly all the Asiatic histories. The MANUSCRIPT to which allusion has been made, in a preceding page,* and which was composed before I had seen Ferishta, on the authority of Herbelot, De Laet, Fraser, Du Barros, Texeira, De Faria, and other oriental writers and travellers, contains in considerable detail the life of Baber, which is necessarily superseded by the native original documents, inserted above. The life of Humaioon however, in that MANUSCRIPT, contains some particulars not to be found in Ferishta, and, as it exhibits a very concise and connected summary of the events of an interrupted reign, may not be displeasing to the reader; and is therefore submitted to his candid perusal. It is followed by the successive lives of the great Akber, and of Jehanguire, composed from the same sources; to which I shall add, from Ferishta, as in the life of Timur, above, those more striking circumstances in such reign that have novelty and interest to recommend them.

As during these three reigns the Portuguese had been gradually establishing themselves in India, and had finally consolidated a vast empire on its coasts, the reader may probably have been surprised by my silence hitherto on that interesting subject; but in

* See of this Second Volume p. 4.

this wide survey of Asiatic events it is convenient to keep the incidents that have befallen the great empires passing in review before us, as little mixed as possible; it is my intention to consider the progress of the Europeans in India in a separate book, that immediately following. The most important circumstance to us, the complete establishment of the English as factors in Hindostan, did not take place until the great and able negociator, Sir Thomas Roe, in the ensuing reign of Jehanguire, had firmly established their interest at the court of Delhi, and consequently any extended introduction of the subject, until the period of that reign, would be premature. After that æra it would be improper to delay a discussion at once so highly interesting and gratifying to my readers.

ADDITIONAL ACCOUNT OF HUMAIOON.

Humaioon, the son of Baber, in A. D. 1530, succeeded him in the empire of Hindostan, and soon proved that he inherited the military virtues, as well as the throne of his illustrious father. He entered with eagerness on the completion of all his designs; and, for the first ten years of his reign, in every plan was fortunate, and in every action glorious. He first carried his victorious arms into Malva and Guzzurat, where Sultan Bahadur then reigned, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, and drove the fugitive monarch to the most distant boundaries of his own maritime dominions. Previously to this invasion, Bahadur had been for some years engaged in disputes with the Portuguese, who, by the union of arms, and policy, had secured a firm footing on his frontier, and had become extremely formidable to the neighbouring potentates. The terror of this new and more dreaded enemy, now compelled him to make peace with *them*, and their assistance encouraged him to revolt after the departure of the Mogul army; but Humaioon returning the next year reduced him to entire obedience. The unfortunate

Bahadur had soon reason to repent of the new connection entered into with the Portuguese: for, having granted them permission to erect a fort at Diu, they fortified it in such a manner as ever after to render it impregnable to any force he could bring against it, and he himself perished in an attempt to regain it, not many years after. *

The rich, the powerful, the fertile kingdom of Bengal was the next object of the ambition of the new emperor. Full of innumerable castles and fortified towns, for the most part governed by the ancient independent rajahs of the country, whose inaccessible retreats their Afghan, or Patan tyrants could never effectually penetrate; the subjection of this extensive and populous region was an arduous and hazardous undertaking. But the ardent desire to become master of a kingdom, denominated by Oriental writers "the granary of Asia, and Paradise of the Indies," made danger vanish, and difficulty be forgotten amidst the more splendid hopes of conquest. He began his march from Agra at the head of an army fully adequate, by its magnitude and intrepidity, to the accomplishment of any project, however daring. Though every inch of ground was disputed, and defeat only produced new armies to be encountered, the undaunted conqueror rushed on from one fortress to another, and from field to field of still untarnished glory, till at length Gour, at that time the capital of Bengal, being taken, in a short time the whole country on the Ganges submitted to his arms, and thus another bright jewel was added to the imperial crown at Delhi. †

Such, for a few years, was the brilliant success of Humaioon, but shortly after, a dreadful reverse of fortune befell this prince, the commencement of whose reign was distinguished by such a series of illustrious events. The power of the Afghan chiefs, though severely shaken by Sultan Baber, was by no means entirely subverted.

* De Laet's India Vera, p. 172; and De Faria, Portuguese Asia. Vol. I. p. 375.
† De Laet's India Vera. p. 173.

Their awe of that conqueror indeed, after the signal defeat of their combined forces under the emperor Ibrahim Lodi in A. D. 1526, retained them in external obedience during the remainder of *his* reign, and the vigour displayed in the first actions of the present, contributed to repress any open enterprizes of sedition. The latent flame, however, soon grew too violent to be longer restrained, and now burst forth with redoubled violence.

Humaioon was at a distance, settling the affairs of the newly-conquered provinces in the west, when he received the intelligence of the general revolt of his Afghan subjects, who under Shere Khan, a determined soldier, were in full march to give him battle, and had already retaken the province of Bahar, with Rotas, Chunar, and many other strong castles in Bengal. He immediately hastened back to Agra, where, having collected his scattered forces, he returned in the firm intention to engage the enemy, and having repassed the Ganges, encamped on its banks. Too confident in that bravery which, under more disparaging circumstances, had so often procured them victory, and perhaps imagining the foe at a greater distance, the army of Humaioon there resigned themselves to intemperate festivity, and spent the night in carousals and revelling. Shere Khan, whose active spies observed, and diligently reported, every motion of the royal army, having obtained early intelligence of this inconsiderate conduct, instantly dispatched ten thousand Afghan cavalry, who, by forced marches, arrived by break of day in the camp of the Mogul; and while they lay buried in sleep * and

* A remark of Mr. Cambridge will perhaps elucidate this passage. "Notwithstanding the Eastern armies have so severely suffered by being surprised in the night, they can never be brought to establish either order or vigilance in their camp. At the close of the evening, every man eats an inconceivable quantity of rice, and many take after it some kind of soporific drugs, so that about mid-night the whole army is in a dead sleep. The consequence of these habits is obvious: and yet it would appear a strange proposition to an Eastern monarch, to endeavour to persuade him, that the security of his throne depended upon the regulation of

intoxication, rushed suddenly upon them, and made a great and undistinguished slaughter. The disorder that prevailed in every quarter was too great and general to admit of the troops being rallied; the royal tents, with very considerable treasures, fell into the hands of the rebels; a multitude of elephants and horses was captured; and the unfortunate emperor himself desponding, and almost deserted, was compelled to save his life by swimming across the stream! Mere accident having presented him a horse, he rode off towards Agra, but Shere Khan pursuing close in his rear, compelled him to continue his flight on to Lahore, where his brother, the Mirza Cameron governed; who, instead of giving him a welcome reception, loaded him with insult and reproaches. Humaioon, justly indignant at this treatment, hastened with his few attendants towards Cashmere, where a favourite omrah, appointed by himself, held the supreme command; but that omrah was dead, and the capital fortified against him. He now directed his course towards Cabul, the place of his nativity, trusting at least to find shelter in the city that gave him birth, and farther hallowed by the ashes of his father; but by this time Cameron, being driven by Shere Khan from Lahore, had arrived there, and ordered the gates of the fortress to be closed. At Candahar another brother, the Mirza Ashkeri, resided as governor, whom he now supplicated by every tender tie that binds relations, to receive a banished prince under his protection; to allow him to put that strong castle in a state of adequate defence; and to take himself an active part in the extermination of the enemies of his family. To this humble and interesting request Humaioon received only a haughty answer, amounting to a denial.

Thus deserted by his subjects, and insulted by his kindred, one only resource remained to the unhappy monarch; to throw himself

"the meals of a common soldier; much less would he be prevailed upon to restrain "him in the use of that *opium* which is to warm his blood for action, and animate "his soul with heroism." Introduction to the War in India.

on the generosity of Tahmasp, king of Persia, who was infinitely indebted to the house of Timur, even for the sceptre he swayed, and whose gratitude he hoped would prove stronger than fraternal love had proved. He therefore dispatched one of his attendants by a readier route than the imminent danger of his situation would allow himself to take, with letters to that prince, in which he conjured him by the revered memory of Timur, by the sacred name of king which they mutually bore, and by the inviolable friendship that united their ancestors, to lend him, in this emergency, that decisive support which, if immediately afforded, might restore him to the dignity from which he was thus ignominiously driven by his revolted vassals. Soon after he had taken this step, he was joined by Byram Khan, an aged and skilful officer, at the head of a select squadron of veteran soldiers, who had long sought their exiled master, and were now determined to share his fortunes. The resolution of soliciting the assistance of Tahmasp being approved of by this loyal chief, Humaioon sent to demand of Hussein, the Mogul viceroy of Tatta, permission to pass through that province into Persia; but that lord, who had likewise caught the general spirit of disaffection, excused himself by saying, that if his majesty's intentions were to visit Persia, the directer way lay through Candahar. Enraged at this reply, but unable with his slender train to exact vengeance on the rebellious omrah who sent it, he now resolved to go by that directer way, and at every hazard to force a passage into the Persian dominions. In a city of the province of Candahar he left his wife and infant child, Akber (who was born during this flight, and afterwards amply avenged the injuries of his father), and having disencumbered himself of his baggage, his domestics, and what treasures yet remained to him, by rapid movements soon arrived unmolested at the court of Persia. Shah Tahmasp received him, not only with the honour due to his distinguished rank, but with every possible token of liberal friendship; entertained him

with hospitality truly royal; and promised, in as short an interval as the vast preparations necessary for so important an expedition would allow, to furnish him with troops and money sufficient both for the reduction of his disobedient governors, and his own re-establishment on the throne of Hindostan.

The promise of the Persian monarch was punctually performed. It was not, however, till after a residence at his court of some years, that Humaioon was enabled to return with a force sufficient for the accomplishment of those designs. He was attended by the bravest and most skilful officers of the Persian army, who were anxious to enlist under his banners, and made his cause their own. The first exertions of his vengeance were pointed against Candahar and its governor, who now submitted with a pusillanimity only to be equalled by his former insolence. Cabul was next surrounded by the victorious army, and the perfidious governor punished for his unnatural baseness by loss of sight and banishment to Mecca. After these successes Humaioon did not immediately march into Hindostan, but staid to settle the affairs of the conquered provinces, and waited with impatience for some favourable opportunity to assert with effect his just, but invaded, rights. The death of the usurper Shere Khan, with that of his son Selim, and consequent distractions, afforded this opportunity, and he then set forward with the best founded and most sanguine hopes of re-possessing his lost dominions. The most distinguished success attended every effort of a cause supported by justice, and regulated by maxims of the soundest prudence. The army passed through Lahore in February 1555; in May it arrived at Sirhind, where an ineffectual effort to check its progress was made by the Afghan governor at the head of ten thousand horse; and in June following encountered and totally defeated the forces of Secunder II. son-in-law to the usurper. Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan, with some other experienced generals, were then dispatched southward, to reduce to obedience the

interamnian provinces, lying between the Ganges and Jumna, which they fortunately effected; while Humaioon, at the head of the remaining forces, triumphantly entered into Delhi.

Thus, after a long interval, was the sovereignty of this extensive kingdom restored to its rightful Mogul lord, (if right can indeed be given by conquest,) who did not however, for any extended term, enjoy that power, in the possession of which it had cost him so many years of anxious toil to re-establish himself. In the contemplation of many, and the execution of some, important projects for the advantage and aggrandizement of the empire, death suddenly overtook this great prince at the early period of his fiftieth year; and his decease is supposed to have been the effect of a too powerful dose of opium. He had retired to the terrace of the palace of Delhi, and is said to have fallen asleep while, in a sitting posture, he breathed the pure air of that elevated station. From the highest step of the marble staircase he fell headlong down *forty steps* to the bottom; after languishing three days, in great agony, he expired. This is De Laet's account, and as it is different from that of others, the original passage is added below. * This melancholy event took place according to Fraser, still our best judge in all chronological points, on the 24th of January, 1556, after a chequered reign of twenty-five years, ten months, and five days. †

AKBER, THIRD MOGUL EMPEROR.

On the death of Humaioon, Akber, who, as before related, was born at Amercot, A. D. 1542, during the flight of his father, though then at a great distance from the capital, was proclaimed emperor at Calanor, ‡ in Lahore, by the generals of the imperial army.

* Verum quum opium paulo ante largius usurpasset, somno obrepente, ruit in præceps, et circiter *quadraginta gradus* devolutus, ita se afflixit, ut post triduum moreretur. De Laet INDIA VERA, p. 180. Lugd. Bat. Elzevir, 1631.

† Fraser's Mogul Emperors, p. 10. ‡ Fraser, p. 11.

Notwithstanding he had hardly yet reached his fourteenth year, the young prince had already distinguished himself in several engagements by many acts of dauntless fortitude, and was at that moment in the active pursuit of his father's enemies, the Patan chiefs. Byram Khan, his guardian, now, at Akber's urgent request, undertook the management of public affairs, and was invested with the whole civil and military power of the empire.

In the mean time a formidable rival in the person of Mohammed Adel Shah, nephew of the usurper Shere Khan, and who had himself usurped the throne, and been driven from it, had started up in Bengal, and sent his vizier and general, Himu, an Indian, brave and resolute, but of low extraction, with an army of thirty thousand horse and two thousand elephants, to sieze on the imperial cities of Agra and Delhi. Agra was not prepared to resist so numerous a force, and its viceroy fled before it; but Tirdi Khan, the governor of Delhi, being better prepared and reinforced by some neighbouring omrahs, with their troops, issued forth to give the invader battle. Himu, eager to engage, posted himself in the centre of his army with three thousand chosen horse, and some of his best elephants: with these he rushed furiously upon his adversary and drove him from the field. He then returned to the contest, attacked the right wing with equal impetuosity, and at length the rout becoming universal, entered Delhi in triumph. The vanquished viceroy took the route to Sirhind, where he met the new emperor advancing towards Delhi to assert his title to the throne. The news of his defeat rather rouzed than depressed the soul of Akber, who now resolved to conquer this daring rival or perish in the effort.

The generals Khan Ziman and Bahadur Khan, who had been dispatched to compel the southern provinces to obedience, were now summoned with all their forces to the relief of the capital. Those officers, with speed proportioned to the emergency, hastened back to the imperial army, which by this addition, when arrived at

the plains of Paniput amounted to twenty thousand strong. The rebels however had by this time increased their army to five times that amount, with a proportionate train of elephants and artillery, and headed by their undaunted leader, had marched out of Delhi, and approached their antagonists in the vain confidence that numbers would ensure victory. Himu began the attack with his elephants, on whose multitude and strength he placed his chief dependance; but Ziman Khan and the other omrahs of the royal army, observing this, assaulted those monstrous animals with such fury, galling them with their lances, and raining such showers of arrows upon them, that they became outrageous with pain, and falling back on the Afghan ranks spread havock and disorder through their whole army. The greater part of that immense army likewise, consisting of new raised troops, now began to give way, and left a few determined legions to contend with the whole force of the enemy. Akber, whose life was so important at this juncture, and therefore detained by Byram in the rear, was, during the conflict, with the utmost difficulty restrained from plunging amidst the thickest ranks of the foe, and joining his friends, whom he saw so nobly fighting in his cause. On the other hand, Himu himself, riding on a prodigious elephant, at the head of four thousand horse advanced into the very heart of the Mogul army, and there waded through a stream of blood, made to flow by his own valour; nor did he give over the dreadful conflict when an arrow, piercing his eye, lodged in that tender organ; for regardless of the excruciating pain, he tore out the barbed shaft, and with it the eye from its socket, and continued fighting in that terrible condition till all his party were cut off, and himself taken prisoner. Fainting with loss of blood, yet still breathing defiance, Himu was then led into the presence of Akber, who, mindful of his father's wrongs, and fired with the ardour of a youthful warrior, with his own hand smote off the traitor's head, and ordered it to be fixed on the gate of

Delhi.* An immense booty was taken on this occasion, with fifteen hundred elephants and a fine train of artillery. Akber immediately after the victory took possession of Delhi, and was a second time crowned emperor in that accustomed place of the inauguration of the monarchs of Hindostan.

During the long absence of Humaioon from his hereditary dominions, that many-headed monster, ever springing up anew after defeat, the tyranny of the Afghan tribes, had again reared its crest in most of the provinces of the empire, and notwithstanding that prince's endeavours on his return to place matters on the same footing in which Sultan Baber left them, it seemed necessary that the whole ground on which his victorious standards had been displayed, should be again marched over by the armies of Akber. The generals Ziman and Bahadur were therefore ordered to repair to their former stations to exterminate, if possible, in those parts the power of the Patans, whom they afterwards overthrew in three general engagements; the first at Sambal; the second at Lucknow; the third at Jionpore. † Akber, in the mean time, resided at Agra, which he preferred to Delhi, and spent his time in hunting and

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 182. Ferishta gives a different account of this matter. It is as follows. When the unfortunate Himu was brought into the presence, almost expiring with his wounds, Byram told the king, that it would be a meritorious action in him, to kill that brave infidel with his own hand. Akber, in compliance with the advice of his governor, drew his sword, but only gently touched the head of the captive, bursting into tears of compassion. Byram, looking sternly upon the king, insinuated, that the ill-timed clemency of his family, was the source of all their misfortunes, and with one stroke of the sabre, severed Himu's head from his body. Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 222.

† The reader who is desirous of more particular details of the life of Akber, will find them in Ferishta, though not arranged in the same chronological order as in De Laet's short history of the Mogul emperors. The increasing mass of historical matter compels me, as I proceed, to draw still closer the line to which I have restricted myself. In fact, the prescribed bounds of this entire work would scarcely suffice for a minute account of the illustrious exploits of Akber.

other amusements suited to his age, and, confiding in the wisdom and integrity of the regent he had appointed, did not minutely examine into the conduct of the public business; but that accumulation of wealth and power which, in gratitude for his eminent services, he had bestowed upon Byram Khan, is said to have filled him with insolence and vanity, which broke out in many acts of despotism towards the omrahs, and of disrespect towards the king himself. Resolved, therefore, no longer to be holden in disgraceful shackles, he summoned his omrahs from all quarters to meet him at Delhi, whither, unknown to Byram, he repaired, and receiving from them all the strongest assurances of affectionate attachment, issued a proclamation, that the regency was dissolved, and that, from that moment, he should take upon himself the sole administration of affairs. The degraded minister was ordered into banishment as far distant as Mecca, who at first proved refractory, and armed his followers for resistance; but, being defeated, at length reluctantly prepared to undertake the expedition, when in passing through Guzzurat towards the ocean, he was set upon by some Afghan cavalry, and murdered in revenge by a chief of that nation whose father he had slain.

Scarce was the new emperor firmly seated on the throne, when the utmost efforts of his power were called into action for the reduction of the almost impregnable fortress of Chitore, situated in the heart of the province of Malva, on the summit of a mountain twelve miles in compass, and only accessible by one ascent by means of a path cut out of the solid rock. This castle had occasionally resisted for ages, all the force that the kings of Delhi could send against it; and had never known a conqueror, except in the renowned ALLA-UL-DIEN.* It was at this time governed by Jamel, another

* Chitore was the ancient hereditary castle of Rajah Rana, by far the most powerful of the native princes at that time flourishing in Western India. Chitore in the earlier annals of Hindostan, ranked as a province itself, or rather was a kingdom,

dauntless rajah, who had made repeated incursions into the Mogul provinces, and thus drawn down upon himself the vengeance of the new emperor. Independent of the importance of the post, and the glory to be acquired by the reduction of so celebrated a place, Akber, with justice, thought that the capture of it would strike terror into all the neighbouring rajahs whose principal dependance, in any rebellion, lay in the impenetrable fastnesses in which they intrenched themselves, and bade defiance to assault. As the conquest of this castle was therefore of so great consequence to the expanding fame of Akber, he surrounded the hill with a vast army, and laid close siege to the fortress itself, battering its walls incessantly with his cannon for several months. Little success, however, seemed to crown his perseverance. His troops were wearied by the tediousness of the siege, and diminished by the frequent and vigorous sallies of the besieged. A mine at length being successfully sprung under the principal bulwark of the castle, that part of the fortress was with a dreadful explosion blown into the air, and the besiegers violently rushing in at the breach made a great slaughter of the garrison. Jamel, determined neither to be subdued or taken, threw himself, sabre in hand, amidst the thickest of the enemy, and there gloriously perished. * The victor, in remembrance of this illustrious exploit, as well as in veneration of that valour which he could respect, even in an enemy, caused the statues of Jamel, and Polta, his brother and principal commander, mounted on elephants, to be placed on each side of the gate of his palace at Delhi. †

large, wealthy, and populous, governed by sovereigns of its own, who boasted their descent from Porus, whom Herbert (incorrectly) supposes to have issued hence against Alexander the Great. See Thevenot's Indian Travels, p. 70, and Herbert's Travels, apud Harris.

* The account of this attack upon Chitore will be found with further particulars in De Laet, p. 185; and in Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 257.

† "I find nothing," says Bernier, "remarkable at the entrance of this palace, but "two great elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of the gates. Upon

This arduous enterprize was no sooner accomplished, than Akber received intelligence that his brother Mohammed Hakim, who had erected his government of Cabul into an independent kingdom, was ravaging Lahore at the head of a body of thirty thousand horse. He immediately set forward to oppose his progress, and with incredible speed arrived at Sirhind, whence the invading enemy, astonished at the rapidity of his march, fled back with precipitation, leaving him sole master of his camp, baggage, and spoils. Fearing lest he might be frequently called from the important conquests he meditated to repel these incursions, he now resolved to put every fortress on those frontiers of his kingdom, in the strongest posture of defence, and give the command of them to officers of the most tried courage and loyalty. While he was thus employed the most afflicting news reached his ears: the generals Ziman Khan and Bahadur Khan, grown insolent with their victories over the Patans, had reared the standard of rebellion at Lucknow, in Bengal, and had extended their depredations even to the neighbourhood of Agra itself. With his accustomed celerity, Akber soon arrived on the banks of the Jumna, and falling suddenly on the revolters, drove them from their encampment, pursued their flying battalions with vast slaughter, and the rebellious chieftains themselves being overtaken in their flight, suffered the punishment due to their perfidy; the former being trampled to death by the horses of the pursuers, and the latter strangled on the spot.

A short interval of peace succeeding, Akber returned to Agra, which he determined for the future to make his principal residence, and accordingly commanded his whole court to be removed thither from Delhi. The old town being much decayed, and the palace

"one of them is the statue of Jamel, that famous rajah of Chitor; and upon the "other that of Polta his brother. These two great elephants, together with the two "resolute men sitting on them, do, at the first entry into this fortress, make an "impression of I know not what greatness and terror." Bernier's Account of Delhi.

where the Patan kings had resided, very incommodious, he resolved to rebuild them both, and that in a manner becoming its founder, the august monarch of so mighty an empire.

As the construction of the stupendous castle and city of Agra ranks among the noblest efforts of Akber's reign, the following account of them from the Indian Antiquities will probably not displease the reader.

Agra, the Agara of Ptolemy, though that city is by no means placed on his map in a degree of latitude corresponding with Agra on the modern map, which is marked in 27° 15′, owed its importance, and indeed its existence as a capital, to the munificence of Akber. That emperor, pleased with its situation on the bank of the Jumna, and probably incited by its proximity to the kingdoms of the Deccan, from an inconsiderable fortified town, raised Agra to an eminence in splendour, beauty, and renown, which no city in India, not even Delhi itself, had ever before enjoyed. This monarch had far advanced towards the completion of the proud structures of Fettipore, of which the remaining ruins prove the original grandeur, when on a sudden he relinquished them to execute his more extensive projects at Agra. Indeed the projects of Akber were all vast and comprehensive like the mind that formed them. In the important plans for which peace gave leisure, as well as in the more dazzling scenes of martial glory, his genius and his abilities seemed to soar alike superior to the rest of mankind.

Akber, having determined to make Agra an imperial residence, ordered the old wall of earth, with which the city had been inclosed by the Patan monarchs, to be destroyed, and rebuilt with hewn stone, brought from the quarries of Fettipore. This undertaking, however considerable, was finished with no great difficulty, and within no very protracted period. But to re-build Agra and its castle in a manner worthy of the designer, and calculated to render it the metropolis of the greatest empire in Asia, required the

unwearied exertions of one of the greatest monarchs whom Asia had ever beheld. For the full completion of his magnificent plan, Akber, by the promise of ample rewards, collected together, from every quarter of his dominions, the most skilful architects, the most celebrated artists in every branch both of external ornament and domestic decoration; and some judgment may be formed of the prodigious labour and expense required to perfect the whole undertaking, when the reader is acquainted, that the palace alone took up twelve years in finishing, kept constantly employed during that period above a thousand labourers, and cost nearly three millions of rupees. The castle itself, the largest ever erected in India, was built in the form of a crescent, along the banks of the Jumna, which becomes at this place, in its progress to the Ganges, a very considerable river; its lofty walls were composed of stones of an enormous size, hard as marble, and of a reddish colour, resembling jasper, which at a distance, in the rays of the sun, gave it a shining and beautiful appearance. It was four miles in extent, and it consisted of three courts, adorned with many stately porticoes, galleries, and turrets, all richly painted and gilded, and some even overlaid with plates of gold. The first court, built round with arches, that gave a perpetual shade, so desirable amidst the heats of a burning climate, was intended for the imperial guard; the second, for the great omrahs and ministers of state, who had their several apartments for the transaction of the public business; and the third court, within which was contained the seraglio, consisted entirely of the stately apartments of the emperor himself, hung round with the richest silks of Persia, and glittering with a profusion of Indian wealth. Behind these were the royal gardens, laid out in the most exquisite taste, and decorated with all that could gratify the eye, regale the ear, or satiate the most luxurious palate; the loveliest shade, the deepest verdure; grottos of the most refreshing coolness; fruits of the most delicious flavour; cascades that

never ceased to murmur; and music that never failed to delight. In the front of the castle, towards the river, a large area was left for the exercise of the royal elephants, and the battles of wild beasts, in which the Indian emperors used to take great delight; and, in a square of vast extent, that separated the palace from the city, a numerous army constantly encamped, whose shining armour and gorgeous ensigns diffused a glory round them, and added greatly to the splendour of the scene.

But if this palace was thus externally grand, what a splendid scene must its interior parts have displayed? Mandeslo, who visited Agra in 1638, and saw that city in the meridian of its glory, after informing us that the palace was altogether the grandest object he had ever beheld, that it was surrounded with a wall of free-stone, and a broad ditch, with a draw-bridge at each of its gates, adds,* that, at the farther end of the third court, you saw a row of silver pillars under a piazza, and beyond this court was the presence chamber; that this more spacious apartment was adorned with a row of golden pillars of a smaller size, and within the balustrade was the royal throne of massy gold, almost incrusted over with diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones; that above this throne was a gallery, where the Mogul appeared every day, at a certain time, to hear and redress the complaints of his subjects; and that no persons whatsoever, besides the king's sons, were admitted behind those golden pillars. He mentions likewise an apartment in the castle very remarkable for its tower, which was covered with massy gold, and, for the treasure which it contained, having eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which was inestimable.

Tavernier, who visited Agra in the decline of its glory near the end of the 17th century, in the absence of the court at Jehaunabad, obtained permission from the commanding omrah to visit, in

* See Mandeslo's Travels, in Harris's Collection, Vol. II. p. 118.

company with a Dutch merchant, the inside of that splendid palace; and, among other proofs of its magnificence, makes particular mention of a gallery, the arch of which it was Shah Jehaun's intention to have overlaid with silver, and he had engaged an ingenious Frenchman to undertake the work, but the artist being soon after poisoned, the design was dropt. He describes the cieling of that gallery as adorned with branched work of gold and azure, and hung below with rich tapestry. But there was also another most sumptuous gallery seen by Tavernier, which fronted the river; and which the same monarch had purposed to cover entirely over with a kind of lattice-work of emeralds and rubies, that should have represented to the life "grapes when they are green, and when "they begin to grow red. But this design, which made such a "noise in the world, and required more riches than all the world "could afford to perfect, still remains unfinished, there being only "three stocks of a vine in gold, with their leaves, as the rest ought "to have been, enamelled according to their natural colours, with "emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, wrought into the "fashion of grapes." * This splendid idea of Jehaun, was not without parallel amidst the magnificence of Eastern courts; for we are told by Herodotus, that Pithius, the wealthy Bythinian, made Darius a present of a plane-tree and a vine of gold. This vine, according to Athenæus, † was adorned with jewels hanging in clusters, in form and colour resembling grapes, and spread like a rich canopy over the golden bed of that monarch. But, without going to Persia, we find in Curtius, ‡ amidst that luxuriant description, in his eighth book, of the state and pageantry of an Indian monarch, particular mention made of the golden vines that twined

* Tavernier's Indian Travels, Book I. chap. vii.

† See Herodot. Lib. VII. and also Athenæus, Lib. XII.

‡ Quintus Curtius, Lib. VIII. cap. ix.

round those ornamented columns of the same metal which supported his palace, amidst whose branches artificial birds of silver, in imitation of those most esteemed in India, were disposed with the nicest art by the curious designer. But to return from the *palace* to the *city* of Agra.

In a line with the palace, along the banks of the same river, were ranged the magnificent palaces of the princes and great rajahs, who vied with each other in adorning the new metropolis; the majestic edifices of which met the delighted eye, intersected with lofty trees, wide canals, and beautiful gardens. Determined to make it the wonder and envy of the East, and to bury both its former name and obscurity in equal oblivion, the sultan gave his own name to the rising capital, and called it Akber-Abad, while he enriched it with the noblest monuments of regal munificence that human ingenuity could plan or human industry could execute. That nothing might be wanting to render it useful for every purpose both of religion and commerce, Akber erected in it many spacious caravanseras, sumptuous bazars, and innumerable mosques, some remarkable for the elegance and others for the grandeur of their structure: he likewise invited foreigners from all nations to come and settle there, built them factories, permitted them the free use of their several religions, and indulged them in many immunities. In particular, knowing the great consequence of the Portugueze at that period in the commercial world, he endeavoured to establish a connection with that enterprizing nation, solicited the court of Portugal that missioners might be sent to instruct his subjects in the principles of Christianity, and permitted the Jesuits to erect a church and found a college in his new city, which he endowed with a pension from the royal treasury. By these liberal and politic exertions, Agra, or Akber-Abad, from being a country town of no great note, soon became the most flourishing city in his dominions,

and the thronged resort of Persian, Arabian, and Chinese merchants, besides those from the European settlements, who flocked in multitudes to its mart.

In addition to this vast undertaking, other princely designs occasionally engaged his attention, and have rendered his name celebrated in Asia for architectural science. His mausolea, intended to be the sepulchres of his family, at Secundri near Agra, but which he did not live to complete, have no rivals of their kind in Asia, and the quarries of red marble at Fettipore contributed, by his order, to its own beauty and grandeur. Fettipore is situated about eighteen miles distant from that city, which he once designed to have made his capital, but was discouraged from that attempt by the unwholesomeness of the water. The reason of his beautifying that place is related as follows: Akber, desirous of having an heir to his empire, with a conformity very unusual in him to the predominant superstition of that age, had undertaken a distant pilgrimage on foot to the tomb of a celebrated saint at Ajmere, hoping by this act of piety to obtain the accomplishment of his desire. On his return from that pilgrimage he visited Selim, the aged Sheik of Sicari, the former name of that town, who, endowed with a happy spirit of prophecy, told him that his anxious wishes were granted by heaven, that one of his wives was then pregnant, and that he should soon be blest with three male children. This prediction proving true, he was so overjoyed that he gave his first-born the name of Selim, and evinced his gratitude to heaven and the Sheik, by building on the spot where he received the agreeable intelligence a palace of great beauty, a mosque of the utmost splendour, a noble reservoir for water, and a most stately bazar. The immense fortified castle at Allahabad, the point of confluence of the great rivers Ganges and Jumna, deserves also in this place particular notice, being entirely constructed of vast masses of hewn stone, brought from quarries at a great distance. It contained too a

magnificent palace, whither that emperor frequently retired, during the scorching heats of summer, to breathe the pure air of the Ganges, and make excursions on its surface. Nor was pleasure alone consulted in its erection, since it was intended as a grand *dépôt* of arms, and to overawe the adjoining country; being one of a vast chain of fortresses that extended nearly in a line from Lahore to Chunar Gur, on the Ganges, all of which were raised by Akber, and must have secured the empire from the confines of Persia to the borders of Bengal. *

But the occupations of peace were again to be exchanged for the laborious enterprizes of war. In A. D. 1572 the flames of rebellion broke out in Guzzurat, which, as before observed, was subdued in the last reign by Humaioon, but during his absence had, with extreme difficulty, been holden in subjection by the Mohammedan viceroy Khan Azim, and now, under the incitation of Ibrahim and Mohammed Husseyn, and other adventurous chieftains, made a desperate effort intirely to shake off the Mogul yoke. As the coasts of that province abounded with robbers and pirates, who had long bid defiance to regular armies, Akber resolved to penetrate deeply into the country, and after chastising the rebels, to carry his arms to the very gates of Surat. To this end having procured dromedaries of great swiftness, he took with him his most resolute commanders and a few select squadrons of veteran soldiers, and travelling four hundred cosses in seven days, fixed his tents under the walls of Ahmedabad. † The enemy were already in possession of the whole coast, had siezed on the cities of Baroach and Surat, and were in full march to besiege that capital. But the unexpected arrival of Akber, who was now

* See this vast but now ruinous pile, as well as Agra itself, represented and described in "Hodges's Designs in India." Vol. I. tab. 20.

† Thevenot's account of the conquest of Guzzurat by Akber, is different from this of Herbert and De Laet; or may allude to a second rebellion in this province. He says that a great lord of the native court of Guzzurat, appointed regent of the

joined by Azim Khan, and the other Mohammedan generals with all their forces, struck them with such consternation that they relinquished the design, and retreated before his army in great disorder. The emperor, pressing closely upon them, at length brought them to an engagement, and found a stubborn and determined enemy, very different from any he had recently contended with. At one moment, his principal general Coja Khan being slain, the event itself was doubtful, when Akber, at the head of his chosen reserved band, pouring like lightning upon their foremost ranks put them to flight, and thus secured the victory to the imperial army. The rebel commander Ibrahim was likewise slain in the engagement, and the rout was as universal as the carnage was terrible. The city and fortress of Baroach, at that time one of the strongest in India, and a place of the greatest trade, though now far eclipsed by and dependant on Surat, was next besieged and taken, and Surat itself having surrendered, received a Mogul governor with a body of troops to overawe those hordes of lawless free-booters that infested its neighbourhood. The better to secure his new conquest, Akber fortified Ahmedabad in the strongest manner against any future assaults, rebuilt the castle upon an extensive scale, and surrounded both that and the city with a wall of great thickness and extent. In this expedition he was attended by Shah Selim, his eldest son, who greatly signalized himself in the engagement above mentioned, and to whom some historians attribute the glory of the conquest of Guzzurat. *

kingdom during Sultan Modaffer's minority, (in Ferishta written Muziffer, Vol. I. p. 280.) called in Akber under pretence of protecting the young king against his rebellious subjects: that Akber on his arrival made both the Sultan and his governor prisoners, seized the kingdom, and reduced it to a province: that Modaffer made his escape, raised an army, and being defeated, slew himself. Theven. Ind. Tra. Part. III. p. 6.

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 187. This and every preceding account of De Laet, *in all the material points*, agrees with Ferishta; they both, doubtless, drew their information from the same source, the Akber Nama.

Bengal likewise, where the power both of the Patans and rajahs long flourished in its vigour, though conquered by Humaioon, in A. D. 1576, again struggled for independence. At the head of fifty thousand horse and six hundred elephants Akber passed the Ganges, and exulting in an opportunity to attack the ancient enemies of his family in their own capital, laid siege to Patna, within whose walls Shah Daood, an indolent and sensual prince, had shut himself up, nor could the emperor, though for six months his army lay encamped before the city, by any efforts bring him to an engagement. On the seventh it was taken by storm, when a dreadful slaughter, unlimited as the rage of the incensed monarch, commenced. An infinite number of Patan officers, with their wives and children, were taken prisoners, and a treasure proportioned to the wealth of so flourishing a kingdom became the property of the victors.

After taking Patna and many other considerable places, Akber marched to Priag, now Allahabad, * a city situated at the conflux of the Jumna and the Ganges, which was a principal bulwark of the kingdom of the Patans. Having invested and taken it, he was so struck with the importance, and so delighted with the beauty of the situation, that he determined to make it that desirable residence and that impregnable fortress which have been just described; to which we shall in this place add, that it was surrounded with three walls of vast height and thickness, on whose erection twenty thousand men were constantly employed for several years, and above a million of rupees expended.

Elated with his success against the Patans, Akber now turned his arms against the declining power of the rajahs, and successively took from them three of their most vaunted fortresses, Rantimpore,

* Allahabad is supposed by D'Anville to have been the ancient PALIBOTHRA, the metropolis of the Gangarides, but that conjecture has been fully subverted by more recent investigation.

in the province of Malva; Rhotas * in Behar; Jalour, in the sandy desarts of Bando in Ajmere; the first by assault, the two last by

* Rhotas has been before-mentioned as one of the strongest castles, not only in India, but in all Asia. Both nature and art combined to make it impregnable, being situated, like Chitore, on the top of a lofty hill, and, like that fortress, having only one ascent by a path cut obliquely in the firm rock for two coss, or four miles together. On the summit a spacious plain eighteen cosses in circumference, sowed with rice and corn, and watered by above twenty springs, abundantly supplied no less than fourteen villages, besides the very numerous garrison, with necessaries: the rest of the mountain is a steep precipice, covered with impenetrable woods. The stratagem by which it was taken, for it defied all the regular forces of Akber, was as follows: That prince having tried every method to reduce it without effect, one of his officers, Ali Khan, a man of an ingenious enterprizing disposition, undertook that task, and having cultivated a friendship with the native governing rajah, marched that way, as if for Bengal, and obtaining leave, for better security, to lodge his women (who in that country are generally carried in covered litters,) within the fortress until his return, filled the litters with armed young men in female habits, who, as soon as admitted, rushed out upon the unsuspecting guards whom they slew, and opened the gates to their comrades incamped without. These headed by their dauntless leader soon overpowered the garrison, and cutting off the rajah's head sent it with the keys of the castle to Akber. This capture exhibits a species of military fraud of very ancient date and practice in India; Shere is recorded to have used it at this very fortress at a former period. However, by my author, AKBER is positively said to have employed it *on this occasion;* and in vindication of myself I shall add the *original*, together with his description of RHOTAS. Ea nullam sibi non modo in India sed nec in Turcia, Persiave aut Tartaria parem habebat, sive loci situm spectes, sive munitionum amplitudinem et robur; sita in vertice editi montis qui II. cos. itinere ascenditur, undique planicie ad XVIII. cosas cinctus, ambitus ipsius arcis XIV pagos complectitur, cum arvis suis frugum omnis generis fœcundissimis; mediam secat torrens è fastigio montis descendens in tria amplissima stagna, quæ nunquam exarescunt: ad radicem denique montis Tzeon restagnat in paludem III cosas latam, commerciis vicinorum aptam et frequentem. Nihilo secius ACHABAR Moheb-Alighano, viro singularis prudentiæ et fortitudinis, mandat, ut arcem Radziæ gentili principi, qui illi secure dominabatur, præripere conaretur. Is ex aula profectus cum delectis militibus in viciniam arcis divertit, et postquam, muneribus ultro citroque missis, sibi Radziæ amicitiam conciliasset, ejuscemodi stratagema comminiscitur. Simulans se expedito itinere à Rege in Bengalam amandatum, petit obnixe à Radzia ut sibi gynæcium (*seraglio*) suum in arce illius concludere

stratagem. Alarmed at this apparent attempt to exterminate their race, some rajahs, instead of waiting for the attack, gallantly led their armies to the field, among whom should be mentioned a beautiful princess at Sarangpur, who assuming the name of Bahadur, or valiant, made many inroads into the Mogul territories; but being at length defeated, like the others, the resolute heroine, disdaining the chains of a victor, put an end to her existence by swallowing poison. The greater part, however, finding that all opposition to so invincible a warrior was ineffectual, made the best terms they were able with him, and were both won with his clemency, and pleased with his generosity; for he left them in possession of their hereditary domains; requiring only an annual tribute, moderately proportioned to their own revenues, to be remitted to his court, and a stipulated body of forces to be maintained by each for the protection of the empire.

From tenderness to his brother Mirza Mohammed Hakim, Akber had not molested him, since his irruption into Lahore, in his newly erected kingdom of Cabul; but intelligence of his death at this time arriving, he dispatched raja Mansing, with a body of horse, to reduce it into its pristine state of a province of the empire. This was effected with great delicacy to the family which he left behind, and with much respect to his ministers and dependants; the former being allowed pensions, and the latter provided for by having regiments, or governments, conferred on them.

Crowned with conquest, and fortunate in the completion of all

liceat: Radzia dolorum ignarus, facilius quam par erat consensit, suis imperans ne gynæcio quicquam molestiæ afferrent; nec mora Mohebalieghanus, ducentas doulias quibus fœminæ gestantur, singulas binis fortissimis adolescentibus implet, atque in arcem submittit, qui intromissi et è douliis progressi excubitores principalis portæ inopinantes oppresserunt. Alighanus autem cum reliquis copiis vestigiis illorum insistens, Radziam cecidit, et arcis compos factus, ingenti gaza potitur, quam nobili stratagemate æternum nomen apud posteros promeritus, Regi submisit. De Laet, India Vera, p. 193.

his schemes, the genius of Akber expanded with the limits of his dominions, and the empire being in profound peace, he now turned his eye towards that country which gave birth to Timur, and had beheld the glory and disgrace of his ancestors. While he reflected on that sublime pitch of unrivalled grandeur to which the Tartarian empire had at one period arisen—the bright series of victories that distinguished its early sovereigns—and the almost unbounded extent of their domain, and when the ignominious expulsion of Sultan Baber, his immediate progenitor, rushed upon his mind, he was alternately fired with the noblest ardours of ambition, and depressed with a sense of generous shame. The fame of his own conquests had already filled Asia with astonishment, and among other august visitors had brought Abdollah, son of Escander Shah, the reigning monarch of the Uzbek nation to the frontiers of Hindostan, to behold and admire so renowned a warrior. Akber hastened to Lahore to meet the young prince, and received him with great affability, though he secretly meditated the ruin of his father and the subversion of his kingdom. The surrender into his hands of the strong fortress of Candahar, which had been for some time annexed to the crown of Persia, and had been only of recent years delivered up to him by the rebel governor of Shah Abbas, contributed not a little to inflame his avarice of new conquests, and goad him on to the attempt of regaining a territory immortalized by the daring feats, and drenched with the illustrious blood of his forefathers. With a view to this conquest during his residence at Lahore, which was of long continuance, he actually sent ambassadors into Tartary under pretence of condoling with Abdollah, whose father Secunder died a short time after his return, but in reality to investigate the state of that country, and report the strength and resources of the Uzbeks. The account which the ambassadors brought back were ample and satisfactory, but preparatory to this distant expedition he judged it of great importance

to be master of the kingdom of Cashmere, which bordered on the confines of both empires.

The kingdom of Cashmere, of which Bernier, a diligent and accurate reporter, who travelled thither in the retinue of the emperor Aurengzeb, has given so particular and entertaining an account, is for the most part a valley, enclosed on all sides with mountains rising one above another to a vast height, whose summits are covered with eternal snow, but whose lower regions are fertile and luxuriant in the highest degree, while the fine champaign itself exhibits the appearance of a terrestrial paradise, abounding with stately trees and beautiful gardens, full of rich pastures, and watered with a thousand streams that descend from those mountains, and diffuse plenty and verdure through the whole district. The only entrance into this country is by the straits of the mountain Bember, which rising black, bold, and steep, seem intended by nature as an everlasting barrier against invasion. Well acquainted with the difficulties that would attend the forcing of those straits, Akber endeavoured by the most alluring promises to gain over the prince of that country to a voluntary surrender of his rights, but took care, withal, to have an army at hand adequate to the accomplishment of whatever could be effected by force of arms. Yusof Khan, its monarch, not to be behind hand in policy, in order to divert the enemy from entering and desolating his dominions, immediately repaired to Lahore with proffers of submission, while his son Yakub and his brave Cashmerians unanimously determined not tamely to yield to the invader, prepared in case of necessity to make a vigorous defence, doubly fortified every strong post, and barricaded every known passage into their little kingdom. There were, however, some omrahs of Cashmere, who, not possessing such patriotic firmness, had been prevailed on by the enormous bribes of Akber to attend the Mogul army, and being well acquainted with all the avenues of those straits, made use of that

knowledge to betray their country. The officers on duty, likewise seduced by their example, and corrupted by the same influence, deserted their posts, and thus every obstacle being removed, the imperial army without bloodshed penetrated into the heart of the country, seized the capital, and made the gallant Yakub their prisoner, to whom and his father the victor, according to his usual liberality, allowed a princely stipend. *

Whether the distractions that shortly after took place in the Mogul's family, in consequence of the rebellion of one son, and the death of another, or whether some latent apprehension concerning the success of the enterprise were the means of preventing the meditated conquest of Uzbek Tartary, it is not easy to discover; but soon after Akber turned his arms against the neighbouring kingdom of Sindi, † so called from the river Sind or Indus, which taking its rise in mount Caucasus, runs a southwest course for many hundred leagues, and after watering by its various branches several extensive kingdoms, falls into the ocean near Diu in this province. Akber, with more ease to accomplish this undertaking, embarked a numerous army on the Ravi, one of those five branches of the Indus, from which the province of Lahore is often denominated Panjab, a word signifying The five rivers. The command of this force he gave to Khan Khanna, who had greatly distinguished himself in the conquest of Guzzurat, and that general, sailing down the main stream of the Indus, soon arrived before Tatta, its capital, a place ‡ of great

* De Laet, p. 199. Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 284; and Bernier's Indian Travels, Vol. IV. letter 9, entirely descriptive of this Indian Paradise, edit. London, 1698.

† Sindi, the most western province of Hindostan, is almost divided by the Indus; and we may here observe that it is " usual with the Asiatics to give the same name to the countries, which lie on both sides of any considerable river. Thus Kharazm is divided by the Oxus; Palestine by the Arden or Jordan; Egypt by the Nile; and the Eastern provinces of India by the Ganges." See Jones's Description of Asia.

‡ Captain Hamilton says it has a large citadel at the west end, capable of lodging fifty thousand men and horse, with barracks and stables convenient for them.

strength as well as commerce, situated on an island formed by that river, which, after a long siege, surrendered, and its native prince being taken prisoner, was sent to Lahore, while his kingdom was reduced into a province of the empire.

The latter part of Akber's reign was almost totally employed upon the completion of a darling project which he seems to have formed immediately on relinquishing the meditated conquest of Mawaranahar; a project which under every difficulty and repeated repulses, he persevered in with unabated ardour, but which he lived only to accomplish in part. This grand project was the subjugation of the whole peninsula of India within the Ganges to his authority; comprising many great and populous kingdoms, principal and subordinate, of which those since subjected to the Mogul arms are, from their situation, comprehended under one general denomination—Deccan, or the *South*. The kingdom of Deccan, properly so called, and known to the ancient Greeks by the name of DACHANABADES, formed but a small part of this extensive territory which includes, when understood in its large sense, and in the Mogul acceptation of the word, the kingdoms of Balagate, Visiapore, Golconda, the Carnatic, anciently Bisnagar, with all their other conquests in this southern extremity of India, amounting to nearly a third part of the empire. *

* Of these kingdoms, that is, since their reduction by the Moslem arms, and their sovereigns, the regular history has been recently presented to the public, in a faithful version from Ferishta, who wrote it, by Captain Jonathan Scott, a gentleman to whose labours oriental literature is deeply indebted, and to his book I refer the reader for minute particulars; meaning by no means to intrude upon the path of a fellow labourer in this vast field of historical research. I shall occasionally, indeed, cite his publication as collateral authority, but in so doing I hope to be of no disservice to the work. His division of Deccan, at the period in question, is as follows, 1. Beejapore; 2. Golconda; 3. Berar; 4. Ahmednagur; 5. Ahmedabad; but as both the boundaries and the names of the Deccan sovereignties have been perpetually varying, I adhere to my own more general division.

The king, in contemplation of this projected conquest, had, with his usual policy, in the year 1590, dispatched four heralds to the courts of the four kings reigning in Deccan, proposing terms of alliance with them, but principally with a view of obtaining accurate and decisive intelligence concerning the state of those countries, previously to the intended attack. He had also given orders to the viceroys of all the provinces bordering on Deccan, to keep a vigilant eye on the transactions of its princes, and to seize every opportunity of extending the limits of his dominion on that side. Many of the neighbouring forts in Deccan were, in consequence, assaulted and taken, and the divisions ever existing among the rival rajahs were fomented by their emissaries to secure an opening for the stronger Mogul. The Deccan sovereigns were by no means inattentive either to the covert or the open attacks of Akber, and rejecting his insidious proffers of alliance, dismissed his heralds with indignation and contempt. Akber therefore resolved upon direct hostilities; and the death of Nizam Shah, king of Deccan proper, happening about this period, afforded an inviting opportunity of immediately commencing them. Intending in a short time to follow himself, with the whole force of the empire, the king dispatched on this expedition the brave and fortunate Khan Khanna, at the head of an army more formidable for its skill than its numbers, and attended by the most celebrated generals of his kingdom; heroes that had fought from their youth under his banners, and reaped unfading laurels in the service of their beloved master. On their arrival at Brampour, the capital of Candeish, the most southern province of his dominions, they were joined by the forces of Ali Khan the governor; yet though thus considerably reinforced, the prudent general did not immediately precipitate his troops into action, but advanced on the frontiers with that deliberation necessary in an undertaking, whose success or failure would be equally attended with the most important consequences to the empire. The

death of Nizam had not involved his kingdom in confusion, for his daughter BIBI,* assisted by able and faithful ministers, held the reigns of government with a steady hand, while Soheil Khan, a eunuch, but a general of great skill and intrepidity, had the command of her armies. The kings of Visiapore and Golconda, considering hers as a common cause, had likewise each contributed a proportion of troops towards the defence of her kingdom; and at the head of their united forces, amounting to forty thousand horse, the valiant Soheil advanced to give battle to the invading army, which hardly amounted to half that number. This great disparity by no means dismayed Khan Khanna, and the other Mogul commanders, who knowing the high and sanguine expectations entertained by Akber, from the exertions of their bravery, charged the enemy with inconceivable fury; for four-and-twenty hours (such was the duration of this obstinate contest) struggled against a warlike and exasperated enemy, double their numbers, and at length, after the slaughter of their general, and half his army, drove them from the field. †

This signal success did not however secure the conquest of the southern provinces. Armies after armies were sent into the field on both sides, and were alternately triumphant and defeated. In one

* In Scott's History of Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 399, she is called CHAUND BEBEE, great aunt to Sultan Bahadur; and her heroic acts are detailed with a trifling variety in respect to the incidents.

† De Laet, India Vera, p. 202. In a former attack the Mogul army, under Sultan Morad, were far from being thus decisively successful. For thus we read in the History of Dekkan. "Disputes rising to a great height in the government of "Ahmednagur, Sultan Morad, son of the emperor Akber, was invited into Deccan "by one of the parties, and that prince eager to take advantage of dissention, to "spread the authority of the Moguls in that country, marched from Guzzurat to "Ahmednagur with an army of thirty thousand men, and laid siege to that city, "which he was after many months obliged to raise, as Ibrahim Adil Shah, (of "Beejapore) dispatched Soheil Khan with a great army to the relief of the besieged, "and before his arrival the Moguls retired." Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 338.

of those expeditions Sultan Morad, the second son of Akber, indulging in great licentiousness, brought much disgrace upon the army, and destruction upon himself at Brampour, where a violent fit of intoxication carried him off, to the great grief of his father, who had dispatched his principal secretary, the valiant and learned Abul Fazil, author of the Akber Nama, that prince's former tutor, to reclaim the youthful sultan, and regulate the disorders in his army. On his decease Abul Fazil succeeded to the supreme command, and acted with vigour against the enemy. To pave the way to the complete subjection of the peninsula, he reduced beneath the emperor's authority those portions, which were very considerable, of the provinces of Berar and Candeish, which before had only partially submitted to the Mogul power, and firmly united them to the empire.

At length Akber himself, in the year 1598, having removed his court from Lahore to Agra again, departed from that capital with a vast army for the south. A few miles north of Brampour lay Hassera, a fortress by far the strongest in that part of India. It consisted of three castles situated one above the other, the highest visible at twelve miles distant, on the summit of a mountain, exceedingly lofty, steep, and craggy. It was likewise surrounded with three walls, so contrived that the superior formed a complete protection and defence for the inferior, and it was furnished with ordnance, troops, and provision, proportionate to its importance, and sufficient to resist the most violent and prolonged attack. * The emperor, who was there joined by Abul Fazil with the troops under his command, in vain invested that fortress with an army of two hundred thousand men, and pointed against it the whole force of his numerous artillery. Bahadur, the resolute rajah who governed it, defied their utmost efforts; but what he denied to the arms he yielded to the consummate policy of Akber, who, by presents to an

* See a more full account of Hassera by Finch, apud Harris. Vol. I. p. 85.

immense amount, and the most flattering offers of preferment at his court, prevailed with him, at last, not only to surrender the fortress, but to enter with all his relations and dependents into his immediate service. Having obtained possession of this most important post, without which no conquest in that region could be durable, the way seemed open to the completion of the magnificent project, the entire subjection of Deccan, which he ever contemplated with new delight. But a dark cloud soon overshadowed the prospect that appeared so splendid, and involved the declining life of this great man in the deepest gloom of misery and domestic affliction.

Previous to his departure from Agra, his son Selim had been sent into the province of Ajmere with a considerable force to curb the insolence of Rajah Ranna, by far the most powerful of all the Indian rajahs; but that prince finding himself at the head of a potent army, had taken advantage of the absence of his father, marched back to Agra, and having by the plunder of the royal treasuries amassed an enormous sum, openly avowed his intention of dethroning him. The castle of Agra was too strong, and the governor too faithful, to submit; but in a short space many castles and cities less strongly fortified, and many governors less faithful, had yielded to his authority. Among those was Allahabad, which he now made his head quarters, and thus that very spot which Akber expended such immense sums in fortifying against the Patan power, now became an impregnable barrier against himself. The news of his revolt overwhelmed the unhappy monarch with the most oppressive anguish, but he saw that not a moment was to be lost, and therefore leaving his third son Shah Daniel, to prosecute the Deccan war under the direction of Abul Fazil, and Khan Khanna, his most experienced generals, he set off without delay, attended by some chosen troops, for the capital. Willing, if possible, to reclaim his rebellious son by gentle methods, on his arrival at Agra he sent to him expostulatory letters, full of kindness, and fraught with

many promises of future aggrandizement, if he would lay down his arms and submit; but the prince, flushed with recent success, returned an answer that breathed sentiments of insolence and defiance, and on a repetition of the former affectionate message, sent to his father, in token of his obstinate perseverance in his former seditious measures, some of the coin which he had caused to be struck in his own name at Allahabad. Incensed by this additional insult to the last degree of indignant fury, Akber determined by force of arms to reduce to obedience the refractory prince, and to this end applied once more to the venerable and brave Abul Fazil to come and assist him in bringing to reason and submission his rebellious progeny. That faithful minister immediately left the army, but on his way to Agra was set upon and slain by a detachment sent by the inveterate Selim, who by his emissaries was well acquainted with whatever passed at the court of his father, and besides bore that minister a deep and ancient grudge. The intelligence of his death filled Akber with extreme affliction, as he had long experienced the wisdom and fidelity of Abul Fazil in the administration of government; and the grateful courtier had been for some time engaged in an attempt to return the kindness of his sovereign, by recording the principal events of his reign. * Fraser says his name signifies *the father of excellence*, and that he was the most learned and elegant writer at that time flourishing in Asia. In the mean time Akber relaxed not in the vigour of his preparations to punish his degenerate son, to which he was not a little incited by the flattering accounts he about this time received of the success of his army in the Deccan.

In pursuance of the plan pointed out by his father, Shah Daniel, with Khan Khanna his head general, had soon after his departure advanced to Ahmednagur, the capital of Deccan Proper, in the lofty and strong castle of which city the heroic queen, Bibi, had

* See Fraser's Mogul Emperors, p. 11.

shut herself up with her chief commanders, in the firm resolution of defending the place to the last extremity. The siege was long, and the assault violent; the defence was equally resolute; nor was the fortress at last taken but by the united efforts of an army * whose numbers far exceeded any that had ever appeared before in that part of India. Considerable treasures were the reward of the victors; but the indignant Bibi herself, resolved not to survive the freedom of her country, had previously rushed upon voluntary destruction. The triumphant generals, after completely subjugating the kingdom of Deccan, returned to Brampour, where ambassadors from the kings of Visiapore and Golconda soon after arrived, with presents of great magnificence, and letters couched in the most humble and submissive terms. †

Thus was the grand scheme of Akber for the reduction of the peninsula in part completed; and however suspicious might be the advances of the kings of Visiapore and Golconda, a most extensive territory was added to his empire, and a vast annual tribute to its revenue; a tribute fully adequate to the support of that formidable army which was necessary to be maintained for the future security of the new conquests. Happy in the contemplation of this and other events equally successful and splendid, that had attended his efforts in war, and his deliberations in peace, during a long and illustrious reign, nothing seemed wanting to substantiate his felicity but the return of his eldest son to duty and loyalty. Convinced that nothing but force could reclaim him, and determined to exert that force, he was on the point of setting out on an expedition for that purpose, when he received the melancholy tidings of his third son

* According to Mr. Finch's authorities, Ahmednagur was taken by the Moguls when they had an army of five hundred thousand men in the field.

† De Laet, p. 205; and Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 400. According to this latter authentic history, Chaund Bebee, or Bibi, was put to death by the Dekkanees; and Sultan Bahadur eventually imprisoned for life in the fort of Gualior.

Shah Daniel's death at Brampour, who, involved in the same delusive pleasures that had proved fatal to his brother, fell the victim of the grossest intemperance. By this afflicting stroke, which left a lasting wound in the breast of Akber, the resentment of the father and the monarch was at once disarmed, and he again sent letters which, though not destitute of severe rebukes for his accumulated offences, held forth the peaceful olive to an only surviving son, the prop of his hopes, and the heir of his empire. Those letters, and the warm remonstrances of a wise and aged omrah who accompanied the embassy, at length so wrought upon the mind of Selim, that he hastened to Agra, and threw himself at the feet of his injured father. Akber at first, transported with rage at the recollection of his baseness, not only loaded him with the bitterest invectives, but struck him several times with great violence, till the astonished and repentant prince, drawing his sword, offered himself to plunge it in the bosom contaminated by filial ingratitude. This apparent contrition melted into tenderness the relenting king; he forgave him the multiplied offences he had committed against his paternal and sovereign authority, and completely restored him to favour; but at the same time took the wisest precautions to prevent the possibility of his engaging in any similar designs during the remainder of his reign.

That reign now hastened swiftly to its close, for not long after, according to my author, in compliance with the detestable policy often adopted in arbitrary governments to remove by poison, and often under the roof of apparent hospitality, those whom it would be dangerous to attack with open force; having invited a very distinguished and powerful lord of his court who had given him just cause of offence, to a regale of opium after an entertainment, he contrived that a part, which he intended for his guest, should be poisoned. It is generally taken throughout the East in form of pills, whose size is proportioned to the habits and option of the consumer;

and two pills being accordingly prepared, he gave the sound one by mistake to the omrah, and swallowed the infectious one himself. The violence with which it was meant to act upon another soon operated with too fatal certainty upon himself, and resisting all the force of medicine, in a few days carried him out of "that world through which he had moved with so much lustre," on the 13th of October, 1605, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign. * Before his senses entirely failed him he sent for his son Selim, and finding his dissolution not far distant, put his own rich turban on the prince's head, and girded him with the victorious sword of his grandfather Humaioon.

Akber may be justly ranked in fame with the greatest legislators and heroes of antiquity. His personal valour and presence of mind, upon all occasions, were astonishing. † With one vigorous arm he repelled the barbarians of the north, and with the other, conquered the war-trained mountaineers of the south. The Khan of Uzbek Tartary trembled on his throne at the name of Akber; the determined race of Rajapouts bowed before him; and the sovereigns of Visiapore and Golconda exhausted their treasures to appease his resentment. His generosity and clemency were alike unbounded. To him may be attributed the glory of establishing on the firm basis of united wisdom and equity, that mighty empire, of which Baber

* De Laet, p. 213. This is the account of my author, but it is a mode of death so unworthy of the great Akber, that I am much more inclined to adopt, as true, that of Mr. Gladwin, prefixed to his History of Jehanguire, that he died a *natural death*, being seized on the 13th of August with a violent fever, under which he languished till the 13th of October, 1605, when he expired.

† As Akber was hunting once near Narvar, a great royal tygress, with five young ones, took the road before him. Akber advanced to the animal, while his retinue stood trembling with fear and astonishment to behold the event. The king, having meditated his blow, spurred on his horse towards the fierce tygress, whose eyes flamed with rage, and with one stroke of his sabre cut her across the loins, and stretched her dead at his feet. Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 221.

laid the foundation in Hindostan; which Humaioon extended, but which it was left to himself to perfect.

In civil and domestic concerns he was a bright exemplar to all the potentates of the earth. The Ayeen Akbery contains the noblest institutes ever promulged for the government of an Asiatic empire, and at the same time abounds with the most enlarged and liberal sentiments in religion and morals, at a period, and in a country, in which the former was polluted by the basest superstition, and the latter had become almost an empty name. The professor of Mohammedism, while he shuddered at the consequence of an omitted ablution, scrupled not to commit acts of the most sanguinary atrocity; and wallowed in all the turpitude of incestuous and unnatural lust. Instead of exterminating, with the remorseless fury of his bigotted predecessors, the race of patient and timid Hindoos, trampling to the earth their beloved idols, the symbols of the attributes of God, and plundering and burning their august and venerable shrines, Akber nobly and wisely extended to them the tolerating system of their own benevolent creed; gave inviolable security to their persons, and unshaken stability to their property. He was also, in a high degree, the friend and patron of letters and genius, of which Abul Fazil and many other learned men, caressed and pensioned at his court, are illustrious proofs. He ardently encouraged commerce both domestic and foreign; and, if we may believe the Portugueze historians, he not only allowed the merchants of their nation, settled at Agra, most extensive immunities, but built them a church in that city. In Fraser's more authentic publication may be seen the translation of a very curious letter from this monarch to the king of Portugal, dated A. H. 990, or A. D. 1582, in which he requests of him to send him an Arabic or Persian translation of the scriptures, and with it proper persons to explain its genuine principles. That this letter, as Fraser hints, never went farther than Goa, is a circumstance, on many accounts, greatly to

be lamented. * In short, the history of Asia scarcely exhibits a parallel to Akber, either in the extent and grandeur of his designs, the vigour and wisdom of his counsels, his moderation in peace, or his success and glory in war. The verdure of the double laurel which he obtained in the field of science and arms still blooms with unfading lustre; a lustre that illumines, though it can no longer animate, the fallen descendants of the great Timur.

JEHANGUIRE, FOURTH MOGUL EMPEROR.

Selim Shah who now, according to the practice usual with the Mogul monarchs of assuming some distinguished title when they ascend the throne, took the name of Jehanguire, or Conqueror of the World, was born at Fettipore on the 29th of August, 1569, and was crowned emperor of Hindostan on the 21st of October, 1605, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. † Though so decidedly pointed out by the last act of his father's life as his immediate successor, there were at that time about the court, certain factious omrahs, who, dreading his vengeance for their former opposition, used every effort to exalt to the imperial dignity Sultan Khosro, his son, to the exclusion of the father. The prince himself, young, inconsiderate, and intoxicated with ambition, eagerly grasped at the flattering offer; and when, at length, after considerable delays, the ceremony of inauguration had taken place, and through the fidelity of Akber's chief ministers, Jehanguire seemed firmly seated on the throne, Khosro, with a chosen train of young nobles warmly attached to his cause, made his escape by night from Agra, and retired towards Lahore.

* See Fraser's Mogul Emperors, p. 11.

† See Fraser's Mogul Emperors, p. 24; and the History of Jehanguir, translated from a Persian manuscript, (the TOOZEK JEHANGERY,) by Francis Gladwin, Esq. quarto, Calcutta printed, 1788.

In the mean time the most splendid embassies daily arrived from all the neighbouring kingdoms to congratulate the new emperor on his accession to a throne, which, by Akber's vast conquests, surpassed all the thrones of Asia in its unlimited extent, in the power annexed to it, and in the almost exhaustless treasures that formed its revenue. The former was acknowledged without a murmur through fifteen large provinces, formerly as many flourishing kingdoms, able to send into the field for the defence of the empire three hundred thousand horse, and an equal number of foot; while the latter amounted to above fifty millions of pounds sterling. The presents brought on this occasion were of an enormous amount, equal to the high rank of the donors, and worthy of the potent sovereign for whom they were intended. Those from the tributary kingdoms of Visiapore and Golconda, were distinguished by their transcendant value. *

Jehanguire had reigned only six months, when this rebellion of his eldest son broke out. During Akber's last illness, Rajah Mansing, Khosro's maternal uncle, and Azem Khan his father-in-law, in conjunction with others of the omrahs, who, from having always opposed the interest of Sultan Selim, dreaded that when he came to the throne, they should become the victims of his resentment, had instilled ambitious notions into the mind of young Khosro, which led him to form the resolution of disputing the crown with his father, when a favourable opportunity should offer; and which they persuaded him was not then far distant, as the nobility in general were caballing, in order to be ready to take advantage of the confusion that might naturally be looked for at the death of Akber. But the unexpected reconciliation which fortunately took place between the Emperor and Sultan Selim, dissolved the conspiracy, and put him in quiet possession of the empire. The rebellious designs of Khosro, and his party, being thereby frustrated, he was

* De Laet, p. 215.

observed to be uncommonly melancholy, and thoughtful, as if meditating some desperate enterprize; and all his father's endeavours to gain his confidence and affection, by every act of royal favour and paternal indulgence, had no effect upon him. He continued in this state till April 8th, 1606; when, at night, under pretence of visiting the tomb of his grandfather, Akber, he departed as before stated, from the fort of Agra, with about an hundred and fifty horsemen.

Equal to the daring spirit that prompted them to rebel, were the outrages which he and his followers committed, and the devastations they spread in their progress from the capital to the walls of Lahore. The country houses of the merchants were plundered, and themselves compelled to bear arms; the peaceful peasants were likewise forced to exchange the implements of agriculture for the target and the sabre; the royal stables were every where broken open, and the finest horses made subservient to the uses of the army; while the public magazines were rifled for its support, and the whole country bore the aspect of desolation. Providence seemed to exert itself on this occasion, that he, whose unprovoked rebellion embittered the last days of an affectionate father, should now feel in the early revolt of his own posterity, the pangs he had occasioned. Indeed the curse denounced against disobedience seemed entailed on himself and his posterity; for till the death of Aurengzeb, who waded through the blood of his murdered family to the throne of Hindostan, nothing but jealousy and distraction prevailed among the several branches of the royal line. The future pages of this history will prove the justice of this assertion. But he who could justify rebellion to his own mind, wanted not either will or resolution to punish it in others with implacable severity. Ibrahim Khan, the newly appointed governor, having previously arrived at Lahore, closed the gates of the fortress against the prince, whose army by this time increased to twenty thousand

men, encamped without, and vigorously besieged it. Successive bodies of horse and foot were sent from Agra to reduce the rebels, and some amicable proposals were made by the emperor, rather to gain time than to effect a reconciliation, for as he knew the fomenters of this mischief, he was determined to make a severe example of them in the beginning of his reign, that the terror of their punishment might deter others from similar attempts. These being rejected by the high-minded Khosro, Jehanguire began his march at the head of an army too powerful to be contended with by troops so hastily collected and so inexpert in war. The very dread of their approach unnerved the sinews of those rash insurgents, who being attacked by Mortiza Khan, with only about three hundred of the advanced guard of the imperial army, began to give way on every side, and on the near approach of the king the very standard-bearer threw down the prince's standard to the ground, and the rout became universal. The prince himself, in his flight towards Lahore, was taken prisoner by his pursuers, and being placed on an elephant with Mohabet Khan, was conducted safely to the royal camp.

The next morning Khosro was brought before his father, with a chain of gold fastened from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of Jengis. On the right hand of the Prince stood Hassan Beg, and on his left Abdulrahim. Khosro trembled and wept. He was ordered into confinement; but the companions of his rebellion were put to death with cruel torments. Hassan Beg was sewed up in the raw hide of an ox, and Abdulrahim in that of an ass, and both were led about the town on asses, with their faces towards the tail. The ox's hide became so dry and contracted, under the scorching sun, that before the evening Hassan Beg was suffocated: but the ass's hide being continually moistened with water, by the friends of Abdulrahim, he survived the punishment, and afterwards obtained the Emperor's pardon. From the garden of Kamran to the city of Lahore two rows of stakes were fixed in

the ground, upon which the other rebels were impaled alive; and the unhappy Khosro, mounted on an elephant, was conducted between the ranks of these miserable sufferers. At the dreadful sight of three hundred of his faithful friends, and principal adherents, thus writhing on stakes, or suspended on gibbets, the generous, but ill-fated prince was filled with horror, and declared to his father that he alone deserved death, and that life would become an intolerable burthen to him after being the cause of the execution of so many brave men. In compassion to his age, that life indeed was spared, but he was doomed to perpetual confinement; and the omrahs in constant attendance at court, were alternately appointed to guard him. *

This determination in Jehanguire to act in the spirit of severe justice to offending criminals, was rendered evidently conspicuous at an early period of his reign, for according to the native historian † the first public order which he issued, on his accession to the throne, was for the construction of the golden chain of justice. It was made of pure gold, and measured thirty yards, consisting of sixty links, weighing four maunds of Hindostan. One end of the chain was suspended from the royal bastion of the fortress of Agra, and the other fastened in the ground near the side of the river. The intention of this extraoodinary invention was, that if the officers of the courts of law were partial in their decisions, or dilatory in the administration of justice, the injured parties might come themselves to this chain, and making a noise, by shaking the links of it, give notice that they were waiting to represent their grievances to his majesty.

In order to protect Agra, and prevent further insurrections, the Emperor, at the time he marched against Sultan Khosro, had sent orders for Sultan Parvez, his second son, and Asoph Khan, to repair

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 217; and Gladwin's Hist. of Jehanguir, p. 9.

† Gladwin's Jehangery, p. 96.

to that quarter with part of the army; leaving the rest employed against the Ranna. Fortunately, before Parvez received these orders, he had concluded a peace with the Ranna; who had sent to the Prince one of his relations, named Nagh, to tender his submission to the Emperor. Khosro's rebellion was so suddenly quashed, that Parvez had not time to reach Agra, before he received fresh orders from his father to repair to Lahore.

The Emperor, in 1607, marched with his army to Cabul, in order to reduce to obedience the refractory Afghans in that neighbourhood; and about this time Asoph Khan was promoted to the high office of Vizier, on which occasion he presented to his Majesty a ruby, valued at forty thousand rupees. A few days after the Emperor's arrival at Cabul, he visited the tomb of Baber, and gave directions for laying out an extensive garden adjoining to that of Shere Ara, to which he gave the name of Jehan Ara, or, the ornament of the world, and ordered that the river of Cabul should be brought, by a canal, through this new garden.

The Emperor, whilst he was at Cabul, sent for Sultan Khosro, and ordering his fetters to be taken off, permitted him to walk in the garden of Shere Ara, and seemed every way disposed to receive him again into favour; but on his return to Lahore, when he arrived at Soorkhab, it was discovered that Khosro had kept up a correspondence with some conspirators, who had resolved to assassinate the Emperor when he was hunting. In this conspiracy were concerned the *Etemadawlet*, or high treasurer of the empire, and many other grandees in great esteem at court, whose business being occasionally to guard the captive prince, were so won upon by his affability, and affected by his change of fortune, that they combined to make this daring effort for his release; but they were discovered and all beheaded except the former, who purchased his pardon at the price of eleven lacs of rupees. To put a final end to these cabals, Jehanguire ordered the prince to be deprived of sight; a barbarous

practice in Eastern countries, by which the miserable victim of despotic jealousy is for ever rendered incapable of reigning. Terry and Sir Thomas Roe, however, who were at the court of this king, and often saw Khosro, unite in saying, that he was not entirely blinded by the cruel operation, and add that his person and manners were very engaging.

Satiated with the toils of the chase at Cabul, and wearied with seditious contests, the king returned to Agra to solace himself in the softer toils of love. Inflamed with the irresistible charms of the fair Nourmahal, wife of Shere Afkun, a brave and gallant officer, who had fled from Persia into Hindostan, and whom he basely sacrificed to obtain possession of her, this infatuated monarch resigned into her hands, during the greatest part of his remaining reign, both the sceptre of government, and the dominion over his faculties. This celebrated lady, the fame of whose beauty has resounded through Europe as well as Asia, was the daughter of the pardoned traitor above mentioned, whom he afterwards raised to the highest pitch of grandeur and affluence a subject could enjoy. He likewise, to gratify this fair sultana, whose ambition was at least as great as her beauty, promoted all her kindred to posts of the highest trust and honour, to the great disgust of the ancient omrahs, who beheld with rage and envy the aggrandizement of this new family of foreign original and mean descent. The ardent passion which Jehanguire early entertained for her, had led him to solicit her of her father in the life time of Akber, but she was already betrothed to Shere Afkun, and Akber could not be induced by any considerations, however flattering, to violate the faith mutually and solemnly plighted. With his power the passion of the emperor increased, and at last so far got the ascendant over him, as to make him determined on its gratification at whatever hazard and whatever price.

After the violent act above related, he persevered in the most extravagant measures to secure her affection, and leaving his palace

with unprecedented condescension for an emperor of Hindostan, would loiter whole nights in her company at the house of the *Etemadawlet*, or high-treasurer, her father. Nourmahal herself, after her marriage with the emperor, convinced of her influence over the enslaved prince, as well as of their dislike, by no means endeavoured to conciliate her numerous and powerful enemies by manners engaging and condescending; but carried herself with a haughty air towards the courtiers, and made the authority she had usurped solely subservient to her selfish and arbitrary purposes. Her father possessed the most distinguished post for honour and profit in the empire; her brother, Asoph Khan, being vizier, was absolute at court, no step however trifling or important being taken without his concurrence; Hassem Khan, who had married her sister, was governor of Agra, while the numerous tribe of her relatives monopolized the most valuable places in the government. Surrounded with these, she managed every thing by her sole despotic will; and the emperor was almost a cypher in his own dominions.

On the solar anniversary of the emperor's birth-day, in A. D. 1610, when he entered into the forty-second year of his age, he was weighed in the royal apartments, with peculiar splendour, eleven times; the first time against gold, and the other ten against silver, and other metals, perfumes, exhilerating drugs, &c. This ceremony of weighing the Emperor of Hindostan, is performed twice in every year, on the solar, and on the lunar anniversary of his birth; and the gold and other articles are bestowed in charity.*

At one of these ceremonies of weighing the Mogul (the reigning monarch, Jehanguire,) the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was present, and has thus described it.

"The second of September was the king's birth-day, and kept with great solemnity. On this day the king is weighed against jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold, silver, and many other rich and

* Gladwin's Hist. Jehanguir, p. 12.

rare articles, of every sort a little, which is all given to the Brahmins. He was so splendid in jewels, that I own in my life I never saw such inestimable wealth together. The time was spent in bringing his greatest elephants before him; some of which, being lord-elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver, with many gilt banners and flags, carried about them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on each of them, clothed in gold, silk, and silver. In this manner about twelve companies passed by, most richly adorned, the first having all the plates on his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, being a beast of wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bowed down before the king, making their reverence very handsomely: this was the finest shew of beasts I ever saw. The Mogul himself was sitting cross-legged on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Before him a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all set with jewels, some very great and extremely rich, some of them of less value, but all of them almost covered with small stones. His nobility about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily several sorts of wine standing by in great flaggons. On a sudden the king rose, we retired to the *Durbar*, and sat on the carpets, attending his coming out. Not long after he came, and sat about half an hour, till his ladies at their door had mounted their elephants, which were about fifty, all of them richly adorned, but chiefly three with turrets on their backs, all enclosed with grates of gold wire to look through, and canopies over of cloth of silver. Then the king came down the stairs with such an acclamation of Health to the King! as would have out-roared cannon. At the foot of the stairs, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carp; another a dish of white stuff like starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his forehead; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came, and girt on his sword, and hung on his buckler, set

all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold suitable. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow in a case, being the same that was presented by the Persian ambassador. On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of herons' feathers, not many, but long. On one side hung a ruby unset, as big as a walnut; on the other side a diamond as large; in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies, and diamonds, drilled. About his neck he wore a chain of three strings of most excellent pearl, the largest I ever saw; above his elbows, armlets set with diamonds, and on his wrist three rows of several sorts; his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring. His gloves, which were English, stuck under his girdle. His coat of cloth of gold without sleeves, upon a fine *semain*, as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of buskins embroidered with pearl, the toes sharp and turning up. Thus armed and accoutred he went to the coach that attended him, with his new English servant, who was clothed as rich as any player, and more gaudy, and had broke four horses, which were trapped and harnessed in gold velvets. This was the first coach he ever sat in, made by that sent out of England, so like that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a Persian gold velvet. He sat at the end, and on each side went two eunuchs, who carried small maces of gold set all over with rubies, with a long bunch of horse-tail to flap the flies away. Before him went drums, base trumpets, and loud music, many canopies, umbrellas, and other strange ensigns of majesty, made of cloth of gold, set in many places with rubies. Nine led horses, the furniture of some garnished with rubies, some with pearls and emeralds, some only with studs enamelled. The Persian ambassador presented him with a horse. Next behind came three palankins, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, set at the ends with stones, and covered with crimson velvet embroidered with pearl, and a fringe of great pearl hanging in ropes

a foot deep, a border about it set with rubies and emeralds. A footman carried a footstool of gold set with stones. The other two palankins were covered and lined only with cloth of gold. Next followed the English coach newly covered and richly adorned, which he had given to Queen Nourmahal, who sat in it. After them a third, in which sat his younger sons. Then followed about twenty elephants-royal, led for him to mount, so rich in stones and furniture, that they glittered like the sun. Every elephant had sundry flags of cloth of silver, gilt satin, and taffety."

It has been before observed, that Raja Ranna was the most powerful of the native princes of Hindostan. His dominions bordered on Malva, were full of mountains, inhabited by rajapouts, or warlike tribes of native Indians, who secure in their strong holds, generally situated on the summit of inaccessible rocks, from time immemorial had defied all the power both of Patans and Moguls entirely to subdue them. Akber penetrated far into their desolate domain, and by the conquest of Chitore spread a general terror among them; but as he had other objects to engage his attention, more important than the persecution of those mountainous marauders, for they lived principally by plundering the caravans, he was contented with the submission of their chief, and left them in their former state. Jehanguire had himself, indeed, been sent against them near the close of his reign, but his own revolt prevented their subjugation. Having begun to renew their depredations, the generals Mohabet Khan, Abdol Khan, and finally Sultan Khorum, his youngest son, (afterwards Shah Jehan) were successively sent with great armies for the reduction of that territory, in which, after the most resolute and prolonged resistance on the part of the rajahs; after levelling many lofty forests, cutting through many steep rocks, and blowing up many castles deemed impregnable, they at last succeeded. Raja Ranna himself, by the mediation of Sultan Khorum, obtained his pardon of the emperor; but it was not

granted without presents of inestimable value, and the detention of his son Kurren at court, as a perpetual hostage for his future obedience.*

These three illustrious personages were shortly after sent into Deccan, to assist Khan Khanna in the prosecution of a war conducted on the enemy's part by Malek Amber, general and vizier of the Nizam. The kings of Visiapore and Golconda having neglected for some time to remit to court their annual tribute, were now likewise called upon by those commanders for that mark of homage to the emperor. But instead of remitting it they joined the Nizam's forces, and prepared to oppose the march of the Mogul army into his territories. Sultan Khorum, who on this expedition, for the first time, by permission of the emperor, assumed the name of Shah Jehan, and the other commanders, not at all dismayed at so formidable a combination, made those immediate arrangements that were necessary in this emergency, and first retaking all those strong posts in Deccan, and the neighbouring provinces of Candeish and Berar, which Malek in his first rapid incursions had conquered from the Moguls, moved forward in excellent order to meet the enemy. The prudent general for some time declined a general engagement, and retreated towards the capital; but being closely pressed was compelled to risk a battle, which he lost; he again rallied his forces, and was still unfortunate; at length his troops meeting a complete overthrow, the triumphant army entered the metropolis of Deccan, plundered it of immense riches, and in revenge for the Nizam's perfidy, levelled his sumptuous palace with the ground. The rebellious kings of Visiapore and Golconda, after paying the indebted tribute, were for the present no further molested: the time for the reduction of those wealthy and populous kingdoms into provinces of the empire was not yet arrived. The immortal Aurengzebe was not yet born.

* Gladwin's Hist. Jehanguire, p. 31.

That very moment in which Sultan Khorum assumed the title of Shah Jehan, or king of the world, he seems to have discarded from his mind filial obedience, fraternal affection, and every other restraint on an unjust and boundless ambition. He saw with equal indignation and contempt a woman swaying the sceptre of Hindostan, and every high post of honour and emolument bestowed upon her own relations. He determined to break the charm by which his father and the empire was bound, and risk every thing to obtain a throne for which he esteemed himself so much better qualified. There was no tie so sacred, no consideration so valuable, which he was not eager to sacrifice for the darling object that now engrossed all the powers of his soul, and influenced all the actions of his future life. The unfortunate Khosro had been committed to his custody, as to the custody of a brother who would naturally mingle pity with necessary restriction, and mitigate by tender assiduities the hardships of confinement. But Khosro was not wholly incapacitated for reigning; and *might* be an obstacle to his ascending the throne: he was therefore destined to destruction; and the better to prevent suspicion, the inhuman deed was perpetrated while he himself was absent on a hunting party. At midnight some hired assassins rushed into the chamber of the devoted prince, and strangling him, for ever annihilated from that quarter, the fears of a jealous and obdurate brother.

If power alone could have satisfied this enterprising prince, he possessed already an ample share of it. The whole southern army was at his disposal; and he united under the extensive government, to which by the liberal indulgence, or perhaps the forced consent, of Jehanguire, he was appointed, the provinces of Deccan, Candeish, Berar, and Guzzurat; over which he ruled with unlimited authority. He assumed every attribute of royalty; appointed governors to the several provinces and cities under his jurisdiction; and affected on all occasions the state and splendour of a king.

But nothing less than a real crown would fully content his grasping ambition. The emperor had for some time removed his court to Lahore, with a design to make that city the metropolis of his empire. The imperial treasures, for better security, were left in the stronger castle of Agra. Having, however, strongly fortified, as well as greatly beautified that city, he sent Asoph Khan, brother of Nourmahal, with a strong guard to escort them thither. Well knowing the only channel in which honours and distinction flowed, Shah Jehan had condescended to marry the daughter of Asoph, and by this politic measure had secured to his interest the power he despised. There was hardly an omrah likewise about his father's court who did not receive a pension from himself. A few only remained faithful to their sovereign. To support the vast efflux of wealth necessary towards preserving this corrupt influence, to which even the accumulated income of his rich governments was by no means adequate, he now resolved to avow his treasonable intentions, by seizing on the treasures of the empire during their transportation from Agra to Lahore. Asoph, between whom and the Prince an intimate correspondence was kept up, anxious to aggrandize a person so nearly allied, coincided in the measure; and both the time and place for the seizure were mutually agreed upon. To accomplish this bold design, Shah Jehan summoned Bickermajeet, governor under himself of Guzzurat, his most faithful commander, and set out from Brampoor with seventy thousand horse, under the pretence of hunting, and made such great expedition that he arrived at Fettipore in fifteen days; but intelligence of this event arriving at Agra, Ethabar Khan governor of Agra, justly suspicious of his intentions, refused to deliver the treasure to the king's order, and prepared against the consequences by getting ready the cannon, and walling up the gates of the castle. The Prince immediately detached Bickermajeet, his head general, and the greater part of his army to Agra, to effect that by open force which he meant to

have accomplished by surprize. The object, however, was not obtained; for the castle was fortified to hold out against a long siege, and the crisis was too big with important events to admit of such delay; yet, by the plunder of the palaces of some great omrahs in the king's interest, a very considerable sum was carried back to Fettipore. This sum the prudent prince distributed among the soldiers, to animate them to pursue with unabated vigour that greater object to which his hopes aspired. He had gone too far to recede, and success or failure depended on the exertions of the moment.

In the mean time couriers had been dispatched in haste to Jehanguire to acquaint him with these transactions, which threw the whole court into the utmost consternation, as there was but a small force at Lahore; and the Prince, having left Fettipore, was rapidly advancing to give his father battle. Summonses were immediately issued, for all the neighbouring governors to hasten with their troops to the assistance of the emperor; and Mohabet Khan from Cabul, and Khan Jehan from Multan, soon joined the royal army, and made it considerable. The two armies met near Delhi, and battle was fought, in which Abdollah Khan, and many of the corrupted omrahs deserted to the Prince; but still, by the firmness of Mohabet Khan, and the exertions of Sultan Shehriar, the king's youngest son, victory declared in favour of the imperial army. At one time Shah Jehan's forces had manifestly the advantage, which Bickermajeet observing, rushed forward with a few chosen troops to the very tent of the king, whom they seized; but the guards making an united and desperate effort for his release, rescued him, and the heroic general, with his comrades, was in an instant cut to pieces. The fate of the general being known, contributed greatly to the dispersion of the army he commanded.*

The Prince, undiscouraged by this defeat, resolved to persevere in the course he had begun; and though by the mediation of Khan

* De Laet, p. 248. Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 69; and Herbert, p. 82.

Khanna, an interview soon after took place between father and son at Ajmere, when they were apparently reconciled; yet, on finding his governments were not to be continued to him, he again retired southward to recruit his army, and renew the war. By that authority which he had before exerted, and was now resolved not tamely to surrender, he appointed Abdollah Khan, who had continued faithfully to adhere to his interests, to the government of Guzzurat, vacant by the death of Bickermajeet, and sent him with the new raised army into that province to oppose Azim Khan and Sultan Bolaki, the young and only son of the unfortunate Khosro, who, at the head of the royal forces, were in full march towards Ahmedabad. So secure had Shah Jehan imagined himself of the crown for which he contended, that he had caused a sumptuous throne to be built by the most skilful artificers at that city, on whose erection he had lavished immense sums; adorning it with the choicest jewels, and with a profusion of gold in decorations. On this occasion he exhibited his early taste for that splendour and magnificence which afterwards marked his reign, and chiefly displayed itself in that wonderful production, in which all the riches of the world seemed to be concentered, the famous Peacock Throne. What was meant for the ornament of a triumph, was now converted into the means of his discomfiture, for Shaffi Khan, the king's new appointed governor, broke to pieces that pageant of grandeur, and, with the sum it produced, procured an army of such force as enabled him to defeat Abdollah Khan, without the assistance of the king, and compelled him to retreat to Brampour. *

Jehanguire, after his victory over Shah Jehan, had marched to Ajmere first, and thence to Agra, where Sultan Parvez, his eldest son, greatly incensed at the presumption of his brother, met him with a powerful army, which he was eager to employ for his reduction. The king equally incensed, or rather wrought up to a

* De Laet, p. 254.

pitch of frantic rage at this second revolt, not only permitted, but charged him and the omrahs to go in pursuit of his rebellious son, and bring him bound before him. The Sultan lost no time in executing the commission he so earnestly requested of humbling a haughty brother. The rival sultans came to an engagement at Mando, seventy-five miles to the north of Brampour, and the shock was equal to the implacable hatred they bore each other. Both accomplished wonders in the field, and the event was long doubtful: but in the end Shah Jehan's troops, that were originally much smaller in number than his antagonists, being thinned by great desertions, both of men and commanders, and wearied with the violence of ineffectual exertions, were compelled to retreat. Shah Jehan attempted to make a second stand at the river Nerbudda; but here Khan Khanna himself proved treacherous to this cause, which indeed he never espoused with ardour; while Parvez crossing the stream, pursued him with indefatigable activity, drove his scanty and routed forces before him, and at last fixed his victorious standards on the ramparts of Brampour. Many attempts were afterwards made, both by force and artifice, to secure the person of the prince, but he fortunately escaped; while fugitive and desponding, he wandered far into the territories of Deccan, and found in Malek Amber a more generous enemy than he had himself proved to that monarch in his distress. The emperor, though in that respect disappointed, was filled with joy at the downfall of an enemy who could only rise by the depression of himself, and heaped honours and riches on his son and deliverer.

During these intestine commotions, two formidable foes of a foreign kind, allured by the indolent character of Jehanguire, so contrary to that of his predecessor, appeared in force on the northern frontiers of the empire; for in the first place, the Emperor having suffered himself to be lulled into security by the warm professions of inviolable friendship, so repeatedly tendered to him by Shah

Abbas, had lately kept but a small garrison in the important fortress of Candahar, which offered such a temptation to the Persian monarch, as he was not able to resist. He therefore suddenly brought a large army against it, and Abdalezeez Khan, the governor, having no force capable of making resistance against such a mighty attack, surrendered the fort. In the second place; those numerous tribes of Uzbeks that wandered over the plains of Great Tartary, had long viewed with an envious eye the rich and fertile vales of Hindostan, but the terror of Akber's all-conquering arms deterred them from rushing on the inviting prey. That dreaded object being removed, the khan of that country, once so renowned in history, poured his hardy and rapacious legions over the province of Cabul, and was directing his course towards its capital, when he was met by the son of the valiant and loyal Mohabet Khan the viceroy, who, inheriting the undaunted spirit of his father, with twenty thousand horse attacked an enemy nearly double that number, compelled them to quit the field in irrecoverable disorder, and made a dreadful havock of their choicest troops. The destruction which they meditated for others was thus retaliated on themselves; and the Indian governor returned to Cabul, oppressed with a vast booty, and attended by innumerable captives.

The coolness, the verdure, the beauty of Cashmere, made it ever a desirable retreat for the sultans of Hindostan, and thither this luxurious monarch, dissolved in the soft languor of love, delighted to retire. He used to declare that he would rather part with all his dominions than that single province, and caused the ancient history of its kings to be abridged in Persian; a work which Bernier tells us he was about translating. On the borders of a beautiful and spacious lake, situated to the north of the city of Cashmere, he about this time raised a palace of most elegant construction, adorned with every rarity of art and nature; rich cabinets, splendid vases; whatsoever could charm the eye and delight the fancy.

In one of these distant excursions Shah Jehan, who had been collecting forces in Deccan, crossing those dreary and barbarous regions that border eastward on the mountains of Ballagate and Golconda, made an irruption into Bengal, which he over-run with astonishing speed and success. Ibrahim, the viceroy, a man more influenced by avarice than animated by fortitude, made few exertions to oppose the victorious invader, but flying before him, left the richest cities and the strongest castles at his mercy. His own accumulated wealth was enormous, which Shah Jehan seized, and having by that means greatly increased his army, entered without resistance the capital of Patna. Fortune seemed in this instance to favour him as conspicuously as she had before oppressed him, and he resolved to improve to the utmost the advantages which she threw in his way. After plundering Patna of immense treasures he marched towards Dacca, whence Ibrahim Khan, brother-in-law to the former, but still more wealthy and avaricious, and far more couragious, had issued with a considerable body of horse to check his career. The armies met at Rajamal, and the attack of Ibrahim was so furious and well-conducted, that the prince's forces were on the point of flying, when Abdollah Khan, who lay in ambuscade, seasonably rushing forth from his place of retreat, inspired their drooping courage and sustained their broken ranks. The battle was now renewed with tenfold fury. Ibrahim fought for fame, treasure, and life; each was alike dear to him. Shah Jehan had a stake equally important depending on that day's success. At length the greater part of Ibrahim's troops being slain, and the others not having the same motives with their leader to continue the obstinate contest, left him with about five hundred firm adherents to fight the battle out by themselves. These rushed in a body on the enemy, and after selling their lives as dear as possible, were, to a man, cut to pieces. A detachment was then sent under Darab Shah to take possession of Dacca, where, in the public treasury, as well as in the private

coffers of the governor, an amazing heap of gold and silver coin was found; while Shah Jehan, joined by many neighbouring rajahs, with considerable forces, returned to Patna in triumph. Other detachments were now sent to extort tribute from Benares, Jionpore, and the several cities on or near the Ganges, and Abdollah Khan marching to Allahabad, laid siege to that strong fortress, which was couragiously and perseveringly defended by Rustam Khan, the governor.

Tidings of these successes arriving at Cashmere, considerably abated the unrestrained gaiety that reigned in that delightful recess; but the court were shortly after relieved from their apprehension by the intelligence that Sultan Parvez and Mohabet Khan were advancing with fifty thousand horse to the relief of Allahabad, in addition to whose forces the emperor sent Khan Jehan, governor of Multan, with the northern army. These uniting, formed a force that swept every thing before it. Allahabad was recovered, Patna was retaken, and Shah Jehan, being once more defeated in a general engagement, lost the immense spoil he had collected in even a shorter interval than he had acquired it. He then fled to the frontiers of Golconda, and by the assistance of his steady friend Malek Amber, soon after invested Brampore, which Rostan, whom Parvez had left governor, had newly fortified. As this was his last and only stake, he attacked it with desperate fury, and the place was taken, but lost almost immediately by an unfortunate disagreement between his generals; while Sultan Parvez, approaching with as much speed as an army of such magnitude would permit him to use, compelled him to raise the siege, and think of bending his stubborn mind to obedience. With this view he sent the keys of those important fortresses, Hassera and Rhotas, which had lately submitted to his brother; and to appease the wrath of Jehanguire, on the breaking up of his camp, sent to court a hundred of his finest elephants, with his two sons, Sultan Dara and Sultan Sujah,

then very young, as pledges of his future fidelity. The present was accepted; and the two princes, with their governor Roja Jehan, remained at Agra, where they were treated with respect and affection.

This storm had scarcely blown over when another, raised by the turbulent spirit of the empress Nour Jehan, darkened the political hemisphere. Mohabet Khan, a faithful and active servant of the crown, observing in how imperious a manner that high-spirited woman conducted herself towards the king, and the principal omrahs, had remonstrated with his majesty on the subject, with a boldness justified by his eminent services and distinguished rank. The enraged queen, in revenge, procured his dismission from the army, and his expulsion from the government he enjoyed. Thus undeservedly treated, the disgusted chief leaving Brampour, with his small but faithful army of Rajapouts, retired to Rantimpore, his hereditary domain, (for he was by birth a rajah,) and without meditating any plans of tumult or rebellion, quietly acquiesced in the unjust sentence of his sovereign. But his degradation alone by no means satisfied the arbitrary princess: her sanguinary vengeance demanded the life of the aged veteran. To accomplish his destruction more readily, he was ordered to resign the keys of his castle into the hands of a certain governor, appointed to receive them, and repair himself, attended only by his domestics, to the king at Lahore. The sequel shall be given in the very words of an author of great respectability, often cited by me, and who flourished about the same period. " But Mohabet Khan was no baby, nor would hee " suffer such indignities: and thereupon gathers an army of twenty " thousand horsemen with which hee set upon them (that is, the " Imperial army advancing from Lahore to attack him,) all upon a " sudden, as they were passing over a river, and so amazed their army " that hee tooke the Mogull prisoner, and conveyed him to a tent, " (not, for all the world, purposing any hurt unto him), whom he

" knew to be good, and only abused by Nourmahal, his queene. " Shee in the interim had passed safely over the river, with most " part of the Lescar, or army, which shee immediately put into " battalia, and stood in her owne defence, to expect her mortall " enemy Mohabet Khan, that straight way gave her battaile, slue " most of her men, tooke her prisoner, and commanded her head " off, to satisfie his fury, with her brother's Asoph Khan, who " being wiser of the two, in the skirmish fled amayne to a strong " castle, where he intrenched himselfe till hee had petitioned the " Mogull for his liberty and reconcilement with Mohabet Khan. " Who so soone as the battaile was ended, gave orders to his army " to pursue Asoph Khan, and to behead him; and brought forth " Queene Nourmahal to receive her judgment, but shee got so " much favour from Jehangheer, the olde Mogull her doting hus- " band, that with tears hee beg'd her life, from this his champion, " who though hee knew she would be destruction to him or his, " yet to shew his loyaltie to his master, he released her, and became " friends."* However this friendship was not of long duration. The king shortly after, under a pretence of a hunting match, made his escape from his captor; and Nourmahal, as soon as she was restored to liberty and her former authority, which by her consummate policy she speedily effected, raised an army of fifteen thousand horse which she sent in pursuit of the Khan, who, resenting the black ingratitude of the king, and still determined to oppose the ambitious projects of the empress in favour of her son Sultan Shahriar,† retired to Shah Jehan, who had strongly pressed him to drop animosity and join his party. Thus these inveterate enemies, who had for many years entertained the most implacable hatred against each other, were at length reconciled; and the reconciliation

* Herbert, p. 9; this writer, together with Sir Thomas Roe, and Terry, visited India in this reign, and therefore obtained their information on the spot.

† Sultan Shahriar was the youngest son of Jehanguire, and was married to the daughter of Nourmahal by her former husband.

was more important to the prince, because in the late exigency of his affairs he had been deserted by the former firm supporter of all his measures, Abdol Khan, who, in the belief that his cause was become altogether hopeless, joined the victorious army of Sultan Parvez.

Shah Jehan had temporized; but at the idea of absolute unqualified obedience, the pride of his soul revolted. During the distractions at court he issued with a new raised army from his retreat in Deccan, and began his depredations in a quarter of the empire that had not yet experienced his ravages. With a fixed design to take immediate advantage of any favourable circumstance which those distractions might afford to his ambition, he hurried northward, to be nearer the scene of action, and besieged Tatta. Though unsuccessful in this enterprize, he still kept hovering about that region, impatiently waiting the event of Mohabet Khan's rebellion, till receiving intelligence of the death of Sultan Parvez and Malek Amber about the same time, he hastened back into Deccan, where Jehan Khan had succeeded to the supreme command in Brampoor, while Mirza Alladin, son of Malek Amber, had ascended the throne of his father. The new monarch continued to him the protection and friendship which he had before experienced in Deccan, and they united their forces to desolate the frontiers of their enemies. Rouzed at this insult to his newly acquired authority, Khan Jehan, with a great army of horse and a proud train of elephants, marched into Deccan, where the politic foe retreated before him, till he had advanced into the heart of the kingdom, when surrounding the incautious general, they put many of his troops to the sword, compelled him to submit to the most dishonourable terms, and return covered with confusion and disgrace to the capital of his government.

The death of Sultan Parvez made the deepest impression on the mind of the afflicted emperor; his affection as a son had ever been

alike conspicuous with his loyalty as a subject. He was in all points the exact reverse of the haughty, disobedient, aspiring Shah Jehan, and the distinguished virtues which his early life displayed afforded a happy presage of future glory; but his untimely death for ever destroyed those flattering hopes which the delighted father had indulged, and left him overwhelmed with anguish and despair. The gloom and sadness with which these considerations oppressed him, and the daily intelligence he received of Shah Jehan's open attempts to rend the crown from his aged brow, had such an effect upon him as to shorten his days; nor could all the delights which his favourite recess of Cashmere (whither he now retired), nor the tender assiduities of Nourmahal, dissipate that profound melancholy which soon took the sole possession of his mind. His peculiar malady, an asthma, and the other infirmities incident to age daily increasing, he fell at length the victim of their united violence; and having on his death bed, in the most solemn manner, appointed Sultan Shahriar his successor, to the exclusion of Shah Jehan, and obliged the omrahs of his court to swear fidelity to that prince, this unfortunate monarch expired at Bember, in his way to Lahore, on the 27th of October, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign.*

The character of Jehanguire exhibits a striking contrast to that of Akber. His former name of Selim, which signifies *peaceful*, was much better suited to this monarch than his latter assumed name of Jehanguire, or the *conqueror of the world*. Indolent, luxurious, effeminate, he possessed no quality that adds splendour to high station, and wasted in his haram those moments which his predecessor devoted to the pursuit of glory and the interests of the empire. By nature not tyrannical or cruel, yet, by the instigation of those about him, and the influence of wine, to which he was immoderately addicted,

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 288. Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 101. Gladwin's Hist. of Jehanguire, p. 91.

he was often hurried into the most despotic and barbarous proceedings, of which Sir Thomas Roe * gives more than one striking instance. His conduct proved him to be governed by wild caprice alone; without wisdom to judge, or spirit to act, but through the medium of others. The consequence was, that his reign was a

* From the latter author, who resided at the court of Jehanguire nearly a year, I had collected a variety of curious facts relating to this monarch, which want of room and more important events compel me to omit; although in his political character, as ambassador from James the First, he must again be mentioned. They will be found in his own Journal, inserted at the end of the first volume of Churchill's Collection. The following anecdote of him, from a publication less generally known, cannot fail of gratifying the reader. It is from those Memoirs written by himself, which form the basis of Mr. Gladwin's History of his Life, p. 93. "In proof of the honesty with which (in those Memoirs), he confesses his foibles, we shall shew in what manner he speaks of his addiction to drunkenness.—He says, that at the age of fifteen, he went along with his father to Attock, against the tribe of Yousef Zai; when, one day, having separated from him on a hunting party, and being exceedingly thirsty and fatigued, Shah Kuly, the commandant of the artillery, told him, that if he would drink a cup of wine, it would completely refresh him. He followed this man's advice, and drank a cup of sweet white wine, which he found so delicious, that from that time he became fond of liquor, and daily increased his dose, till at length the expressed juice of the grape had no effect upon him. Constantly, for nine years, he drank of double distilled spirits, fourteen cups in the day, and six cups at night, which, he says, were altogether equal to six Hindostan seers, or English quarts. At this time he had hardly any appetite, his daily food being a chicken, with a little bread and some radishes. By a continuance in this course, his nerves became so affected, that he was obliged to get somebody to lift the cup to his mouth. He then discovered his case to Hakeem Hemam, one of his father's physicians and intimate companions, who freely told him, that if he persisted in this way six months longer, his disorder would be absolutely incurable. Having a great affection for this friend, and confiding in his medical skill, he gradually lessened the daily quantity, and reduced the strength of the liquor, by diluting it with two parts of wine; and with the help of a small dose of philonium, at the end of seven years, brought himself to be satisfied with six cups daily. For fifteen years he drank at this rate, taking the whole at night: excepting on Thursday, the day of his accession; and Friday, the most holy night in the week with the Mohammedans, when he totally abstained from strong drink."

perpetual scene of anarchy and discord, from domestic dissention and civil commotion;—it is most probable that had he been a wiser prince, or more prudent ruler, Shah Jehan would not have disturbed his quiet; and it is evident Mohabet Khan would not have rebelled. Without piety, or even morality, he wished to be esteemed a prophet; and without knowledge of its principles, affected to revere the religion of Christ; for he not only continued the protection which his father had afforded to the Franks settled at Agra, and the other places of his dominion, but caused the sons of Shah Daniel to be baptized, and educated by the Jesuits. This act, however, is imputed by those who relate it, to political motives. On the whole, he was a singular compound of very opposite qualities; and it is to be imputed to the courage of his generals, rather than to the vigour of his counsels, that the vast dominions which he inherited descended in their original extent to his son.

BOOK V.

IN WHICH THE HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF ASIA IS RESUMED, AND THE CONQUESTS AND SETTLEMENTS OF EUROPEAN NATIONS ON THE SHORES OF INDIA ARE DETAILED.

CHAPTER I.

Progress of Asiatic Commerce in the middle Ages.—The Genius of Mohammedism, at first unfriendly to its Interest, in a short Period adopts, and vigorously pursues, the Line of Traffic which it fastidiously rejected.—Character of the Abasside Caliphs.—Its chief Marts, Bassora — Aleppo — Cairo — Alexandria.—The Venetian Merchants establish themselves at Alexandria.—The Genoese engross the Trade of Constantinople.—Inveterate Jealousy, and furious Conflicts at Sea, between those rival States.—Caffa, on the Euxine, seized and fortified by the Genoese.—Florence and Pisa become Rivals, in Opulence and Power to the former.—Rise and Establishment of the celebrated Hanseatic League.—The Portuguese under Vasco de Gama, pass the Cape of Good Hope, and establish themselves at Calicut, on the Coast of Malabar.—Wars with the Samorin.—Alfonso Albuquerque.—Assault and Capture of Goa.—Conquest of Malacca, and the Moluccos,—of Ceylon,—of Ormuz. Death of Albuquerque.—They establish themselves at Macao and Japan.—Degeneracy of the Portuguese, and consequent Decline of their Power in India.

HAVING in the Sixth Volume of the Indian Antiquities,* in a general way, considered the origin and progress of navigation and

* Part II. on the Phœnician and Ancient Greek Commerce.

commerce in the Eastern world, and in a more particular manner as connected with India, one of its most important empires; having also, in the early pages of this History, traced the latter as carried on by the Alexandrian Greeks, the Romans, and the Byzantines, * down nearly to the period of the Emperor Justinian and the birth of Mohammed, I intend to devote this chapter to the further investigation of that important subject, and the history of the EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS on the coasts and Islands of the Indian continent. On so vast a theme, though the limits of my work compel me to be rather concise, yet I trust it will be found to contain the substance of all that is necessary to be recorded in a history *professedly general*. For the gratification of those who require more particular and minute details, many respectable and authentic publications on these subjects have already been given to the world, and may with ease be consulted.

Equally hostile to letters and to commerce was the first dreadful eruption of the superstitious zeal and impetuous valour of the Mohammedan chieftains. The unsocial spirit of that religion for a time disdained all intercourse with the enemies of the Prophet; the gates of their cities were shut against the Christian merchants, and their harbours against their vessels. But when their arms had acquired to them the undisturbed possession of the finest provinces of Asia, and the fury of their zeal had in a great degree subsided; and, in particular, when the immense sources of wealth opened to them by an enlarged commerce with the other kingdoms of Asia and Europe, were gradually and clearly perceived, they became as strenuous advocates as they had previously been opponents to the cause of both. In respect to literature, some of the best Greek authors, translated into Arabic, were studied and admired. Colleges and observatories were every where erected; the genius and erudition of the Christians became respected; and, if all the freedom

* See of this History Vol. I. Chapter ii. p. 46.

and commercial privileges enjoyed by the *faithful* were, from motives of policy, denied them, the dreadful penalties denounced against them by former despots were greatly mitigated, and the chains of their oppression broken. An undiscriminating and sanguinary tyrant, indeed, might occasionally arise, and cause them to feel his iron scourge, but the illustrious dynasty of the Abassides were, in general, distinguished by their candid and liberal conduct to the virtuous, the learned, and the industrious of every faith and nation. In the glorious reign of AL MAMOON particularly, at an early period of the ninth century, a variety of valuable Greek authors, on the subject of mathematics, philosophy, and medicine, appeared in elegant Arabic versions, * their works having been purchased for this express purpose by that liberal and magnificent monarch; and the interests of literature continued for the most part to be holden sacred by his successors in that line, till its extinction.

With respect to the gradual and increasing attention of the Arabians to the promotion of commerce, we have already seen BASSORA, one of the proudest marts of Asia, situated on the great stream, formed by the conflux of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, erected by the sagacious policy of the Caliph Omar, so early as the year of our Lord 636, with a view to monopolize the entire Indian trade, that entered Persia by its celebrated gulf, and was intended to be dispersed partly by those rivers, and partly by the caravans that traded to Aleppo, over that empire, Syria, and the most distant regions of Asia. Of this vast, this lucrative commerce, carried on by the way of that gulf, with India, the Mohammedan traders, first Arabian then Persian, continued the jealous and uninterrupted possessors, till the unexpected appearance in those seas of the Portuguese in the year 1498. The footing gained in the succeeding periods by the Arabian generals in Cambay, Guzzurat, and along

* Vide Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 40. Abulfeda, Tom. II. p. 165, et D'Herbelot, article Almamoun.

the banks of the Indus by those generals, who, on national grounds, excluded the navigators of other countries as much as possible from the shores of India, was the cause of their enjoying the traffic so long without a rival. The importation into Persia of the rich produce of Gangetic Hindostan, and China, by the route of Lahore and Candahar, was for a time also wholly engrossed by them; while the Greek and Armenian merchants, who trafficked in that part of India, exiled from the accustomed marts of the south, were compelled, at great increased expence, to procure Indian commodities in far more northern latitudes, and for security, to transport them to Europe by the old circuitous route of the Oxus and the Caspian sea. I have already mentioned this famous route before, and shall repeat it here, as it possibly may not be long before it is revived. Up the Indus, to the country of the Bactrians and the river Icarus, according to Pliny, was a voyage of *seven* days only; the goods were then embarked on the Oxus, which falls into the Caspian; they were then transported across that stormy sea to the mouth of the great river Cyrus (now the *Kur*), whence, in four or five days, they were conveyed by land-carriage to the river Phasis (still called the *Faz*), that falls into the Black Sea in Mingrelia, the ancient COLCHUS. *

As the sentiments and conduct of the Mohammedans towards the Christians grew less rigid, the latter were, in time, again permitted to partake of the advantages of the great inland trade from Agra, by Candahar, to Ispahan; but Bassora and the Persian Gulf still remained in the entire possession of the Arabians. At a far later period than the foundation of Bassora, viz. 968, with equal policy we see the chief of another celebrated Mohammedan dynasty erect in Egypt the great city of CAIRO, or AL KAHIRA, *the victorious*, by which they effectually commanded the whole trade of that empire, consisting also, for the most part, of the rich productions of

* Plinii Nat. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. 17.

exhaustless India. That trade, thus again flourishing in full vigour, and flowing in its ancient channel, marked out by the Ptolemies, must necessarily have passed Cairo to Alexandria, whence it was circulated through the Mediterranean, and over Europe in the vessels of an ingenious and adventurous race, who must presently become the objects of our consideration.

In this manner, partly impelled by the ardour of religious zeal to make converts, and partly by the persevering and undaunted spirit of ambition and avarice, they pursued with unabated activity the projects to which both gave birth in all the neighbouring countries and islands on the Indian seas. They early obtained possession of the important harbour of Diu, in the Gulf of Cambay; on the distant coast of Malacca, and at Sumatra, they were known as merchants, and feared as conquerors; their triumphant fleets had sailed round the Moluccos, with whose princes, especially those of Tidor and Ternate, they entered into a treaty of strict amity and commerce; and, by the Mohammedan travellers of the ninth century, are even said to have secured a settlement in Canton; and to have been dispersed in vast numbers throughout the great empire of China.*

By the adventurous race just mentioned, the Oriental reader will immediately perceive that I mean the VENETIANS, who, on the utter subversion of the Roman power in the west, by the irresistible swarms of barbarians that inundated Italy, by gradual and indefatigable exertions had raised a great state, as it were, from the bosom of the ocean, and whom we find actively engaged, so early as the seventh century, in an extensive traffic with the Eastern world for all its most valuable commodities; nor did their connection and commerce with it entirely cease during the most turbulent periods of the Saracen invasions of Egypt, Persia, and Syria, though the course in which it flowed often varied with the fluctuating

* Ancient Accounts of India and China, p. 167, 168, et seq.

circumstances of the times, and the rapid vicissitude of events. By unremitting perseverance, by alternate fortitude and prudence, but, above all, by incessant efforts to become potent as a naval power, the Venetians gradually became at once useful and formidable to their Mohammedan rivals. Mutual interest and similar maritime pursuits gradually led to the mitigation, at least, if not to the extinction of mutual prejudice. The overflowing warehouses of Alexandria, and the increasing demands for the delicacies and luxuries of India, of the great and voluptuous capitals of Europe, conjointly operated towards the establishment of a firm commercial connection between the jarring sects upon as just and liberal principles as, in their relative situations, could well be expected. In this manner, then, was the commerce with India, under the early Saracen and Mohammedan sovereigns, through Egypt, carried on for a long series of years. The Arabian monopolizers bringing from the Malabar coast to the Egyptian ports of the Red Sea, the silk and cotton manufactures, the precious gems, drugs, and spices of India, where they were purchased by Egyptian factors, who transported them down the Nile to Alexandria, where the Venetian merchants again purchased them at high rates, and became the enriched carriers of them throughout the whole western world. The happy consequences of these vigorous exertions to all the parties concerned should never be forgotten to be impressed by an historian on the minds of a great commercial people: the Alexandrian merchants became the most renowned for wealth upon earth; the Venetians lived with the pomp and splendour of princes; and the annual revenue of the Sultans of Egypt, who encouraged and established this commerce, are stated by Al Makin to have been no less than three hundred millions of crowns of gold! Its present indolent sovereigns, with all their multiplied oppression, can only extort from its toiling sons about three millions.

The holy and ensanguined fury that in the succeeding period of

the crusades armed all Europe against Asia, and in which the State of Venice, then its first maritime power, was compelled to take a principal share, for a time obstructed the channel of this lucrative traffic, and proved the occasion of once more excluding the Christian vessels from the port of Alexandria. No more direct proof of my former assertion, that the Mohammedans *had*, in fact, from interested or other motives, softened the rigour of their despotism towards the Christians can be given, than that, long previous to this period, they had connived at the residence of numerous families of that sect at Jerusalem, and permitted pilgrims journeying thither either for devotion or traffic, in security to visit the Holy Sepulchre. Heavy imposts were undoubtedly levied upon those pilgrims, but still their avarice of Christian gold allowed them not to close the gates of its most venerated sanctuary against the enraptured adorers of a crucified Saviour. About this period, however, A. D. 1096, as we have before intimated, Syria was conquered from the Arabs by the Seljukian Turks, and Sultan Solyman, of that warlike dynasty, having fixed his capital at Nice, in the Lesser Asia, behaved to the Christians settled in Palestine, and especially those resident in Jerusalem, with extreme cruelty. This conduct, so different from that of his predecessors on the Syrian throne, excited the pity and indignation of the pious pilgrims who resorted thither from Europe, and particularly of PETER sirnamed the HERMIT, who, on his return to the West, armed with the reigning Pope's authority, fired with revenge, and rouzed to war, all the princes of Christendom, in that frantic expedition which deprived Europe of a million of souls, and drained it of immense treasures. Into the history of this war it is not necessary for us to enter farther than just to state, that the Venetians amply repaid themselves for the temporary loss of the trade of Alexandria, by the monopoly, for a time, of that of Constantinople, which, by the assistance of their powerful navy, under pretensions not the most just, nor by means the most honourable,

was conquered by the princes of the crusades from the Greek emperor, and remained in their possession for nearly sixty years, that prudent nation having, in the partition of the enormous plunder of the Western Empire, secured to themselves Candia, and other islands in the Archipelago, part of Peloponnesus, and several cities of the Hellespont. On these shores the Venetian merchants, during that period, reigned with the pomp and despotism of sovereign princes. Their numerous and triumphant fleets covered the ocean, and its ports alternately displayed the peaceful flag of commerce and the terrific ensigns of war.

When Constantinople, in 1260, was re-conquered from the Latins by Alexius, the general of Palæologus, vigorously assisted by the Genoese, the jealous rivals and sworn foes of the Venetians, the glory of the latter rapidly declined in that region of Asia, nor could they, by all their exertions ever after recover it to the extent in which they had formerly enjoyed it. By the munificent gratitude of the restored Greek emperor, PERA, the chief suburb of Constantinople, was bestowed upon the Genoese, with appendages of almost princely power; their ships lorded it in the Bay of Constantinople, and they absolutely engrossed the commerce of the Ægean and Ionian seas. Thus circumstanced, in the rapid revolutions of eastern empire, the Venetians, again induced by interest to overcome the strong prejudices of habit and religion, resorted to the ancient channels in which commerce had flowed, and to its principal and still most abundant mart for Indian commodities, Alexandria. There guided by reciprocal interest, from a thorough knowledge of what the Alexandrian commerce had, in preceding ages, produced to the Ptolemies, the Roman, and the Caliphate government of Egypt, the sultans of the military Mamaluc dynasty, as powerful to defend as politic to encourage the revived commerce, gave it all the protection which their absolute authority enabled them to give it; and the re-established traffic between the two nations,

though, on the part of the Venetians, loaded with heavy imposts, even to a third of the value of every article of barter, soon rose to a higher point of profit and celebrity than ever it had before reached. Of this assertion no greater proof can be adduced, than that to be found in Al Makin, that the predecessor of Thomam Bey, the last sultan of that dynasty, was able, on his accession, at once to bestow by way of largess on his soldiers, no less a sum than *ten millions of ducats*. * In consequence, the long-fermenting rancour of both religious and political enmity gradually subsided, and public recorded treaties at length gave their solemn sanction to the forbidden intercourse between the disciples of Christ and of Mohammed.

In the mean time, neither the vast revenue produced by the monopoly of the trade of Constantinople, nor the treasures wafted into her coffers from her lucrative settlements at Smyrna, Chios, and other Greek isles ceded to them by Palæologus, could satisfy the boundless avarice and ambition of the sons of Genoa. That rival republic, which, from an equally humble origin with Venice, had about this time arisen, both as a naval and military power, to an astonishing height of pre-eminence amidst the states of Europe, burned with envy at the unexpected success of their Venetian rivals. Though devoted themselves to an insatiable thirst of gain, yet they affected to despise the temporizing maxims, the base servility of the sordid Venetians, so unworthy the character of Christians, and so degrading to the dignity of an independent nation. Inspired with no less assiduity and zeal than themselves to become a great naval power, their arduous exertions were alike fortunate, and they directed the whole thunder of that navy against their haughty rivals and the determined foes of Christianity. The citizens of Genoa, indeed, seemed to have glowed with as much rancour and vengeance against those of Venice, as against the Saracens. During the progressive advance of each to their present period of power

* Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 218, ubi Supra.

and aggrandisement, dreadful were the conflicts maintained on the ocean, during nearly a century, between these potent republics, and terrible the massacres that often took place between them on land. Of these, two remarkable instances may be adduced from history; the one, the dreadful massacre made of the Genoese by the Venetians in the year 1257, at Ptolemais, or Acre, a city taken by the crusaders from the Saracens, where they both had peaceably established their respective factories in different quarters of that great city; but where, from a slight cause, their ancient and smothered animosity broke forth into acts of the most sanguinary ferocity. Victory on this occasion attended the Venetians; a victory recorded on copper-plates fixed into the two columns erected to commemorate it in the square of St. Mark.* The other, that obstinate and bloody contest between the fleets of the two nations that took place in the Adriatic sea in 1298, in which the Venetians lost *eighty-five* out of *ninety-seven* gallies, and beheld with rage and anguish the admiral of Venice and seven thousand seamen taken prisoners. This victory is also commemorated on the part of the Genoese by a great annual festival instituted for that purpose.†

Towards the close of the thirteenth, and through all the fourteenth century, we find the Genoese increasing in wealth and in renown. Not satisfied with the trade of Constantinople, and the Greek dependent islands, they arrogated to themselves an exclusive right to the commerce of the Black Sea. With this view, among other Eastern plunder, they seized upon Caffa, the ancient Theodosia, situated in the country anciently called Chersonesus Taurica, but by the moderns the CRIMEA, a city, for those times, very respectably built and fortified, but which they in a manner re-constructed, adorning it with many sumptuous palaces, surrounding it on the land side with lofty walls, strengthened at intervals with bastions

* See Muratori Rerum Ital. Script. Tom. xxiii, p. 998, et seq.

† Blond Hist. Lib. viii. dec. 2. et Sabellicus, Hist. Rer. Venet. Lib. x, dec. 1.

and towers, stretching far into the sea, enlarging and deepening its capacious port, and erecting on the south side of it a castle impregnable against all the attacks which the rude engineers of that age and of that region could bring against it. Asoph, also, situated at the mouth of the Tanais or Don, the present barrier between the Russian and Turkish empires, was founded by the Genoese, with many others of inferior note. Caffa, however, was, as we may say, their metropolitan city, and long remained in their hands, the most famous emporium on the Euxine for Indian and Tartar commodities, brought thither by way of the Oxus and the Caspian; but, with their other settlements, was finally conquered from them by the Turks in the year 1474; and by Sir John Chardin is stated still to retain many noble vestiges of its ancient grandeur, and no contemptible remains of its ancient commerce. This respectable traveller says, that during a residence of forty days at Caffa, he saw enter and depart that port above four hundred sail of ships, besides innumerable small-craft. *

On the great theatre of Eastern commerce followed the wealthy republic of FLORENCE, whose illustrious princes of the House of Medici are supposed, from that source, to have derived those exhaustless treasures that enabled them to rival kings in state and splendour, and become in an eminent degree the encouragers of rising arts, and the munificent patrons of dawning science. In the mean time her private citizens, by that active zeal and that unwearied industry in every branch of trade and manufacture, especially those of silk and wool, which mark the genuine spirit of commercial enterprize, amassed such amazing fortunes as to become the general factors and bankers of Europe. At every court of it the Venetians and Florentines had their agents; and if great and expensive projects, either connected with war or peace, were engaged in by its ambitious sovereigns, *they* advanced the money for carrying it on,

* Chardin's Travels, p. 69; English folio, edit. 1686.

the national revenues being pledged for their security, and often at exorbitant rates of interest, which rendered them universally detested by their oppressed subjects, who considered these merchants of Lombardy, by which name the Italian states were then generally known, as the worst of usurers. PISA too, the jealous, and often the successful rival of Genoa on the ocean, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was constantly drawing from its connection with the Eastern world, with whose princes in Syria her valiant sons maintained many fierce and bloody conflicts, enormous wealth of every species, which her fleets distributed over the northern parts of Europe, and especially the British isles, with whom she entered into divers commercial treaties still extant in Rymer's Fœdera, and in 1485 was, in return, honoured with the residence of the first consul that ever was sent out of Britain, on mere commercial concerns, to any foreign state.

Next to these, as promoting and diffusing the commerce of the East, should be mentioned that celebrated confederacy known by the name of the HANSEATIC LEAGUE, composed of above seventy of the most considerable trading cities in Europe, united together for mutual security, and the protection of the branches of commerce respectively carried on by them, against piratical and other aggressions. By this politic measure, the north and the south of Europe became bound by one common bond of commercial interest; and a line of rapid communication and defence, was extended from the coast of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine. Awed by their power, or bribed by their wealth, the great potentates of Europe granted to these favoured cities unprecedented immunities, and they enjoyed almost a freedom from control in the several governments to which they respectively belonged. They for a time held, in a manner, the sovereignty of the ocean, and more than once took so severe a revenge on Denmark, for its opposition, as almost to annihilate her fleet and commerce. In the vast storehouses of Lubeck,

of Bruges, Antwerp, and other great marts, all the curious and costly productions of the Eastern world were treasured up, together with the more substantial and useful articles of merchandize peculiar to the west and the north. Under the same roof were collected the rarities at once of the tropical and polar regions, the ivory of Ethiopia, and the amber of the Baltic; the ore of Britain, and the gems of Golconda; the furs of Siberia, and the muslins of Bengal.

Such, considered in a general point of view, was the commerce carried on by Europe with India, and such the channel in which it flowed previous to that memorable æra, in which the undaunted fortitude of a Gama, impelled by the daring genius and the consummate policy of an Emanuel, opened to her adventurous sons, through the vast Atlantic, a new path to her wealthy shore. This important event, which fills the astonished soul with sublime delight, which enlarged to man the sphere of science, and expanded to his view the limits of nature, took place in A. H. 904, or A. D. 1498. The passage of that stupendous promontory first called the *Cape of Storms*, and afterwards, under more auspicious omens, the *Cape of Good Hope*, having been the theme of many enraptured poets, * historians, and philosophers, need not, any more than the preceding well-known history of events that led to it, in this place be dwelt upon. Suffice it, that taking the most authentic known, and principally native, authors for our guides, we endeavour to present the reader with as correct and ample a detail of their proceedings on its shores, as may be consistent with the plan of this undertaking. In Ferishta's general history, very little notice is taken of the settlements made by Europeans upon the Malabar coast, nor of their battles, however numerous, obstinate, and bloody, with its princes.

* Among these the first in excellence must doubtless be ranked the description of the passage, with the bold allegory of the genius of the Stormy Cape, by the sublime Camoens, so correctly and spiritedly translated by our countryman. See Mickle's Lusiad, Book V. p. 199.

The sound of their cannon was too feeble to reach the distant courts of Delhi and Agra; and while the monarch of Portugal vauntingly styled himself Sovereign of the Indies, his name and his claims were for a long time equally unknown in the capital of that mighty empire.

The voyage from Lisbon to India by Gama was completed in ten months; and the main object of that voyage being to open a commercial intercourse with the natives, he immediately directed his course, with the four ships he commanded, to Calicut, a city at that time of great commercial celebrity on the coast of Malabar, and situated in the latitude of 11° 18′ north of the equator. At that period Sultan Secunder, the son of Beloli, sate on the throne of Delhi; the inferior sovereign of Calicut bore the name of Samorin, and was one of the race of the Nairs, princes formerly tributary to the king of Bisnagur, who seems to have enjoyed the extensive peninsular empire known to the ancients by the name of the *kingdom of Pandion*. To this sovereign the Portugueze sent a pompous account of the splendour and magnificence of their sovereign; reciting the dangers they had struggled with, and the vast distance they had come to solicit his friendship, and trade with his subjects. At once astonished and flattered, the Samorin received them with kindness and distinction, entered into treaty with them, and permitted them to establish a factory for the purposes of commerce. But stung by disappointed avarice, and urged by religious aversion, the Mohammedans settled in his territories, in a short time set every engine at work to crush the hopes and counteract the designs of their rivals. By repeated suggestions to their prejudice, both the monarch and his subjects became violently incensed, and a project was formed not only for their expulsion but their extermination. By the firm fidelity of a Tunisian Moor, named Monzaida, Gama obtained timely intelligence of this to avoid the meditated blow, and retreating on board the ships, boldly remonstrated by letter with the

Samorin on the cruel impolicy of his conduct, as well as displayed the base falsehood of his calumniators. He proceeded, however, to no acts of hostility, though he could have laid Calicut in ashes ; and by this temperate and dignified conduct at once vindicated the honour of his nation, appeased the offended prince, and saved a useful ally. He had, eventually, the additional satisfaction of carrying back to King Emanuel, an amicable and respectful letter from the Samorin, in which he promised his subjects as free and as favoured a commerce in the ports of his kingdom as he could grant, consistently with prior engagements entered into with his Mohammedan allies. Although complete success, in mercantile concerns, had by no means attended this first European voyage to the shores of India, yet the vessels of Gama returned loaded, not only with the choicest productions of Malabar, but also with many of the rarer commodities of the provinces bordering on the Ganges; and these, while they highly gratified the luxurious nobles of the court of Portugal, inflamed the ambition of its youthful monarch, and goaded him on to new schemes of conquest and glory. *

A much stronger force was in consequence prepared with all possible expedition, and dispatched under Capral, the fortunate discoverer in this voyage of the great American continent, and of BRAZIL, that other rich gem in the crown of Portugal. Though this second fleet suffered severely during its passage from a dreadful tempest, yet so respectable was its appearance when arrived on the coast of India, that the Samorin immediately sent messengers to invite the admiral on shore, permitted him to erect the Imperial standard of his sovereign, and assigned him a commodious house for the establishment of a factory, and the deposition of stores. Incidents afterwards arose that rendered the sincerity of the Prince doubtful; and Capral, perhaps on too slight grounds, seized on the shipping in the harbour, in hopes, by that vigorous measure, of intimidating

* De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Tom. I. p. 52.

the Samorin, and preventing the prosecution of those schemes which, he was informed, were secretly forming for his destruction. The consequence however was, that the enraged citizens of Calicut surrounded the factory, burnt the house, plundered the magazines, and massacred all the persons of that nation who were not fortunate enough to effect their retreat on board the ships. Capral, in revenge, after plundering, set fire to the rich ships which he had seized, and pointing his cannon against the town, severely battered the walls and adjacent buildings; he then set sail for the more friendly port of Cochin, situated in latitude 9° 58′, about thirty leagues distant from Calicut. Between the sovereign, or rather rajah, of this kingdom, and the Samorin, considerable causes of dissention had recently sprung up, and a defensive league was formed, in which the neighbouring kings of Coulan and Cananor, who had likewise been injuriously treated by the Samorin, desired to be associated with them. Nothing of immediate consequence resulted from the junction of these princes. Their respective countries, however, producing the richest spices of Malabar, he was enabled to return to Europe with a most valuable cargo; and the three ambassadors of the sovereigns in question, sent with him to solicit the protection of Emanuel, gave unusual splendour to the procession that bore to Lisbon the second tribute from the shores of India. In the voyage homeward the valuable island of Saint Helena was first discovered and taken possession of by the Portugueze. *

A small squadron of four ships prudently sent out by Emanuel, under Don Juan Calleca, before the return of Capral, arrived there in proper time to support the new alliance entered into with the kings of Cochin, Coulan, and Cananor, and to chastise the insolence of the Samorin, who had prepared forty great ships to attack the Portugueze

* Lafitau Histoire des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Tom. I. p. 167, 4to. edit. Paris. 1733. De Faria, Tom. I. p. 62; and Maffæi Hist. Indica, Lib. ii. p. 35, edit. folio, 1589.

fleet on its reaching India, but against which Don Juan immediately directed the whole of his little force, as it lay at anchor in the road of Calicut, and burning some, and sinking others, almost extinguished hope in the mind of that prince. This fleet, however, was immediately followed by one of twenty sail, the largest yet sent out, with a proportionable number of troops under the command of the great Vasco de Gama, who, though advanced in years, at his sovereign's call nobly left the shade of retirement to renew his career of glory on the Indian seas. It was brilliant and decisive ; the Samorin was again beaten, new confidence was inspired by it into the friendly princes of Cochin and Cananor, and he returned laden with greater wealth than ever India had yet poured into the harbours of Portugal.

Despairing of success against his enemies by sea, the Samorin, on the departure of Gama for Europe, immediately marched an army of fifty thousand men into the territory of Cochin, demanding of its king the instant surrender of all the Portugueze in his dominions ; and threatening, in case of refusal, to burn the city, and desolate the country. Trimumpara, in this exigency, acted with the utmost firmness, and with unshaken fidelity to his new allies ; and peremptorily refused to accede to the insolent demand. At the same time he fully expected from the Portuguese admiral, Sodrez, whom Gama had left with six of his stoutest ships to guard the coast, every possible assistance to repel the determined enemy of his nation, in the protection of whom he was hazarding his crown and his life ; but that avaricious commander, intent on indulging his favourite passion by making prizes of the rich Mohammedan vessels that navigated those seas, positively refused to land a man from the ships, alledging, that his commission required him to act against the enemy at sea, and not on shore. The rajah was not less astonished than were the deserted Portugueze, at this base and cowardly reply, this utter dereliction of character in a man of his exalted station ; but

still he remained resolute in the discharge of a duty prescribed by conscience and by honour; and when the enemy had by treachery gained possession of the immediate pass that led into the town, he retired with them to the more tenable island of Vaipi, determined to share the fate of his friends and allies. The town was burnt by the enraged Samorin, and the inhabitants massacred without mercy. Sodrez, pursuing his projects of avarice, was engulphed, as he merited, in the Red Sea; but the Albuquerques and Soldanna, with a powerful fleet, shortly after arriving at Cochin, liberated the besieged prince, and their countrymen, drove the Samorin's troops from the invaded territories, and re-instated him in pristine splendour. A new city was soon constructed, a nobler palace, and a stronger castle; but the restorers acted not with the disinterested magnanimity of the Indian chief, soliciting as their reward, permission to erect a fortress in Cochin, which they easily obtained, and in erecting, took especial care to build it in such an elevated situation, and of such superior strength, that it not only commanded the royal palace, the castle, and the town, but was absolutely impregnable to any attack that could be made upon it by the military tactics of Indian princes.*

The firm footing and the decided consequence which these events gave the Portugueze on the coast of Malabar, rendered them so truly formidable to its princes, that they were all anxious to share their friendship, or enjoy their protection. Of the petty contests which they waged among each other, they were generally the umpires; though oftener their policy inflamed those contests till the one or the other party, debilitated and exhausted, bowed down to their jurisdiction. The Samorin himself sought peace by negociation, and obtained it on terms highly favourable to the court of Portugal. But between two such mighty powers with such opposite interests, perfect tranquillity could not long be maintained;

* De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Tom. I. p. 72. Maffei Hist. Indica, p. 41.

the vigilance of Trimumpara again detected the secret projects that menaced the downfal of their power in Cochin, and justly fearful of the consequences, he entreated the Albuquerques to delay the season of their departure for Europe. This, however they refused; but left a very valiant and skilful officer, Edward Pacheco, with three ships and a number of men, so very small, that his defence of Cochin, against the great army almost immediately brought against it by the Samorin, appears like a romance, for by a proper disposition of a few hundred men, according to De Faria, he put fifty thousand of the enemy to flight. * The baffled Samorin had now recourse to a project deeper laid, and of more extensive mischief. By the advice of the sagacious Brahmins, his counsellors, who in their hearts equally detested the Moors and the Christians, as alike invaders of their native country, he determined no longer to waste his own strength by ruinous and ineffectual war, but to set these hostile sects in arms against each other. With this view he sent an ambassador to the Sultan of the Mamelukes, who then governed Egypt, and who already felt a considerable diminution in the public revenue, occasioned by the diversion in a great degree, of the Indian trade from its ancient channel, to implore his powerful assistance in expelling the Portugueze from the Indian seas. By terrible denunciations of his sanguinary vengeance against the whole race of Christians settled in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, by threatening to burn all the churches in those districts, and to raze the foundations of the holy sepulchre itself, that Sultan endeavoured to awe the Pope and king Emanuel into compliance with his demand, that the new course of navigation to India by the Cape, or at least the trade carried on by that route, should be abandoned. Finding those potentates unintimidated by his menaces, he proceeded, with the vigorous assistance of the Venetians, who, sacrificing their religious prejudices at the shrine of avarice and revenge, permitted him to

* De Faria, Tom. I. p. 75.

cut down timber in their forests of Dalmatia, to build a fleet in the Red Sea of twelve large ships, on board of which a formidable body of Mamelukes embarked. This fleet being considerably increased by vessels of war from all the Arabian ports on that sea, the admiral, Mir Hazem, immediately sailed for the coast of Malabar in perfect confidence of victory. *

But a man of elevated rank, of dauntless bravery, of consummate practical skill in arms, and invested with power in India, little inferior to that which the prince who sent him enjoyed in Europe, the celebrated ALMEYDA had reached that coast before him, with an army and fleet proportionably powerful. The hostile fleets came to an action before Diu; and the Portugueze history of this period records no contest more obstinate or bloody, from the military habits of the Mamelukes, and the determined bravery of the Portugueze, who knew that their ALL was at stake in this desperate rencounter, and fought with consonant heroism. Victory of the most complete and brilliant kind crowned their exertions, and left them in future undisputed masters of those seas, from which their rivals would have for ever expelled them. In addition to this victory another signal one was about the same time gained, at the forfeit of his life, by his son Don Lorenzo, over the collected naval force of the Samorin; and thus was a solid basis laid for that towering superstructure of glory and dominion which, in the next viceroyalty, was erected upon it by the immortal ALPHONSO ALBUQUERQUE. †

That most renowned of the Portugueze commanders arrived in India in A. D. 1507, accompanied by Tristam d'Acugna, the marshal of Portugal, with a fleet of seventeen ships, and not less than three thousand troops at his command, to accomplish all those grand projects which had so long occupied the mind of Emanuel,

* Osorius, Lib. IV. p. 110.

† De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 140, and Lafitau, Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Vol. II, p. 58.

and which were now deemed ripe for completion. It was not sufficient that the subject ocean bowed to the triumphant flag of *Portugal*; that flag must fly on the continent; and some more important place than Cochin and Cananor, with an ample and safe port, be secured as a grand depot of arms, and as the capital of a mighty empire. The port of Calicut possessed neither depth nor security, and consequently was not an object to Portugal; but as no permanent empire could be established in Malabar, while that capital and its sovereign retained their present proud pre-eminence on its coast, it was determined, by one decisive blow, to annihilate both. The design was no sooner formed than the attack was made; the city of Calicut being attacked by Albuquerque with impetuous fury by sea and land, was taken and burnt; the fortress, after a vigorous resistance by the garrison, shared the same fate. The attack of the royal palace was assigned to the marshal; and as the palaces of India are built after the manner of castles, that is, with a view to defence as well as grandeur, it cost him much expence of blood, labour, and time, to become master of it. When, at length, it fell into his hands, so immense was the booty found in it, so various and so valuable the species of wealth which it contained, that the impatient soldiers, regardless of order and discipline, rushed forward to ransack and plunder it. While they were thus dispersed through the numerous apartments, and every individual was encumbered with the costly articles of spoil that best pleased his fancy, the discomfited but wary Indians returned in great force to the palace, and in this condition, the conquerors fell their easy prey. In short, they were surrounded, and being utterly unable to defend themselves, were to a man cut to pieces, the brave marshal himself perishing in the undistinguished slaughter. Albuquerque, the instant he received intelligence of their perilous situation, intrepidly advanced at the head of a large body of troops to their assistance; but the increasing and frantic throng severely pressing

upon him, after receiving two dangerous wounds, and a dreadful contusion on the head from the fall of a large stone from an adjacent building, he was compelled to retreat, being with the utmost difficulty, and in a state of insensibility, conveyed on board his ship. The loss of the Portugueze on this fatal occasion consisted of eighty men killed, and three hundred wounded; that of the Samorin of a capital and a fort which never after rose again, the former in equal strength, the latter in rival splendour. *

Albuquerque lingered for some time of his wounds, but at length recovering, formed the important project of an attack on GOA, situated in the centre of the Malabar coast, in the latitude of 15° 28′ 20″, strong by nature, and rendered still stronger by art; with one of the safest, deepest, and most capacious ports in all India. By the seizure of Goa, he knew he should not only obtain possession of one of the finest cities in that part of India, and capable of being made a noble depot of arms, and other military stores; but by that daring act he meant to strike terror into the Mogul governments of the south, who, instigated by the representation of their Indian allies and dependants on the coast, had begun to manifest symptoms of hostility against the new settlers, and particularly the king of Deccan, whose domain bordered nearest upon the frontiers. At that period Bahadur was Sultan of Guzzurat, having, as we have seen in the preceding history, during the distractions of the empire under the Afghan dynasty of Lodi, shaken off the yoke of the Delhi emperors; and the king of Deccan, in whose immediate dominions Goa was situated, according to the Deccan history of Ferishta, † was Mahmud Shah of the Bahmenee dynasty: Mahmud was a weak and debauched prince, and the greatest part of his dominions in Deccan was usurped by his general Adil Shah, called

* De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 157. Lafitau Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Vol. II. p. 15.

† See Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 198, sub. A. H. 916, or A. D. 1510.

by Tavernier and other European travellers Idalcan, a brave and accomplished warrior, worthy to cope with the renowned Albuquerque. Adil Shah was at a distance pursuing his projects of ambition on the continent when Albuquerque commenced his attack upon Goa, which he at length carried after a considerable resistance from the Mohammedan and Indian garrison. When intelligence of this important capture was brought to Adil Shah, sensible of the magnitude of his loss, that chieftain returned at the head of a great army, * and so totally and vigorously invested the place, that the Portugueze governor appointed by Albuquerque, and many others, having been slain in the action, the latter were compelled to retire on board the fleet that blockaded the harbour. Adil Shah having strengthened the fortifications, and greatly increased the garrison, hastened back to oppose the incursions on his frontier, of the king of Narsinga, considering Goa as secure from future impression. But this prince knew not the enemy he had to deal with. Repulse only inflamed the ambition of Albuquerque, who collecting the whole naval and military force of his nation in India, commenced a new and terrible assault on the works that defended the city and port; drove in or cut to pieces the Mussulman guard; and by storm made himself master of the finest city and port of Malabar. The utmost efforts of European skill in mechanics and architecture were now employed to render Goa impregnable. Lofty walls of great thickness, flanked with bastions of the most durable masonry, on every quarter surrounded it. A castle was constructed of immense extent and strength, and innumerable palaces and churches gradually arose to adorn the future metropolis of Portugueze India. †

* An army, according to De Faria, consisting of no less than 60,000 men, of which 5000 were horse. Tom. I. p. 168.

† Du Barros, dec. 2. Lib. x. p. 89. De Faria's Portugueze Asia. Vol. I. p. 172, edit. 8vo. London, 1695. Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 225. Lafitau, Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Tom. I. p. 384. edit. 4to. Paris, 1733.

As nearly all the difficulties and disasters with which the Portugueze had to contend in India arose from the perfidy of their Moorish rivals, Albuquerque, now at rest from continental war, from the assailed resolved to become the assailant, and attempt the utter subversion of at least their *commercial* consequence in India.

The three most frequented and celebrated ports which the Mohammedan merchants at that time possessed in the East were, ADEN on the coast of Arabia, ORMUS in the Persian Gulf, and MALACCA, the capital of Malay. From these great emporia he had long since, in compliance with king Emanuel's wishes, formed the bold design of driving them, and immediately proceeded to put that design in execution. Particular motives of friendship led him to commence the meditated attack upon the last of those places.

Malacca is situated in latitude 2° 12′ north, and the long tract of country, forming a vast peninsula nearly 560 miles in length, and from 60 to 150 in breadth, of which it is the capital, is joined towards its northern extremity to the southern confines of the kingdom of Siam. On every other side it is surrounded by the sea, and gives its name to the celebrated straits that divide it from Sumatra, to whose shores in all probability it was anciently united. Though situated so near the scorching line, Malacca is represented by travellers as a country almost paradisaical; refreshed with perpetual breezes from the sea, that allay the tropical fervor; the soil watered by innumerable streams, covered with odoriferous woods, and at the same time producing the loveliest flowers, blooming in succession the whole year round. From its central situation between India and China, as well as from the spice isles being in its immediate neighbourhood, Malacca had about this time become one of the most renowned cities of the East, and merchants from all the neighbouring coasts, the richest in the world, resorted in crowds to its splendid and overflowing mart. The Portugueze had two years before appeared there in the humbler capacity of merchants;

but Mahmud, the reigning prince of the country, and, from his name, a Mohammedan, having been inflamed against them by the calumnies of the Moorish traders, who dreaded the progress making in Asia by their European rivals, had acted perfidiously towards them, imprisoning some, and putting others to a cruel death, while SEQUEIRA, the Admiral, could with great difficulty, and by burning one out of five vessels which he commanded in the harbour, secure a safe retreat for himself and the remaining Portugueze. It was under colour of revenging this insult, and of rescuing the prisoners still retained in bondage in Malacca, that Albuquerque commenced this expedition against its sovereign.

The force which he now brought against it consisted of nineteen ships of war, and fourteen hundred troops, of which only eight hundred were Portugueze, a force apparently very disproportionate to the object, if what De Faria asserts may be credited, that, recently, the king of Siam had ineffectually sent against its sovereign an army of no less than 40,000 men. * To his demand of the immediate release of the prisoners, some of whom were of rank, and in the number of his friends, an evasive answer being returned, he immediately made a furious attack upon the city by sea and land, and the Malays having expected that attack, and being previously prepared, for some time with great resolution and vigour repelled it. But in vain did Eastern valour, though urged by despair, contend against European fortitude and science united; the city being set on fire, and the palace stormed, victory declared for the assailants, and the enormous spoil of that wealthy city fell into their hands. Of this wealth some estimate may be formed from the portion, a clear fifth, reserved for the king, which amounted to two hundred thousand pieces of gold. Albuquerque, having massacred or driven out all the Moorish inhabitants, repeopled the city with native Malays, and erected a fort of great strength, as well as

* De Faria, Tom. I. p. 176.

singular beauty, from which latter circumstance he gave it the name of FORMOSA. *

The subjugation of Malacca alone, without the additional conquest of the celebrated adjoining islands, called the MOLUCCAS, could by no means satisfy the expanding ambition of Albuquerque. These islands, supposed to be of volcanic origin and greatly varying in their dimensions, verge upon the equinoctial, are about ten in number, are included within the compass of twenty-five leagues, and governed by their particular native princes, but are *all* subject to the more potent sovereigns of TERNATE and TIDORE. Their principal productions are, the cocoa-nut, sago, cloves, mace, and nutmegs, and these precious commodities have, from early ages, allured to their dangerous coasts, abounding with sands and shoals, the great commercial nations that lie near them ; the Chinese, the Javans, the Malayans, and the Moors, having successively erected on them their victorious standards. Some of the bravest and most skilful captains of the fleet were immediately dispatched on an expedition of such high national consequence, and were completely successful in respect to the more important of those islands ; having obtained permission to build a fort in Ternate, the principal, which they as usual, constructed of such strength as enabled them to keep in awe and subjection both the native government and the Mohammedan settlers. †

During the period of Albuquerque's prosecuting these schemes of ambition and glory at Malacca, Goa was assaulted by a formidable army sent by Adil Khan (or Idalcan,) to recover that capital of Portugueze India from its new masters. De Faria states ‡ the

* Lafitau Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Tom. I. p. 420 ; and De Faria, Vol. I. p. 181.

† De Faria, Tom. I. p. 182. Lafitau Histoire, Tom. II. p. 179.

‡ De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 188.

number of the besieging army at this time as 20,000 men, and the besieged Portugueze as only 1000. On this intelligence he immediately embarked, and leaving his lieutenants to extend and consolidate the conquests in the Archipelago, with all the force that could be spared sailed for the continent. The vessel, on board of which he was, striking on a rock, he very nearly escaped being cast away, but, at length, with the loss of all the vast treasures of Malacca, he arrived safe at Cochin, whence he dispatched eight ships, laden with troops and provisions, to the relief of Goa, and shortly after followed himself, with a fleet of thirteen more newly arrived from Europe, and bearing eighteen hundred fresh troops. Having by drafts from the other settlements increased this number to four thousand strong, he commenced a furious attack on the city by sea and land, exposing his person to the hottest fire of the enemy; and so irresistable proved that attack, the Moorish commander was quickly compelled to surrender, on conditions dictated by the conqueror. The fame of this gallant exploit spread rapidly over the whole Indian coast, and struck its princes with such terror that the most powerful of them, but the Samorin, and Adil Khan in particular, sent ambassadors to solicit his friendship and alliance.

Even the distant sovereign of Ethiopia hearing of his renown, is said to have sent ambassadors to Goa to congratulate him on his victories; and by their means, in his rage against the soldan of Egypt, he endeavoured to persuade their master to undertake the boldest enterprize ever conceived by the mind of man, that of turning the course of the great river Nile, by cutting a passage for its waters into the Arabian Gulf, before its entrance into Egypt, an enterprize which, if accomplished, would have effectually prevented the dreaded revival of the old trade so long carried on by the Moors, by the route of Alexandria, but which, at the same time, would have

depopulated that fine country, and rendered the greatest part of it a desert. *

An interval of peace now allowed him to prosecute another of his favourite objects hinted at above, an attack upon the city of ADEN at the entrance of the Red Sea. Against that celebrated city, then under the government of an Arabian Prince, without mentioning the object in view, he fitted out twenty strong ships, containing seventeen hundred Portugueze, and eight hundred Malabars. On their arrival before Aden, they found the place far more strongly fortified both by nature and art than had been represented to them. Nevertheless the scaling ladders were instantly applied to the lofty walls, and, eager of glory, the valiant Portugueze in multitudes ascended them. A considerable party quickly gained the summit, but others crowding after them with too much ardour, and in too great numbers, the ladders broke, and in consequence, those on the top were left exposed to the full fury of an enraged enemy. A retreat was therefore ordered, and of the broken ladders one ampler and more solid was constructed for their descent, which after an engagement of four hours, and suffering very material loss in slain and wounded, they at length effected. Albuquerque, yielding to the advice of his captains, for the present relinquished the attempt, and having taken a fortress that guarded the entrance of the port, in which were found ninety-seven pieces of cannon of large calibre, having also first plundered, and then burnt all the shipping in the harbour, they sailed out of it on the fourth day from their arrival towards the mouth of the Red Sea, on which they spread their sails with great delight and triumph, being the first Portugueze vessels that ever ventured upon that dangerous navigation. Their joy was considerably increased by the capture in that

* It is Lafitau to whom I am indebted for this anecdote of the daring genius of Albuquerque (Tom. II. p. 81); but he adds: "Mais on assure que ce projet est "absolument impossible dans son execution."

sea, of several rich ships belonging to the Sultan of Cairo; but being compelled to winter at Comaran, an island near its entrance,* they suffered severely from famine, and were gradually reduced in their numbers. When the season permitted, Albuquerque put to sea, and again appeared before Aden; but he found the fortifications of that city had been repaired, and that a successful attack could not be made without a more powerful force than he now commanded. After some discharges of artillery, and seizing and burning such Mohammedan ships as were in the harbour, he sailed for India, the more proper field of his glory. †

If, however, complete success did not crown this expedition to Aden, and the Arabian Gulf, the Portuguese enjoyed in MASKAT, on the shore of the Happy Arabia, and in the territory of Omman, a very excellent port, and a very thriving emporium, gained some years before, after a very desperate conflict by this very general. The ample protection which their decided superiority in arms enabled them to give to the Asiatic and European merchants established at Maskat, together with the advantages derived from its situation in the Persian Gulf, that caused the wealth of the three Arabias, of Persia, and of India, to flow into it in one collective stream, rendered Maskat at that time the grand rendezvous of all who were anxious to obtain wealth, or who wished to enjoy it in safety when obtained. It continued to maintain this envied pre-eminence till nearly the middle of the seventeenth century, when,

* Comaran, called Camaran by De Faria and Maffæus, now become so barren and obscure a place, as scarcely to be known to navigators, yet according to the latter author was then a flourishing island, abounding with springs and flocks of cattle. Ad Camaranam insulam intra fauces Erythræas cum universa classe provehitur. Locus haud inamœnus est, perennibus aquis et pecorum armentis abundat: ad hæc, ingentes ædificiorum ruinæ, celebrem olim tectis et opibus fuisse testantur. Lib. V. p. 101. B.

† De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 193; and Maffæi Hist. Ind. Lib. V. p. 181, edit. fol. 1589.

in consequence of their tyranny, the Portugueze were, in a general insurrection of the inhabitants incited by a Banyan, expelled, never more to return.

There remained but one more decisive blow to be struck by the Portugueze, to annihilate in a manner the trade of their Mohammedan rivals in the East, and concentrate it in themselves. The island of Ormus, situated at the entrance of the gulph of Persia, in latitude 20° 30′, had long been governed by a dynasty of princes of Arabian original, rich, powerful, and respected. As the island itself was a mere rock of salt, and derived its wealth and splendour entirely from the commerce, which, from its central situation, it was enabled to carry on in such an extensive degree with India, Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, its kings wisely encouraged a general ardour for trade among their subjects, and solicited a commercial intercourse with all nations. The port of Ormus was consequently crouded with ships from every quarter of the world; merchants from the most distant climates flocked to its exchange, as to the general rendezvous of all traffic; and thus by degrees it rose to a point of eminence in fame and opulence unrivalled by the capitals of the greatest empires.

We read with astonishment in the Portugueze historians to what a pitch luxury of every species had arrived in this wealthy Asiatic mart, while that commerce flourished, especially at the trading seasons of the year, when the wealth of East and West was profusely poured out into her bosom, and the whole city exhibited one immense fair. The scorching rays of a vertical sun were excluded by vast awnings of canvas suspended above the lofty roofs of the houses; the hot and arid soil was covered with rich carpets; and the fronts of the houses and balconies were hung with tapestry of the finest texture and the loveliest dies. Rich Indian cabinets, filled with the choicest productions of that envied country, the growth of her mines and the labour of her looms; the finest porcelain of

China, the pearls of Omman, the gems of Pegu; in short, whatever magnificent or beautiful nature had formed, or art had fabricated, met the astonished eye in every direction; odours from the sweetest shrubs, disposed in gilded vases, cheered the exhausted sense; concerts of the most delicious music charmed the delighted ear; and the wines of Shiraz flowing in profusion, smoothed the austere brow, and expanded the exulting heart of the relaxing Mussulman. *

Ever watchful over the interests of his master, and determined, if possible, to exterminate every source of Mohammedan consequence in those seas, Albuquerque had long resolved to reduce the happy kingdom of Ormus, and its dependencies, to the condition of a province of the vast empire which he had been the principal means of raising and consolidating in India. Previously to his own appointment of General of the Indies, and when acting only in a subornate capacity, in A. D. 1507, under the viceroy Tristran D'Acugna, he had made some vigorous efforts to subdue that island; had undauntedly cast anchor in its very haven with only *seven* ships, in the midst of *four hundred* of the enemy; and on the refusal of the government to acknowledge king Emanuel for their lord, and to pay an annual tribute, had battered the city with his cannon, and fired the ships in the harbour and arsenal. The Prince then reigning was an infant only twelve years old, and entirely under the direction of his guardian and minister, Coja Atar, a man of deep cunning, but small experience, who at last consented both to pay tribute, and to permit the Portugueze to build a citadel on the island. When the citadel, however, was half built, Atar found means to corrupt the officers superintending the work by presents of very considerable value, and to excite mutiny among the soldiers employed in it. Under these circumstances an attack was successfully made by the army of the prince, and the half-built fort, as well as the island

* Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. 212. Du Barros Decad. 3. lib. 10.

itself, was obliged to be abandoned, while Albuquerque himself, being basely deserted by three of his captains, was deprived, for the present, of an opportunity of completing the conquest. *

Albuquerque having been foiled in his first efforts to become master of Ormus, took the wisest precautions against the possibility of a second failure. The whole disposeable force of his nation in India attended him on this important expedition. In haughty terms he demanded of its sovereign, TURAN SHAH, a weak and effeminate prince, solely guided by the artful counsels of the ministers that surrounded him, immediate possession of the citadel, the establishment of Portugueze factories on the island, and the acknowledgment in future of the absolute dependence of his kingdom on the crown of Portugal. If these conditions were not immediately complied with, he threatened to lay the capital in ruins, and make that flourishing island one scene of desolation. Terrified at the dreadful menace, and at the formidable force ready to carry it into immediate execution, Turan Shah hesitated not to obey the peremptory mandate. In vain did those ministers who at the time enjoyed that unlimited sway in Ormus to which Albuquerque aspired, in vain did they remonstrate against this unqualified surrender to a foreign foe of his rights as a sovereign, and his liberty as a man. His terrors prevailed over every other consideration; the keys both of the castle and the palace were tamely yielded up to the invader, and the flag of Portugal was soon perceived flying on the citadel of Ormus. Its palaces were converted into factories for the new settlers, and all the warlike stores and artillery of the place not necessary for its immediate defence, were for security deposited on board the fleet, and conveyed to Goa. His relation, Pedro d'Albuquerque, was appointed governor; and shortly after, on the discovery of a conspiracy, imagined or real, the offending ministers were put to

* De Faría's Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 132.

death, and fifteen princes of the blood were seized, and condemned to pass their lives in dungeons on a foreign shore. *

The preceding is a concise but authentic sketch of the feats of the great Alphonso Albuquerque, the history of whose viceroyalty may be truly called the history of Portugueze glory in India. His vigorous counsels and daring genius laid the firm foundation of that mighty fabric of empire which for so many ages filled Asia with awe, and Europe with astonishment. There is no necessity for our pursuing in regular series the history of his successors; the leading events that distinguished their often very transient reigns must suffice, that we may be able to be more diffuse when we come to record the actions on its shores of our brave countrymen.

A settlement first attempted in 1506 by LAWRENCE D'ALMEYDA, was about this time firmly established at Columbo, on the fertile and beautiful island of Ceylon, the sovereign of which was induced by the terror of a formidable fleet and army, commanded by the new viceroy Lopez Saurez in person, to compound for his kingdom by acknowledging himself a subject of Portugul, and by paying an annual tribute, which, according to De Faria, consisted of "twelve hundred quintals of cinnamon, twelve superb rings set with rubies and saphires, and six elephants." † At a later period, DIU, situated in latitude 22° 20′, on an island of the same name, at the entrance of the gulf of Cambay, and, not improperly, by some writers, denominated the Key of India, at that period a large, beautiful, and strongly fortified city, subject to Bahadur, the sovereign of Guzzurat, with one of the finest and most frequented ports in India, was subjected to the control of the Portugueze, by the usual mode practised by their commander, when open hostilities were not declared, of assisting the prince against his enemies, and in return

* Lafitau, Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Tom. I. p. 514.

† Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p.219.

demanding permission to establish a factory and erect a fortress in his capital. This assistance, we have seen in a former page, * was afforded to Bahadur by the Portugueze in his war with the Emperor Humaioon; but Bahadur soon repenting of his generosity towards his allies, attacked them in that fort, and failing in his attack, called in to his aid the forces of the Samorin, and other Malabar princes. Before that aid however arrived, he was betrayed by a stratagem into the hands of his enemies, and endeavouring to escape, perished in the ocean in the manner described in a plate of Lafitau, that gives a view of the fort and city of Diu. † It was soon afterwards besieged by Solyman, Basha of Egypt, who came against it with twenty thousand men, to revenge the death of Sultan Bahadur; but this great army, together with a fleet of proportionate force, was utterly defeated by the persevering bravery of the garrison, under the celebrated Silveira; and this victory, obtained by a handful of men over so mighty a host, is among the proudest recorded feats of Portugueze glory in India. Bassain, in the district of Baglana, was taken by D'Acugna in A. D. 1555, and by that viceroy formed into a place of great strength. In time it became a considerable city, and was one of the latest in possession of the Portugueze. Daman too, in latitude 21°, and Chaul in that of 18° 30′, under their auspices, rose to great eminence; and the former could boast a citadel absolutely impregnable, as Aurengzeb afterwards experienced, to the tactics of Asiatic warfare. In Bombay they enjoyed another excellent harbour, in which since the year 1661, the flag of England has securely and triumphantly waved. In Onor they enjoyed the monopoly of the finest pepper produced in India. It would be an endless task to enumerate all the places in this part of India whose capture contributed to gratify their pride as conquerors, or glut their avarice as merchants. The land and the sea alike

* See of this Volume, p. 152.

† See Lafitau, Tom. II. p. 264; with the engraving annexed.

obeyed them; they reigned undisputed masters of the whole coast from the Indus to Ceylon.

Sailing round the extremity of that island, they soon began to form settlements on the coasts of Coromandel; at Negapatam, in latitude 10° 46′, then an indifferent, ill-constructed town, but which they soon transformed into a city of great extent and magnificence, they fixed their first station. Their second was at Meliapour, in latitude 13° 5′, that famed city of the great Apostle of the Indies, St. Thomas, who, their writers affirm, was buried here, and whose sepulchre its inhabitants affect to shew on the summit of a neighbouring mountain. Both the influence of religion, and motives of commerce, combined to make them exhaust their Indian treasury, in the construction at this place of a city intended for their future capital in Coromandel, and which, for the sumptuousness and grandeur of its public buildings, its churches, its colleges, and its castle, had in fact no rival except their metropolis in Malabar. Of this vast city, indeed, as well as of many others above enumerated, scarce any vestiges now remain; our greater capital of Fort Saint George, or Madras, from which it is distant only ten miles, having been chiefly built, it is said, out of its magnificent ruins; but history has recorded the fact, and the pencil and the graver have consecrated the monuments of their glory to the latest posterity. Masulipatam, situated in latitude 16° 8′ 30″, near the mouth of the Kistna river, was the third and last of their settlements on this coast; it was inferior in magnitude and importance to the two others, and the climate and water are said to be unwholesome; the former from its great heats, and the latter from its brackishness; yet it is spoken of by travellers of the seventeenth century as being populous, and as driving a great trade in chintzes, dyed calicoes, and diamonds from the neighbouring mines of Golconda.*

* Thevenot's Travels, Part III. p. 105; edit. folio 1688; and Fryer's Travels, p. 35; edit. folio, 1698.

From their settlements on this coast to their still greater capital of Malacca, the voyage was short, and the intercourse between them was consequently vigorously kept up. To the latter emporium ships from China had frequently resorted, from the captains of which, the first authentic intelligence was obtained concerning the extent, the riches, and grandeur of that vast empire. This was faithfully transmitted to the court of Portugal; and it was immediately determined to send an ambassador to solicit the alliance of the Chinese emperor, and permission to trade in the ports of his kingdom. A squadron of eight ships was fitted out, laden with articles of the most costly European merchandize, and the command of it bestowed on Ferdinand Andrada, who arrived safely at Canton, and both himself and Perez, the envoy, were received with kindness and distinction. Disputes, however, unhappily arising between the Portuguese and Chinese merchants, and the former behaving with extreme insolence and outrage to the latter, the ambassador was thrown into chains, and hurried away to a dungeon, while Andrada was obliged to fly disgracefully back for safety to Malacca. Thus matters remained for many years, when accident accomplished what design was unable to effect. A certain pirate having become very formidable on the sea that washes China, had committed great ravages on its coasts, had laid siege to Canton, and seized upon the island of Macao, which he fortified. Unable by all their exertions to crush the daring marauder, they called in the more powerful fleet of Portugal to their aid: the Portugueze readily obeyed the summons, raised the siege, retook Macao, and drove the piratical adventurer to such extremities, that in despair he slew himself. The essential service which they had thus rendered the empire, being faithfully reported to the Chinese monarch, he in gratitude bestowed Macao upon them, with permission to form a settlement upon that island, and carry on trade with his subjects upon the most favoured terms. The little island of Macao was immediately fortified by

them in the strongest manner, and became in a short time one of the most celebrated marts of Asia; as from hence they were enabled to establish a vast and lucrative commerce with the rich islands that form the extensive empire of Japan, islands fortunately first discovered by some navigators of that nation about the year 1540, but from which they were as unfortunately and for ever expelled, for interfering with the politics of its government about a century after. *

I might have enlarged upon the extensive commercial intercourse kept up from their settlements in those islands of the Indian Archipelago, in which their valour had procured them a firm establishment and almost imperial sway, with those in which they were not so fortunate, as the great isles of Sumatra, of Java, of Borneo, of Celebes, with whose costly productions their annual fleets were loaded. I may also be condemned for not having entered into historical details concerning their numerous and important settlements, gained at the expence of so much blood on the African coast, as Sofala, Mombaza, Mozambique, and others; but as they had no territorial possession in the former, and as the latter did not properly constitute a part of their Indian empire, I conceived it unnecessary to swell these pages with matter not immediately relevant, nor particularly illustrative of the subject before us.

And now having conducted the reader thus far in the history of the mercantile concerns of the Portugueze with Asia, I conceive it important to bring before his view the following passage from De Faria, which will serve as a rapid but tolerably correct summary of what has been submitted to him in the preceding pages, on the subject. "Previous to these discoveries," says the Portugueze author, "spices were brought to Europe with vast trouble and cost. The clove of Molucca, the nutmeg and mace of Banda, the sandal of Timor, the camphor of Borneo, the gold and silver of Luconia,

* Maffæi Hist. Indica, Lib. 6. cap. 5.

and all the other species of wealth, drugs, spices, perfumes, and curiosities of China, Java, Siam, and other eastern kingdoms were carried to the market of the city of Malacca, seated in the Golden Chersonese, whence the inhabitants of all the western countries as far as the Red Sea brought them, carrying on this traffic by way of barter, money being of less value than the commodities imported. It was this trade that enriched the cities of Calicut, Cambaya, Ormus, and Aden; the merchants adding to the articles brought from Malacca, the rubies of Pegu, the stuffs of Bengal, the pearls of Kilkare, the diamonds of Narsinga, the cinnamon and richer rubies of Ceylon, and the pepper, ginger, and other spices produced on the coast of Malabar. From Ormus they were conveyed to Europe up the Persian Gulf, by the way of Bassora, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence distributed in caravans through Armenia, Trebisond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus; and then at the port of Baruth upon the Mediterranean, the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians, loaded their vessels with them to their respective countries. Those that came up the Red Sea were landed at Toro and Suez, towns at the bottom of that gulf, thence they were transported in caravans to Grand Cairo, and down the Nile to Alexandria, whence they were shipped off to Europe." *

Such was the vast empire established by this bold and enterprising nation in the course of little more than fifty years, on the coasts and islands of the two great continents of Africa and Asia; an empire which, by its very magnitude, and the distance and number of the settlements of which it was composed, had the latent seeds of dissolution deeply implanted in its own bosom. Every settlement had its governor, whose interests were not always in perfect unison with those of the state; and though all were nominally subject to the supreme head, THE VICEROY AT GOA, yet it cannot be supposed, from the many leagues that separated most of

* De Faria's Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 82.

them, that justice was always impartially administered, or abuses rigidly restrained. The misfortune was, that the viceroys themselves, whose term of government was limited to three years, but who were often recalled in a much shorter period, were in general too busily employed in those peculations which were to enrich and aggrandize their families at home, minutely to attend to the complaints made against the venality and rapacity of the inferior governors. Many of them, doubtless, like the great Albuquerque, and the virtuous De Castro, passed uncontaminated in fame through the fiery ordeal; but in most of their successors, the passions of avarice and ambition were too powerfully at work to allow of their being celebrated for rectitude of principle, integrity of conduct, or generosity of character. The ardent and active valour of their forefathers, by which one hundred princes of India and its appendages were rendered the tributary vassals of the crown of Portugal, became gradually exchanged for the inglorious indolence and effeminate softness of Asia. No longer able, by energy of counsel, or vigour of conduct, to inspire the conquered nations with esteem, to command respect from the virtuous, or excite terror in the criminal, they had recourse for the support of their power, to the arts of the robber and the assassin, and the dagger and the bowl were alternately employed in the destruction of their enemies. There was also another secret and dreadful engine which they frequently employed to awe the refractory, the fangs of a bloody inquisition, for a time more severe and terrible in its proceedings, than perhaps in any other city of the papal world. Its dungeons were crowded with the miserable victims of despotism, who there pined away their existence in darkness and sorrow, while their pampered tyrants were banqueting on their plundered property, or gratifying at their expence their insatiable lusts; and revelling in the charms of all they held dear or sacred on earth.

While, indeed, the illustrious Emanuel lived, no efforts were

wanting to sustain in its full vigour that mighty scheme of empire which his policy had planned, and which all his wisdom and all his power were united to consolidate. He enjoyed the uncommon felicity to have his life prolonged to that period, (though little beyond its prime, for he deceased at 53,) as to see whatever he had so boldly projected concerning India arrive at its full maturity, under the series of distinguished admirals and generals whom he had selected, equally for their talents and their bravery, to preside at the helm of affairs in Asia. The strenuous exertions which he made to carry into effect his vast designs, had in their prosecution often occasioned him considerable difficulties, since, to so small a kingdom as Portugal, the annual expence both of men and money was very great, and frequently, in the more early periods of the conquests in Asia, after the sailing of a new fleet for India, the national treasury was left in a very exhausted state; but the penetrating eye of Emanuel pierced through the dark impending cloud of the moment, and saw in the distant eastern horizon, a sky serene and cloudless. He had sown cautiously and wisely the seeds of future glory and advantage, and he ultimately saw them ripen into a plentiful harvest.

On the death of Emanuel, which occurred in 1521, no relaxation of vigour or discipline took place; his successor, John the Third, anxious to fulfil all the maxims of his wise progenitor, regularly dispatched to India, at the proper season, fleets not only adequate to all the purposes of necessary hostility, but also of the most enlarged commerce, on the coasts and islands of Asia. Many of the commanders also sent by him were men of inflexible virtue and the most shining abilities, who maintained the ancient renown of their country, and added new trophies to those acquired by preceding heroes. During the following reign of that infuriate bigot Sebastian, the Portugueze empire in India fell under the worst of all tyrannies, that of superstition; its palaces were filled with monks;

in every city the Jesuits erected the bloody banner of their order; the honours and rewards of the state were lavished solely at the capricious smile of those artful fanatics; and that system of religious terror and coercion was established, which for so many ages rendered their name the abhorrence and execration of the Indians. A cardinal and archbishop, in Don Henry, uncle to the last prince, succeeding to the crown, no alteration in the system of governing could well be expected to take place; and venality and superstition, seated aloft on the same gorgeous and guilty throne, still continued jointly to sway the sceptre of the Indies.

The same causes operated, with nearly as fatal effects, in Europe as in Asia, and contributed materially to the subjection of Portugal to the Spanish yoke, which took place after the short and inglorious reign of Henry in A. D. 1580. During this disastrous period of nearly sixty years, while Philip and his four successors of the royal line of Spain, anxious to reduce Portugal to the abject condition of one of its provinces, did all they could to break the haughty spirit of her nobles, and quench the fire of that valour and enterprize which had made her sons at once so formidable and so affluent; while in that hope they daily plundered her overflowing treasury, neglected to protect her commerce, the great source of her wealth and independence, and left her coasts and harbours exposed to the outrage of the Barbary corsairs, and the more fatal depredations of their English and Dutch rivals: during all this interval their power and influence in India kept gradually declining; Ormus was seized upon by the Persians; and they lost their valuable settlements in Ceylon, which, together with the great capital of Malacca, and most of the Molucca islands, were wrested from them by their jealous and insidious foes, the DUTCH. Instead of eighteen or twenty ships that were accustomed annually to be sent to India, for the purposes of sustaining their military and commercial establishments, only five or six were now dispatched thither, and those often in no

condition either to defend the one or support the other. * On the reduced produce of that trade also, the most burthensome taxes were laid; and while a proud and pampered nobility and priesthood revelled in more than Asiatic luxury, the inferior classes in both governments struggled under the severest pressures of abject poverty and misery.

When at length, under the brave and virtuous Duke of Braganza, that insulted nation rose as one man, and broke from the yoke of their proud oppressors, although some vigorous efforts were occasionally made by himself and his descendants on the re-erected throne of Portugal, to recover their consequence in the East, and revive their declining commerce, yet the perpetual war in which they were engaged with Spain, and the other powers of Europe, rendered those efforts wholly ineffectual. Neither ships nor men were to be procured in numbers proportionate to resist the encroachments of their Dutch and English rivals, who, as in the ensuing chapter will be amply set forth, were pouring their victorious legions over the coasts and islands of Asia, and every where erecting their standards over the humbled flag of Portugal. Baffled and degraded in India, her sons, in whom the spirit of mercantile adventure was not yet wholly extinguished, now directed their views and their speculations towards the less distant shores of Southern America, and in the rich territory of Brazil, in the gold and diamonds, and other costly produce of that country, found no mean compensation for the losses they sustained in the East; and even on that coast boasted a richer India. † There the sun of their glory was for ever

* The average number latterly was about five ships; see a regular list of all that successively sailed to India, at the end of the Portugueze Asia, Vol. III. p 432.

† Brazil might justly be called to Portugal *a richer India;* for whereas she never, in the most flourishing period of her Indian empire, received from thence a clear annual revenue of above £300,000. her receipts from the tributary *fifth* of the gold mines alone amounted annually to a million sterling, independent of her other immense revenue in diamonds, Brazil wood, balsams, indigo, sugar, tobacco, which may well be calculated at half a million more.

gone down; one settlement gradually fell after another; the factories of the merchants and the palaces of her viceroys were alike rapidly sinking in irretrievable ruin; her dismantled forts crumbling into dust, and her unrepaired ships rotting in the harbours. At length, towards the close of the seventeenth century, of all their vast domains, Goa, Diu, and a few other cities on the Malabar coast, alone, remained to testify, by the magnificent monuments still standing within their walls, how splendid and how potent had once been the PORTUGUEZE EMPIRE IN INDIA.

END OF PART I.

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN.

PREFACE TO THE FINAL PART.

THE Author has, at length, the honour to present the public with the concluding portion of his second volume of the History of MODERN INDIA. That so considerable a period has elapsed since the first part appeared has not arisen from neglect, but from that necessary prudence which restrains a man, *printing at his sole cost and hazard*, from engaging in voluminous publication at a period when all the materials of printing are at so extravagant a price. The present volume having exceeded the number of five hundred pages, to which few quartos are at this day permitted to extend, it is thought proper to submit it to the public eye.

Owing to the vast mass and press of matter, accumulated during the two last centuries, and to the variety and importance of the subjects yet remaining to be discussed, he has found it utterly impossible to

conclude the History of India, and the India Company, which he also engaged to detail, in the present volume. It might indeed have been practicable, had he not gone so much at length into that of the Company; but as that portion of the work to an English reader must ever be the most interesting, and as many publications have of late appeared, particularly the improved edition of Mr. Orme's Historical Fragments, highly elucidatory of their early Asiatic concerns, it was thought that a more extended account of their affairs in that quarter of the world than was originally intended, could not fail of being acceptable both at home and in Asia.

In consequence, that account, commencing with their very existence as a Commercial Body in A. D. 1600, and brought down to the re-capture of Calcutta by Clive and Watson in 1757, in a regular series of historical events, engrosses nearly half of this final section of the second volume, and left only room for the insertion of two complete reigns of Mogul empetors. They are, however, next to that of the great Akber, by far the most important of any of the reigns of those princes, full of great and surprising incidents, such as the records of no other nation on earth can exhibit. In every thing splendid and magnificent

no monarch ever rivalled Shah Jehan; in sanguinary atrocity and dark intrigue none ever surpassed Aurungzeb. The author has endeavoured to do full justice to their respective characters.

The black details of blood and perfidy, that mark the closing day of this great empire and that renowned dynasty, together with what remains to be recorded of British transactions in India down to the year 1800, will in a few months be presented to the public in the form of an APPENDIX, of which, whatever may be the magnitude, the price shall on no account exceed a GUINEA. The author is full as anxious as the reader to consult *œconomy*, but could not consent, by unnecessary brevity, to render his pages defective in interest and perspicuity. When the reader shall have considered how vast a period this history embraces, commencing at the death of Alexander, and terminating with the triumphs of a British army on the very spot where an Alexander had fought; that, in fact, it is not the history merely of a province, or kingdom, but that of a mighty empire, and its astonishing and varied revolutions, for above two thousand years;—when he, also, shall have considered of how many rare and *costly* books, (as the author, has too well experienced) these volumes contain

the substance, independently of an elegant coloured Map of India, according to its latest divisions, by Arrowsmith, he is convinced that the sum of five guineas, the whole amount of the subscription, of which a very small portion can be appropriated to remunerate *his* labours, will not appear extravagant. To those who may think otherwise, it may be satisfactory to know, that of the Company's History, the most interesting part terminates with the re-conquest of Calcutta; and that the glory of the Indian empire expired with Aurungzeb.

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Company established by Charter A. D. 1702.—History of the French East India Company.—Founded by the great Colbert in 1664.—Obtain Settlements at Surat, Masulipatam, Chandernagore, Pondicherry.—Great perplexities of the Company; but with their new Charter they emerge, and rise to greater distinction than ever.

In the preceding chapter we have seen how fatally the tyranny of Philip of Spain, and his immediate successors, over the humbled nation of Portugal, operated towards the destruction of the power and commerce of the latter in India. The Dutch, recently emancipated from the same inglorious yoke, and wholly excluded from the port of Lisbon, where they had formerly been employed as the principal carriers, to the different marts of Europe, of its overflowing Indian treasures, now determined to explore the source of that wealth of which they were forbidden to trace the channel, and boldly passed the Cape in quest of seas and countries unknown. This memorable event took place in A. D. 1595, with a fleet of four ships commanded by Cornelius Houtman, a man of the deepest political sagacity, joined with an undaunted fortitude to execute the greatest enterprises. Houtman, while a prisoner for debt in Portugal, had been indefatigable in gaining all necessary information with respect to the course of the voyage, and the kind of commerce carried on by that people with the East. As this was a voyage rather of discovery than of actual traffic, no great riches were the result of it; but the correct account which he gave to the associated merchants, who employed him, of the coasts and islands he had visited, particularly of Java, with whose sovereign, in spite of the intriguing Portugueze, he had formed an alliance that augured the most beneficial consequences, determined them immediately to fit out double the

former number of ships, which, in 1597, sailed under the command of the Admiral James Van Neck, whose prudence and valour, in spite of all the hostile efforts of the united Portugueze and Spaniards to prevent it, secured them a settlement in Java and the Moluccas, and he returned to Europe loaded with their richest productions. *

The success of Van Neck inspired the merchants of Amsterdam with the most sanguine confidence. They already exulted as masters of the commerce of India, and saw its treasures pouring into the Texel in an unbounded torrent. Far more vigorous exertions, and worthy of the great object in view, now began to be made; and in a short time thirteen stout ships, under able commanders, sailed for the same favourite islands. From Amsterdam the ardour for Indian wealth spread through all the capital cities of the United Provinces. Immense sums were subscribed, and ships every where constructed to secure the advantages already so happily obtained. It was in vain that the Spaniards, exasperated and indignant at seeing the glittering spoil which they had obtained at the price of so much blood and treasure, snatched from their grasp by the contemptible merchants of Holland, as they affected to consider them, sent out their fleets to intercept them; they were either eluded, or beaten, and the cargoes of their richest carracks were often doomed to swell the coffers of their enemies. †

The Portugueze had entered India as conquerors, as well as merchants. The Dutch artfully concealed from the natives their ambitious views, and professed to come as mere mercantile adventurers. Their success was proportionate, and their cause generally favoured by them in their contests with their insolent rivals. But while they were gradually advancing in wealth and

* Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 91. † Ibid.

influence, there existed, in their own country, a fatal obstacle to their ever arriving at permanent opulence and prosperity on the shores of India, and that was the numerous companies that every where started up to divide the spoil, and, by underselling each other at the different Indian marts, greatly diminished their respective profits. The sagacious rulers of the new republic saw the evil, and instantly applied the remedy. A general meeting of the directors of both the Holland and Zealand companies was convened at the Hague in A. D. 1602, and they were exhorted, or rather compelled, to unite their stock, to form themselves into a body corporate, and to act under one common seal, to which the sovereign power gave the stamp of its authority. Henceforward, being now become a CHARTERED COMPANY, every thing went on with rapid and unvarying success; the number of adventurers, and the amount of the capital, astonishingly increased; and a formidable fleet of fourteen ships was soon seen on the ocean sailing for India, provided at once with all the apparatus of war, and all the various articles of commerce. Every successive year added to the number and the strength of their fleets in Asia, while occasional defeats only gave new vigour to the spirit of national enterprize!

It was in vain that the Spaniards, by fulminating their anathemas in Europe, and by the more substantial thunder of their artillery in the East, aided at the same time by all that remained in Asia, of the power and military resources of Portugal, threw perpetual obstructions in the way of a people fired equally with the thirst of gain, and the ardour of ambition. A series of triumphs over their potent and combined rivals, which it is not my province minutely to record, gradually, and firmly, planted their standard in the Indian Archipelago, and at length opened the way to their final settlement in imperial splendour at Batavia, a city

that in a few ages became the rival, in grandeur, in wealth, in population, of the proudest capitals of Asia.

A far more formidable enemy than any the Dutch had to encounter in the arrogant Spaniard, and the humbled Portugueze, were the daring mariners of that country to whose powerful assistance, during their contest with Spain, they in a great measure owed their emancipation from her yoke, the ENGLISH, who about this time began to display their victorious flags in the Eastern ocean, and whose earliest approach and gradual progress in regions where they are now become so irresistible, it is therefore necessary to investigate. On this interesting subject I shall be easily pardoned by the reader, for going into a more than usual length of detail.

In the preceding chapter, while tracing through the middle ages the progress of Asiatic commerce, I had occasion to observe that its principal channel, particularly of that rich portion which was produced by India, before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, was by the way of the Arabian gulph, and down the Nile to Cairo and Alexandria, whence it was circulated through the Mediterranean, and over Europe in the vessels of the Venetians. To them was Britain, at that early period of her maritime power, chiefly indebted for such Indian luxuries as she enjoyed; a large ship of that country, called a CARRACK, being annually dispatched to her shores with an abundant cargo of all the incentives to voluptuous enjoyment; with those fragrant spices that exalted the banquets of her kings, and those costly silks that adorned the nobles of their court. As that power increased, and as her policy became enlarged, she resolved no longer to be thus served, at second hand, with those precious eastern commodities which so highly enriched every nation that trafficked in them, and which she knew her own valour

and industry were so well able to procure. It was not, however, for the remote region of India, but for the shores and islands of the Levant, that the merchant adventurers of London fitted out their first fleet, for the security of which they obtained of Elizabeth public letters of recommendation to the Grand Signior, which terminated in a treaty between the two nations, highly favourable to the interests of the British trader. These vessels for some time carried on a lucrative commerce with Candia, Chios, Cyprus, Tripoli, and other cities on the coast of Syria. Their imports were silks, camblets, rhubarb and other drugs, malmsies, muskadels, and various sorts of Greek wines, sweet oil, cotton, carpets, pepper, cinnamon, and other spices. The exported goods, in that infancy of our commerce, were not numerous, consisting chiefly of woollen cloths, calves skins, leather, the staple commodity, TIN, lead, &c. The brave Sir Francis, Drake, and, after him, the celebrated Cavendish, having returned from a voyage round the world, by their reports rouzed the curiosity of the public, and animated the merchants to attempt the establishment of a direct trade to India. In consequence of their application to that public-spirited Princess, who then wielded the British sceptre, a charter was granted them, bearing date the 31st December, 1600, being the forty-third year of her reign, conferring on them exclusively the right of trading to the East Indies, and allowing them for a certain limited time to export goods free of duty, with many other valuable privileges and immunities. Sir Thomas Smith, an alderman of London, was appointed their first Governor, assisted by a Court of twenty-four Directors to be chosen annually on the first of July, and this Charter to remain in force for the space of fifteen years, to be then renewed, or to terminate, as might appear most conducive to the public good.

The original subscriptions or shares were only fifty pounds, and their total amount of capital only £72,000. Of this sum forty-five thousand pounds were immediately expended in fitting out a fleet of five able ships, whose names (curiosity may be gratified to know) were the Dragon, the Hector, the Swan, the Ascension, the Guest, under the command of Captain James Lancaster, and the remaining twenty-seven thousand pounds were consumed on the cargo. Such was the commencement of that renowned Company whose revenues now amount to millions, and which can boast such a vast extent of empire in Asia. This squadron, manned with 480 able mariners, sailed from Torbay in the spring of the following year, and with as few accidents as the nature and distance of a voyage so new to an English fleet would admit, on the 5th of June 1602, safely arrived in the road of Acheen, in Sumatra, by the sovereign of which place, after the delivery of the Queen's letters and presents, they were honourably received, and had considerable privileges granted them, sanctioned by a treaty. They afterwards touched at the Moluccas, where they were received with equal distinction. After a prosperous voyage, and loaded with the richest produce of those spice-bearing regions, they joyfully re-entered the Downs in September 1603.

The second commercial voyage to India was undertaken in A. D. 1604, with a fleet of only three ships, Sir Henry Middleton commander, which traded to the same marts with similar success; but the kings of Ternate and Tidore being then at open war, and the Dutch taking the part of one sovereign, and the Portugueze of another, it was scarcely possible for an English commander to be wholly unconcerned in the midst of those disputes. Middleton was accused by the Dutch of favouring the cause of their enemy, the King of Tidore, which is not impossible, if he thought his cause a just one, though possibly, on the other hand, it might

have only been a mere pretext for their malignant and interested efforts to crush the British trade in embryo; and exterminate a successful rival. Whatever was the cause, a deep rooted and rancorous spirit of hostility to the English, ever after distinguished in Asia that ungrateful race, who owed their very existence, as a nation, to their protecting arm. In the present instance, however, their rage was unavailing; for the English Captain, though unfortunate in the loss of one of his ships, which foundered at sea, returned not only with one of the richest cargoes that had yet arrived on the shore of Britain, but with letters and presents of considerable value to its sovereign, James I. from the Kings of Bantam and Tidore.

Captain William Keeling was appointed to command the third English fleet, and with him was dispatched Captain Hawkins in quality of ambassadour to the Mogul Court, where he was received with respect, conducted himself with prudence, and procured for his countrymen those commercial privileges which industrious foreigners of all nations never failed to obtain from the sovereigns of the illustrious house of Timur. The fourth expedition, deviating from the regular channel of trade, visited the shores of the Arabian Gulph with indifferent success; but the fifth, with Captain Middleton a second time for its commander, was eminently fortunate; for after triumphing over all the machinations of the Dutch at the Moluccas, he is said to have brought home with him a hundred and thirty-nine tons of nutmegs, and the same quantity of mace, besides pepper, and various other valuable articles of traffic. *

With the enlargement of their commerce, the minds and views of the managers of this lucrative national concern also expanded. Although the time of their charter was far from being expired,

* Harris's Collection of Voyages. Vol. I. p. 227. and Purchase, p. 143.

their success encouraged them to apply, in A. D. 1609, to his Majesty, for a renovation of it, which was readily granted with new immunities. They now proceeded to build ships, instead of purchasing them already built, of the Hanseatic towns, and in particular one was constructed of twelve hundred tons burthen, the largest trading vessel ever launched at that time in England, on board of which the King and his courtiers dined, and to which his Majesty himself gave the appropriate name of the *Trade's Increase*. This large ship, with two others, was fitted out for India early in the succeeding year, at the great expense, as it was then thought, of eighty thousand pounds, and produced an adequate remuneration for their liberality.

It has already been intimated that the Tartar family on the throne of Delhi had ever been great encouragers of commerce ; and the Company, by their envoy at that capital, had obtained permission from Jehanguire, the reigning monarch, to form settlements and establish factories on the shores of Cambay, yet the envy and jealousy of their Dutch and Portuguese rivals, had hitherto rendered all their efforts nearly abortive. The Dutch, in particular, having now become complete masters of the spice-islands, and using both fraud and force to obstruct our progress in that quarter, it was resolved to attempt gaining a settlement on the continent, and Surat, on the province of Cambay, was the place fixed upon for the first display of our united military and commercial exertions. In 1611, four large ships, in equipping which more than usual pains and expense were bestowed, with a view to offensive measures, were therefore dispatched, under the command of Captain Best, a commander fitted by his bravery and naval skill for any enterprize, however daring. The Portugueze had been long settled on that coast, guarded it with jealous vigilance, and were resolved resolutely to oppose the

entrance into their harbours of the ships of all other European nations. Captain Best, however, with his small force, boldly entered the road of Surat, and, with the consent of the Mogul governor, established a factory in that city. A powerful fleet being afterwards sent to destroy him by the Viceroy of Goa, a fleet, said to have consisted of four great galleons, and twenty-six gallies, in which were five thousand men, and one hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance; the intrepid Briton manifested no symptoms of dismay; but, on the contrary, when he beheld this formidable force approaching, undauntedly sailed to meet them, and rushing into the midst of them, poured his broadsides around him with such effect, that the astonished Portugueze admiral for the present declined the engagement. The day, in fact, was drawing near its close, and he hoped to commence the attack the next morning, under circumstances of less hazard and danger. With the earliest dawn the impetuous attack upon his fleet was renewed, and three of the large galleons were soon driven upon the sands, vollies of shot sweeping their decks, so that not a gun could be fired in return. In the afternoon, when the galleons were again afloat with the tide of flood, the Portugueze renewed the action, but were again discomfited with the loss of twelve hundred men; the numbers of soldiers on board, and their unwieldy ordnance only adding to their confusion. A third attempt was afterwards made by the enraged enemy to sink their ships, and raze the factory, but disgrace to themselves, and glory to the new settlers, were the only result. The natives, to whom the Portugueze were odious for their cruelty and avarice, exulted in their success; and the fame of their heroic valour soon reached the Court of Delhi itself.* After having thus triumphantly settled matters at Surat,

* Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 133. Harleian Collection of Voyages, Vol. i. p. 157.

the gallant Captain sailed with the fleet for Acheen and Java, where the report of his exploits had arrived before him, and so awed the Dutch, that no obstruction was given to his commercial intercourse at either place, and he returned to his native country in July 1614, loaded with glory and riches.

The successful mission of Captain Hawkins at the Court of the Mogul Jehanguire, who had recently succeeded the great Akber, has been already mentioned. A long and not uninteresting relation of his transactions at Agra will be found in Purchase,* together with an account of the immense wealth possessed by that monarch, in gems, in gold, and costly articles of furniture of every species. This account, as it exhibits in a striking point of view the unrivalled opulence and grandeur of that great empire with which Britain was now peculiarly anxious to connect herself, and of a third part of which she is now the mistress, shall be presented to the reader with only the antiquated language of that author a little altered. There can be no doubt of its being an authentic document obtained by Hawkins at the Court of Agra, and its truth is confirmed by the statements in the Ayeen Akbery. It will be remembered that the empire under Akber, only lately dead, and from whom this treasure must have descended to Jehanguire, was at that period in the meridian of its glory; and that the Indian custom of conferring on favoured omrahs presents of horses, with costly caparisons, of swords set with jewels, and rich dresses, rendered the accumulation of such splendid articles in the royal treasury in some degree necessary.

" Of jewels composed solely of diamonds, one batman and an half; a batman is five and fifty pounds weight English: these are rough, and of all sorts and sizes, but none of less than two carats and an half. Of balass rubies, two thousand. Of pearls,

* Vol. i. p. 591. edit. 1617.

twelve batmans. Of rubies of all sorts, two batmans. Of emeralds of all sorts, five batmans. Of eshime, which stone comes from Cataga, one batman. Of stones of Emen, a kind of red stone, five thousand. Of all other sorts, as coral, topazes, &c. the amount is innumerable."

"Of jewels wrought in gold, two thousand and two hundred swords, the hilts and scabbards set with rich stones: two thousand poniards in like manner ornamented. Of saddle drums of gold, used in hawking, set with stones, five hundred. Of rich broaches for the head, in which their feathers are set, two thousand. Of saddles of gold and silver, set with stones, one thousand. Of tuikes, five and twenty. This is a great lance covered with gold, the fluke set with precious stones; they are carried before him when the king goeth to the wars. Of gold parasols of state, richly set with diamonds, one hundred. Of gold chairs of state, one hundred and five. Of large agate chrystal vases for wine, adorned with gold and jewels, one hundred. Of drinking cups of gold, five hundred; of which are fifty exceedingly rich, all of one stone, as beryl, sapphire, &c. Of gold chairs, strung with pearl, and rings set with jewels, the number is infinite. Of gold plate of all kinds, exquisitely wrought, as dishes, goblets, basons, three thousand batmans."* This account, the author adds, concerns his palace of Agra alone; but every one of his palaces, Delhi, Cabul, and Lahore, has each its respective proportion of similar treasures.

Hawkins's success at the Mogul Court encouraged Sir Thomas Smith, still the able manager of the Company's affairs in Europe, to represent to his Majesty the great national as well as individual advantage that would result from sending a person of distinction, as a public ambassador, to the Mogul Court, with ample

* Purchase, vol. i. p. 593.

powers to conclude a treaty, and arrange other matters of commerce and policy with the reigning monarch. The King readily complied with the request of the Company, and Sir Thomas Roe,* an accomplished gentleman and scholar of the Court, was shortly after appointed to that high station. A squadron, fitted out with more than usual expense and magnificence, under Captain Keeling, safely conveyed the new ambassador to the shores of India, and he fulfilling the duties of that station with uncommon ability, and by his insinuating manners, becoming a great favorite with the Mogul, raised the English name and character at that Court, and procured for the Company many very important privileges.

Their commerce, aided by fleets rapidly succeeding each other, built equally for war as traffic, began now to extend widely over the coasts and continent of India. Notwithstanding the infuriate opposition of their rivals of Portugal and Holland, and all the machinations of the active Jesuits, at the Courts of the native princes, they had established settlements and factories, of greater or less consequence, at Bantam, Jacatra, (since named Batavia) Surat, Amadavat, Agra, Ajmere, Brampore, Calicut, Masulipatam, Patan, Siam, Banda, Amboyna, and at many other great eastern marts, now unknown or deserted. The principal imports were, from those famous islands, cloves, mace, nutmegs, pepper; and from other parts, precious stones, cinnamon, valuable drugs, indigo, silks, callicoes, &c.: the chief exports, woollen manufactures of various kinds, iron, tin, lead, copper, brass, bullion, &c. The Dutch, however, eventually so firmly established themselves in their newly erected city and castle of Batavia, and fortified its port in a manner so impregnable, that after many severe battles fought both with the Portugueze and English fleets, its commerce in

* See his curious and interesting Journal, in Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 647.

future remained wholly under their controul, and almost to this day they have continued the envied monopolists of its valuable produce.

Perpetual and fruitless hostility, sound morality, and sound policy must ever alike condemn. For nations, that had equally struggled and bled for freedom, to become tyrannical and bloodthirsty themselves, appeared a dreadful solecism, at least to one of the contending parties, and a treaty was in consequence entered into between them, by which it was stipulated that from that date (7th July, 1619) a general amnesty and oblivion of all past offences and excesses committed in the East Indies, by either party, should take place; that commerce, throughout the East Indies, should be thenceforth uninterruptedly carried on, by both parties, and that to prevent all unfair practices, the price of the different commodities should be fixed by commissioners appointed for the purpose; but that in consequence of prior right, and incalculable expenses incurred in erecting forts and magazines, in the Molucca isles, Banda, and Amboyna, the English should enjoy one-third part of the commerce, and the Dutch the other two-thirds; with many other very equitable and salutary regulations,* which it is unnecessary to recite, because almost as soon as ratified, the treaty was violated in its most essential points, by the perfidy of the Dutch, settled in Asia. Into the details of the horrible cruelties, and massacres, said to have been subsequently committed by that nation on our countrymen at Banda and Amboyna, I have neither room nor inclination to enter. In the pamphlets of the day, the accusations were mutual and violent; for the honour of human nature let us hope that by the passions of the writers the recitals are greatly aggravated. Those details are amply given in the Harleian Collection of

* See Fœdera, vol. xvii. p. 170.

Voyages; where, also, may be seen the respective charges and recriminations of the accusers, and advocates on either side. Whoever were the aggressors, and to all appearance the evil was fomented, if it did not originate, in the dark and insidious policy of the Dutch wholly to expel the English from the spice islands, such was the final result. The dread of assassination and ruin from those Batavian tyrants, and the want of powerful maritime support, from a court influenced by pacific rather than warlike maxims, compelled the English to seek an asylum in other parts, where their persons might be secure, and their property inviolable. All the forts and factories were gradually evacuated; the Dutch driving away with fire and sword those who were reluctant to depart, and their grand object was thus obtained in not having a rival flag flying through their usurped empire in those seas.

Although it by no means accorded with the political principles of the imbecile James to take vengeance for these insults, by a public declaration of war, yet strong remonstrances were made to the States-General, and reparation for at least the plundered property demanded. The guilt of murder and robbery however being followed by the meanness of falsehood and evasion, nothing was at that time effected; and the impoverished monarch soon after receiving from the Dutch a considerable sum as the consideration for the cautionary towns, the matter was for the present dropt, to the injury of the suffering Company.

The genius of the English, however, disdained despondence. Neglected by the government, the spirit of the Directors, aided by the active exertions of individuals, still preserved their affairs from ruin. Though they must, hereafter, procure their *spices* at second hand, India produced other luxuries, and had other marts. Having by the skilful management of Captain Saris

obtained a footing in Japan, they now attempted to open a trade from that island to China. Instigated and assisted by Shah Abbas, the Persian monarch, they drove the Portugueze from Ormus on the Persian gulph; by which conquest their commerce found a new channel, and their revenue became greatly improved. They were also engaged in a somewhat hazardous but lucrative traffic to the shores of the Red Sea. About this time too, they obtained permission from the King of Golconda to lay the first foundation of their famous settlement at Madraspatan, on the coast of Coromandel, whence they supplied a great part of the peninsula with European goods, and received in return diamonds, muslins, chintz, and other rich commodities of that region of India.

During the remainder of the reign of King James no public act took place in aid of a Company that had so greatly contributed to extend the wealth and celebrity of the nation ; and during the distractions of the following reign, although Charles was well disposed to avenge their wrongs, no effectual relief was obtained. The vigorous measures that marked the administration of Cromwell was in no instance more conspicuous than in the prompt declaration of war against the Dutch, whose aim seemed to be entirely to crush us as a naval power, but who, by a series of the most severe engagements that ever were fought at sea, were soon taught a different lesson. That haughty nation being compelled at length to sue for peace, it was granted, and in the articles of the subsequent treaty of 1654, the affair of Amboyna, and the plunder of the English at Bantam and Java, were not forgotten. Though the demand of the Company amounted to above two millions and an half, yet the Dutch having brought in counter-demands to a vast amount, the business was finally settled by the latter paying the inadequate sum of 85,000l. and making a provision for the surviving relatives of those unhappy wretches that perished at

Amboyna. After this decided patronage of the government, the affairs of the Company became in a high degree prosperous ; and, under the powerful protection of Cromwell, a subscription was raised for the more vigorous execution of their commercial projects, to the amount of 800,000*l*. sterling.*

In A. D. 1655, the Dutch made themselves masters of Calicut, where the Portugueze standard had triumphantly waved from the year 1500 ; soon after, they conquered from them, Columbo, their principal settlement in Ceylon, and to their monopoly of nutmegs, mace, and cloves, they now added that of cinnamon. With the great empires of Japan and China they had negotiated treaties, and carried on an extensive commerce ; they had established a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, which was in a very flourishing condition ; and though humbled in their naval pride in Europe, were every where rising, in India, to the highest point of power and splendor on the ruin of the Portuguese.

The protection that had been so decisively afforded the English company by Cromwell, was continued to them by Charles the Second, who, in 1661, renovated their charter with the addition of many new and great privileges. But, in this King's reign, a still more important benefit was obtained, by the acquisition of the port, town, and island, of BOMBAY, on the Guzzurat coast, ceded to his Majesty by Portugal, as part of his consort's, the Infanta's portion, and afterwards by royal mandate consigned in full property to the Company for ever. The situation being eminently convenient for their trade in this quarter, though the soil was barren, and the air far from salutary, no expense was spared in the improvement and defence of the island. A fort of great magnitude, and rendered as strong as the skill of that age in architecture could make it, was constructed without delay ; and though

* Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 331.

its situation was objectionable from having no springs of fresh water within its limits, and from its being overlooked by an eminence not eight hundred yards distant from it, called Dungaree Hill; it was on the whole no despicable specimen of that skill. On the island were also erected several inferior forts to check the progress of an invading enemy, particularly Mazagon, on which were mounted fourteen large guns. Bombay had also the advantage of a spacious harbour, in which a numerous navy could at all times ride secure.

At this new emporium, notwithstanding some opposition from the jealousy and superstition of its late possessors, the affairs of the Company went on very prosperously under the management of various wise and prudent governors, till the appointment, to their great detriment, in 1682, of the imperious Sir John Child. The tyranny of this man over the merchants and factors was insupportable, and only to be equalled by the arrogance with which he treated the officers of the Mogul himself, the mighty Aurengzebe. In fancied security, and urged on by the spirit of plunder, for it is impossible to suppose with Captain Hamilton,* that such a respectable body as the Company could have issued these predatory mandates, on the ground of pretended injuries received from the governor of Surat, he gave orders for seizing, wherever met with, the vessels and cargoes of the subjects of the Mogul empire, that now, in great numbers, navigated the Indian seas, and the Arabian and Persian gulphs. At length, he proceeded to the more daring outrage of seizing and carrying into Bombay harbour a fleet of vessels loaded with corn for the imperial army, then encamped about fourteen leagues to the southward of Bombay. In vain did the Seddee, or Mogul General, by two messengers, in mild terms solicit the liberation of this fleet;

* See Hamilton's Voyage to the East Indies, vol. i. p. 200. et seq.

a flat denial, with an insolent answer, was returned, nor did he awake from his dream of folly, till information was brought him that the Mogul had, at midnight, effected a landing on the island with twenty thousand men, and had secured a post about four miles distant from the principal fortress. With little opposition, the Seddee the next morning got possession of Mazagon, a fort of fourteen guns, about a cannon-shot distant from the castle; afterwards he erected batteries on Dungaree Hill, which, we before observed, overlooked, and, in some degree commanded, the castle; and it was to the want of skill rather than of vigour in the enemy that it was not taken, and the whole garrison sacrificed. In this distressing situation no alternative remained but to send a submissive embassy to Delhi, soliciting forgiveness for the unprovoked aggression, and promising full restitution for the plundered property. To this the Emperor, who was no stranger to the naval consequence of the English nation, after a severe reprimand, consented, and the firmaun was conditionally renewed. The Seddee shortly after removed his army, which had increased to 40,000 men, and Child, who it was stipulated should in nine months quit India for ever, before the termination of that period expired on the shore where he had caused so much blood to be spilled. Thus terminated a most unpleasant affair, which cost the Company above 400,000*l.* and what was still more deeply to be deplored, materially injured their credit with the Mogul and his subjects.

From this gloomy picture of affairs on the western side of India let us now direct our attention to its eastern shore, where brighter prospects were beginning to dawn. Their new settlement at MADRAS, notwithstanding its wanting the convenience of a port for shipping, and other local disadvantages, under which, indeed, all their infant settlements laboured, continued in a progressive state to commercial distinction, not a little aided by the

King of Golconda's consenting about this period (1691) to accept a certain sum annually and for ever of the Company, instead of the customs hitherto paid to him. Although in 1640, according to Mr. Orme,* the town consisted of only a few fishermen's huts, it had by this time risen, upon the ruins of the neighbouring city of St. Thomas, situate about three miles distant, to an high degree of wealth and population, so as to have become an emporium of their trade, on the coast of Coromandel, which had before centered at Masulipatam. In the rich province of Bengal too, under the agency of Mr. Job Charnock, the first foundation of that vast empire, which by their power was in after ages established there, was now laid a few miles below the town of Hoogly, situated on the arm of the Ganges, to which it gives name, and the ancient *bunder* or *port*, where the Mogul duties were immemorially collected. He is said, by Hamilton, to have fixed on that spot for an emporium, on account of a large over-spreading tree that stood there, though an unhealthier one, he adds, could not have been chosen, on account of its neighbourhood to a vast lake of stagnant water, the exhalations from which at times rendered the air very insalubrious.† Fort William was strongly constructed, a large irregular tetragon, of brick, and a peculiar kind of mortar used in India, that, by time, becomes harder than stone. The town itself was built in a straggling manner, and with the gardens, indispensible to Eastern dwellings, covered a large tract of ground. At Hoogly, and in its vicinity, the Dutch and several other European nations, allured by the great profits of the Bengal trade, had forts and factories, but they were all in a short period surpassed in wealth and splendour by the English settlement of Fort William, or, as it is now called, CALCUTTA. That trade (the export

* See Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 230, quarto edit. 1805.

† Hamilton's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 47.

trade) consisted principally in raw silks, muslins, cottons, saltpetre, and opium, for which they had in return the ores, and the woollen manufactures of Britain, with the various productions of Europe, imported by our Company.

Into the disgusting details of the domestic squabbles, that about the period of the revolution distracted the Company, and of its consequent division into two distinct bodies, acting in opposition to each other, and to their own interests, the general historian need not enter. Passing by, therefore, alike the interested clamours of grasping avarice, and the boisterous declamation of disappointed faction, of which the publications of that day are full, let us adhere to recorded fact alone. Let it suffice, on that substantial evidence, to report that these two Societies, or, as they were called, *the old, and the new Company*, after many violent proceedings, in which the nation, and even its parliament, took no small interest, were at length firmly and happily incorporated A. D. 1702 into one, under the style and title of "THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND, TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES," with a capital greatly enlarged, with immunities far more extended, and established not by regal charter only, the validity of which now began to be questioned, but with the addition of the solemn sanction of Parliament. With these vastly increased funds, and under the national support, new advantages crowned their commercial, and new glory their military, efforts. The Dutch had for the most part retained possession of the islands, and the English of the continent of India. To the Portugueze, of all their vast empire, nothing remained but Goa, Diu, and a few inconsiderable appendages on that coast. A fourth power, that of France, was however, now by great and rapid strides, advancing to eminence, with whose proceedings we shall hereafter have much concern, and to the history of which we must therefore advert.

The genius of the French nation was ever more of a military than a commercial nature. Ambition, rather than avarice, is the *ruling* passion of that volatile people. Happy also in a rich and abundant country, but too often distracted by civil feuds, they had not the same spur of necessity, by which the Dutch were goaded, to explore distant regions under a burning sun; or to engage with vigour in maritime adventures. The example and splendid success of surrounding nations, had, however, early in the 17th century, excited some efforts of the kind in France, to which the great and politic Cardinal Richlieu gave all the assistance in his power, but they produced no permanent effect, and terminated wholly in some trifling advances towards a settlement in the island of Madagascar.*

It was to the vigorous genius, and comprehensive views of the great Colbert, that the French are indebted for the establishment in 1664, of an East India Company on a solid basis. Sufficient time and experience had been allowed for discovering those fatal errors, on which, both in France and in other countries, preceding establishments had been wrecked. They were, therefore, sedulously avoided, and not only the term of the charter was at once fixed for fifty years, that their efforts and interests might have time to consolidate; but the new society had the benefit of the whole weight and influence of the government, with as ample a pecuniary aid as the finances of the court of Lewis XIV. would admit of. Now, though it be an undoubted fact, that commerce always flourishes best in countries where liberty is most cherished, and in general grows torpid under the chilling grasp of arbitrary power, yet when genius and wisdom preside in arbitrary states, and sincerely lend their patronage to commerce,

* Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 87. and Thevenot's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 128.

the boldest efforts may be successfully made, and the government and the merchant will be proportionably remunerated. Thus both king and minister being alike sincere and hearty in this business, the project commenced under the happiest auspices. The most alluring offers were holden out both to natives and foreigners to embark their property in the lucrative scheme; unprecedented privileges, both of the import and export kind, were conferred upon the adventurers; and whereas, in general, the idea of engaging in commercial concerns was considered by the proud nobility of France as degrading to their blood, the national vanity was flattered by an express law, conferring new honours on such of the nobles as might choose to enter into it. Upon this judicious plan, fifteen millions of livres, about £656,000. sterling, were in a short time raised, and, in the spring of the following year, four large ships, equipped not less for commercial than military operations, if necessary, with a competent number of men, sailed from Brest, and safely arrived in the road of Madagascar in July following.

After having previously experienced so many disasters at Madagascar, it is rather surprising that the French should have again assiduously laboured to establish themselves in that grave of their commerce and their countrymen. They were soon however convinced of their error, and, in 1668, through the united influence and exertions of two enterprising foreigners, one the Sieur Caron, a disappointed Dutchman, and the other the Sieur Marcara, a native of Ispahan, but engaged in their service, we find them settled in Surat, and other places on the Malabar coast, erecting forts, and participating at least with other Europeans, in its trade. By the active exertions of the same Persian, who is said to have been related to some persons of rank at the court of Golconda, they shortly after got a footing at Masulipatam, on

the Coromandel coast; they also obtained a settlement at Bantam, in *Java*, which they retained till they were expelled by the Dutch, together with the English in 1682; at Balasore, and at Hoogly in Bengal, as well as at St. Thomas, they had inferior factories: and finally, after several severe conflicts with the Dutch, into which it is unnecessary to enter, they established themselves in great force and splendour at Pondicherry, their future Indian capital.

Had a Colbert been always at the helm of government in France, the spirit of zeal and enterprize that certainly distinguished the Company's early Governors in India, would have probably been crowned with more distinguished success; but with all their advantages at setting out, above enumerated, the period at which their fleets arrived in India, so long after their European rivals had formed settlements on its shores, and treaties with its sovereigns, was a powerful obstacle to their success. Whatever could be performed by persevering assiduity, united with great political abilities, was effected by those who presided over the Indian establishments; but they had neither the ample revenues, nor, the navy of France being as yet in its infant state, the formidable fleets of their more fortunate competitors. In consequence, after having attained to no small elevation as a commercial body, long before the expiration of their charter, their affairs rapidly declined. On the Malabar coast their power was extinguished; and Pondicherry, with some minor factories, alone remained to them on the opposite shore of the Peninsula. Both the framer of their charter, and the king who sanctioned it, were now no more, (1715); their funds were nearly exhausted, and the French people groaned under a load of taxes accumulated during that reign of boundless expense and ambition. No new fund could, therefore, be raised for the

support of their Indian trade; and during this dark period, it was principally through their insinuating manners and address, by which they ever in a peculiar manner attached to themselves the princes and people of India, that they retained their power and consequence on its shores. At the same time they were continually enlarging the limits, and adding to the strength of the fortifications of Pondicherry, whence they carried on a lucrative trade with the other great marts of India, and, from the near neighbourhood of the diamond mines, in its very richest commodities.

After the lapse of a few years, fresh efforts were made to renovate the affairs of the expiring Company, and, by a singular stroke of policy, an union in 1719, was formed between the French East and West India Companies, under the general title of the " COMPANY OF THE INDIES ;" with a new and vast capital, not less than fifty millions of livres, and with the full confirmation and wide extension of all grants and former privileges.* Although political rather than commercial considerations formed the origin and basis of this grand project, still for the present it operated highly towards their emancipation from the difficulties under which the Company laboured in Asia, and they saw, with astonishment and rapture, three ships richly freighted with European commodities, and having, likewise, on board a large quantity of silver, in specie and bullion, arrive to their relief near the close of the following year. As the Company's embarrassments in India were considerable, no very ample returns could immediately be made; but what was thus liberally given being wisely used, and these well judged supplies being, with some occasional interruptions, continued from the parent country, they in a few years were enabled to send back such valuable cargoes

* Abbé de Guyon's History of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 96. ubi supra.

in return for the munificence of the ministers, who were in fact the *principal*, though concealed managers, as excited at once the wonder and envy of all the maritime powers of Europe.

Under these fortunate auspices they began to display their victorious banners once more on the Indian continent, and retook and fortified many of their ancient castles and factories. At a more advanced period, we find them driving a brisk trade with China for teas; with Mocha for coffee and Arabian drugs; and with Bassora for pearls, and the rich articles of the Persian loom. The great isles of Bourbon and Mauritius were also by the same vigour of enterprize added to their acquisitions in the East, and at Chandernagore, two miles below Hoogley, in Bengal, they had exhausted their whole military skill, in erecting a fort and bastions fully adequate to resist any force that could be sent against it, at least by the native Powers. This very rapid sketch of the general situation of the French in India, and of their various settlements, about the year 1740, is intended as introductory to those more important historical details which must presently occupy the reader's attention. Those details fill many volumes of the European writers who have attempted minutely to record them. We can only give the substance of these great and complicated events, which shall be done with impartiality, and with as much perspicuity as the intricacy of the subject will permit.

CHAPTER III.

POWER *necessary to uphold* COMMERCE *in Despotic Eastern Countries.—The English at* CALCUTTA *oppressed by the Mogul Viceroy.—They send Ambassadors to Delhi, and obtain a* FIRMAUN, *or Royal Mandate in their favour.—The consequent Prosperity of that Settlement.—View of Affairs at* MADRAS.—*Summary of the Mogul History, and that of Nizam-al-Muluck, necessary to a right Comprehension of the Transactions in the Carnatic.—In the violent Contests for the Nabobship the English and French take different sides—Auxiliaries first, but afterwards Principals—To restore order Nizam-al-Muluck marches into the Carnatic at the head of a vast Army.—Supersedes the reigning Dynasty of Princes, and appoints his General, Abdallah, Nabob.—His sudden death.—Anwar-odean appointed to succeed him.*—M. DUPLEIX *sent out Governor General to India.—His daring and ambitious Character. Madras besieged and taken by the French.—Pondicherry besieged by Admiral Boscawen.—Madras restored at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Anwar-odean slain in Battle.—The Cause of Chanda-saheb supported by the French; that of Mahommed Ali by the English.—Death of Nazir, and Murzafa, Jing.—Salabatjing made Soubah of the Deccan.*

IN the two preceding chapters, a rapid survey has been taken of the gradual progress of the principal European settlers on the continent and islands of India; I say the *principal*, because the transactions in those regions of the Danes, the Ostend, and other companies, are not of importance enough in this very general retrospect to merit any particular notice. We have seen

the Portugueze, the Dutch, the English, and the French, successively, and strenuously contending for that commerce which has in all ages so highly enriched the nations that have shared in it. The genius of the Mogul government, friendly to commerce, had for the most part permitted and sanctioned these establishments; but, remote as they were from the capital, could not prevent their being occasionally plundered by a tyrannical or avaricious Nabob, the provincial governor.

A certain degree of POWER is absolutely necessary to protect COMMERCE in arbitrary eastern countries; and the truth of this maxim was no where more deeply felt than at Calcutta, now risen to proud distinction, as the emporium of the Company's traffic in Bengal, but subject to perpetual extortions from the unprincipled rapacity of the reigning Viceroy, and his officers. To obtain an enlargement of their juridical power in certain cases, within the limits of their own territory, as well as an extension of their privileges in a country, so highly benefited by their trade, seemed no unreasonable expectation, and, after due deliberation, an embassy for that purpose to the Mogul Court was, in 1715, resolved upon, together with a memorial, humbly stating their claims upon it for protection, enumerating the hardships under which they laboured, and praying immediate relief. Edward Stephenson, Esq. and John Surman, Esq. two of the ablest factors at that Presidency, were appointed the embassadors, and as no Eastern potentate is ever approached without a NEZR, or present, a valuable present was prepared, consisting of the rarest and most exquisite articles of the rich traffic in which they dealt. Innumerable obstacles, too tedious to be recapitulated, retarded the progress and completion of this mission; but at length, after the lapse of nearly two years, its objects were fully attained. The embassadors were favourably received by the reigning emperor,

FURRUKSEER, and they obtained a firmaun, or imperial mandate, conferring on them the desired enlargement of their juridical authority within their own domain. That firmaun not only confirmed all former grants, but allowed them the liberty to trade, free of customs, to construct new fortifications, to coin money, and many other highly important immunities. In their memorial, the grievances by which the other two settlements were oppressed, were not forgotten; and they too obtained redress and ampler privileges. From this period Calcutta, which had, till now, looked to Madras for directions and advice in difficulties, began to act as an independent Presidency, only accountable to the Direction in England. To the consideration of the affairs of that government, where a dark storm was brooding, it is now necessary to direct the attention of the reader.

A short anticipation of the Mogul history, which will be detailed more at large in the succeeding book, is here absolutely necessary to understand that portion of the narrative of our affairs in India, on which we are about to enter. Aurungzeb, who died in the year 1707, left the richest and most powerful empire in the world to be rent asunder and convulsed to its very centre by the ambitious contentions of his surviving offspring. India had not for ages seen two such immense armies assembled on her plains, as those which accompanied to the field his sons Azem Shah and Mahommed Mauzim, the rival competitors for his vacant throne. Mauzim was the successful combatant. His son Jehander Shah, weak in intellect but violent in his passions, succeeded him. Two powerful Omrahs, brothers, called the SEYDS, disgusted at his effeminacy, united to dethrone him, and raised Furrukseer to the imperial musnud. The reign of Furrukseer was a reign of more vigour, but aiming to make himself independent of these assuming brothers who had secured for

themselves and their friends all the great offices of state, after seven years they deprived him both of his throne and his life. To the same high dignity, and the same deplorable fate they devoted Rafeih-al-Derjat. They then proclaimed his brother Rafeih-al-Dowlat, who, a few days after his succession, died a natural death. Lastly they exalted to the throne Mohammed Shah, who exerted his whole power to accomplish their destruction, and effected it. This vigorous and successful enterprize, at the commencement of his reign, afforded great hopes that it would prove a glorious one. It, however, turned out to be not only a very inglorious reign, but during its continuance, there occurred that dreadful calamity which eventually subverted the Mogul empire, or at least so convulsed it to its centre, that it has never since recovered from the blow; I mean the invasion of Hindostan by Nadir Shah.

The principal instigator of this memorable irruption was a great and ambitious but slighted Omrah, named Nizam-al-Muluck, in shorter terms, the NIZAM, who, after the plunder of Delhi by the Persian troops, retired to the province of which he had long been governor, the Deccan, and erected a standard little inferior to the imperial in power and splendor. By the Deccan must here be understood, that word in its most extensive signification, as including all the southern provinces, the vast regions recently conquered by Aurungzeb, amounting to nearly a fourth of the empire. The transactions of this important personage and his descendants in the peninsula, as Soubahs of the Deccan, will occupy no small portion of the subsequent pages.*

* The reader will please to observe that in the names of persons and places throughout the narrative I shall usually follow the orthography of the author who will be our surest guide, Mr. ORME.

The Carnatic is one of the most considerable Nabobships of that Deccan over which his usurped sway extended. From its capital of Arcot, it is also named the province, and the prince the Nabob, of Arcot. The title is indiscriminately given. Sadatalla, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, who governed it from 1710 to 1732, having no male issue, adopted the two sons of his brother, appointing the elder, Doast-ally, to succeed him in the Nabobship. The old Nabob died in 1732, much regretted. The Nizam, however, not having been consulted in the appointment, is said to have beheld the succession of Doast-ally with aversion, and to have prevented his obtaining authentic patents from Delhi, confirming the appointment. Doast-ally had two sons, of whom the elder, Subder-ally, had already arrived at man's estate, the other was a minor. He had also several daughters, one married to his nephew, Mortiz-ally, and another to a more distant relation, Chunda-saheb. In the Peninsula, as well as in many other parts of the empire, many inferior rajahs were left by the conquerors in possession of their territories, on condition of annually paying a certain stipulated tribute to the Viceroy of the province. They were allowed to live in splendor little less than royal, and to maintain an army adequate at least to all the purposes of effective government. Of this class were the kingdoms (if they may be so called) of Tritchinopoly, Tanjore, Madura, and some others towards the southern extremity of India. They paid tribute to the great Mogul, and that tribute was collected, sometimes not without an army to enforce its payment, by the Nabob of the Carnatic. At Tritchinopoly the king dying in 1736, and there being a dispute relative to the succession, an army was sent by the Nabob into that quarter, under the command of his son, Subder-ally, and his relation Chunda-saheb, to

settle the disputed points. They lay for some time encamped near the city, whose gates were closed; but Chunda-saheb, by stratagem, and, it is said, by the connivance of the queen-regent, who had fallen in love with him, soon contrived to introduce himself and a large body of troops within the walls, the consequence of which was its speedy subjugation, and her dethronement. The dependencies very soon after submitted, and Chunda-saheb remained to govern the new conquest, while Subder-ally returned to his father at Arcot.

The resentment, however, of the Nizam still continuing, he determined that neither the Nabob nor his relation should peaceably enjoy their dominions. Remote at Delhi, embarked in vast schemes of ambition, and anxious to enrich and aggrandize his family at the expense of the empire, he was unable personally to interfere, but instigated the Mahrattas, ever the tools of his ambitious projects, to invade the Carnatic, who, prompt to obey the summons, in 1740, poured their predatory myriads over its fertile regions. In the very first engagement at Damal-cherri, Doast-ally, and his son Hassan, after fighting gloriously for several hours, fell dead from their elephants on the field of battle. The Mahrattas, formed for engagements in the open plain, are but little skilled in the attack of fortified cities, and when Subder-ally, who was approaching with an army to the assistance of his father heard of his fate, he immediately altered his course, and took refuge in the strong fortress of Vellore, while Chunda-saheb remained secure at Tritchinopoly. In the mean time the Mahrattas inexorably ravaged all the open country. A treaty was at length set on foot, and their retreat was purchased at the high price of ten millions of rupees. The impoverished Subder-ally immediately ascended the musnud, as Nabob of the Carnatic. But on

this, as on a former occasion, the Nizam not having been consulted, his pride was again severely wounded, and his resentment highly inflamed.*

In this treaty with the Mahrattas there was a secret article highly disgraceful to Subder-ally, but very consistent with the known perfidy of Asiatic despots, even though connected by the ties of blood. Bearing concealed in his heart a jealous hatred of Chunda-saheb, it was agreed that the Mahrattas, as if unknown to the Nabob, should return at the close of the year, and that Tritchinopoly and Chunda-saheb should be given up to them. This they failed not to do, at the appointed time; Chunda-saheb, after an obstinate defence, was compelled to submit, and was carried prisoner to their capital of Sattarah, where he was detained in close confinement till the year 1748, when by M. Dupleix's intercession he was released. Morari Row, one of their generals, was left with 14,000 of their best troops in the command of the newly acquired kingdom, which was pillaged and devastated through all its bounds in the manner usual with those barbarians.

The two great rival settlements of Madras and Pondicherry being situate on the coast of Coromandel, at the distance of only 100 miles, could scarcely avoid being in some degree involved in the everlasting conflicts that occurred, within its limits, between the native princes. The great superiority of the Europeans in military science, and above all, the infinite advantage which their well-conducted artillery gave them in Indian warfare, made the native powers at all times extremely solicitous to have their assistance in their contests with each other. They were at first, indeed, auxiliaries only in those conflicts, but mutual irritations

* Orme's History, vol. i. p. 46. ubi supra.

and reproaches taking place between them, they soon became animated with all the fury and vengeance of principals.

The fortifications at Pondicherry were of such magnitude and extent as to astonish the natives of India, a people who had made little progress in that art; they appeared to them impregnable. In fact, the utmost efforts of late governors had been exerted to render the place exceedingly formidable. To that city, therefore, as to an inviolable asylum, a few days after the battle, the widow and relatives of Doast-ally had fled for refuge with all their jewels and treasures to an immense amount. They were received with great kindness and hospitality; and when the Mahrattas had left the country, both Subder-ally and his brother Chunda-saheb repaired thither in great pomp and splendor, and expressed eternal gratitude to the French for the protection thus generously afforded to the royal fugitives. Presents of great value and high honours were accumulated on M. Dumas, the governor; and whatever privileges he thought proper to claim for his nation were readily granted. This was the basis of that intimate connection formed by the French with the native powers, which afterwards proved the baleful source of so many wars; for, at a future period, the English at Madras finding it necessary to espouse the interests of a contrary party, the merchant was compelled to turn soldier, and amidst the perpetual struggles for power of the contending parties, the desolated Carnatic in time became an ACELDAMA; a very field of blood.

The history of these turbulent chieftains is indeed but a black detail of murders. Subder-ally, the self-created Nabob of the Carnatic, enjoyed his authority but for a short period. While on an expedition to collect the tribute due to him as Nabob from Mortiz-ally, at Vellore, that ruffian, whom no ties of consanguinity could bind, after in vain attempting to poison him, pro-

cured a Patan to dispatch him with several stabs of a poniard. He immediately caused himself to be proclaimed Nabob; but his execrable character and tyrannical conduct occasioned an universal insurrection among both the civil and military officers of the province: they in a body surrounded the palace, with loud invectives, and the cruel being always cowardly, he was intimidated, and fled by night in the habit of a woman in a covered palankin. The widow and infant son of Subder-ally had fled for refuge to the English at Madras: and Mortiz-ally in vain demanded them and the treasures they carried with them into that city. The English knew the distracted state of the province, and resolutely refused to give them up. The revolted chiefs declared the Nabobship vacant, and proclaimed Subder-ally's infant, named Seid Mahommed, Nabob; who with his mother was immediately removed to Vandiwash, a strong fort, governed by a near relation af Subder-ally.

Indignant at these atrocities and innovations, and having succeeded in getting his son, Ghazi-odeen Khan, made Captain General of the Mogul's armies, the Nizam, at the head of a vast army that spread dismay and terror as it past, in 1743, marched from Golconda to settle the disorders of the Carnatic. When arrived at Arcot, he was struck with astonishment at the anarchy that pervaded every department of the government. Every petty chieftain had assumed the title and parade of a Nabob, and one day, after eighteen persons thus distinguished had been presented to him, he was so irritated, as to order any person to be scourged, who in his presence should again dare to assume that title. The young son of Subder-ally, the only one who had any shadow of a claim to it, was also presented to him, and graciously received; but instead of being returned to the guardian care of his uncle at Vandiwash, the young prince was committed to the custody of some lords of his court; at the same

time he commanded them to treat him with all possible respect and tenderness.

Having made tbe reformations in the government, which his political wisdom, and his uncontrolled authority enabled him to make, the Soubah appointed Abdallah, the general of his army, Nabob of Arcot, and all its dependencies. After reducing Morari Row, the Mahratta governor of Tritchinopoly, rather, it is said, by presents and promises, than by arms, the Soubah returned to his capital of Golconda, Abdallah still continuing in the command of the troops, and governing Arcot by a deputy. Early in the following year he prepared to assume in person the reins of government, and, on taking leave of the Soubah, for that purpose, was distinguished by particular honours. The next morning, however, he was found dead in his bed, with evident marks of having been poisoned, but by whom was never discovered. A successor was immediately nominated in the famous Anwar-odean. This promotion, in exclusion of the rightful heir, gave great disgust in the province, and was the occasion of many convulsions that afterwards distracted it. The inhabitants indeed fondly hoped that to Seid Mahommed, the son of Subderally, above mentioned, the throne might ultimately revert; but that hope suddenly expired, for on a public festival, in a conspiracy of Patan chiefs, to which Anwar-odean and Mortiz-ally were supposed to be not unconscious, the unsuspecting youth was basely assassinated. Whatever suspicions however might attach to his character, Anwar-odean had the address to clear himself with the Nizam from the guilt of this foul murder, and soon after the event, he sent him regular patents, signed by the Mogul, with full powers to administer affairs, as Nabob of the Carnatic.

The above summary of transactions that about this period took place in the southern part of the Peninsula, may be thought rather to belong to the Imperial, than to the Company's history;

but it is introduced to show by what means the affairs of the latter became gradually so implicated in those of the former, that towards the close of the century the history of the one is nearly the history of the other.

It has been observed that *a dark cloud brooded over Madras*. In 1744, war was declared between Great Britain and France, and as it was not doubted but that a decisive blow would be aimed at her Indian commerce, preparations, but not such as were adequate to the impending danger, were early made to ward off that blow. Commodore Barnet, with three ships of the line and a frigate, appeared in July, 1745, on the coast of Coromandel, which in the then situation of Pondicherry, destitute of a ship at anchor in its road, alarmed even the daring mind of M. Dupleix, the new governor, and he prevailed on the Nabob Anwar-odean to interpose his authority with the Madras government that no hostilities should be attempted against the French possessions in the territories of Arcot. Anwar-odean consented, but insisted at the same time that the French, if ever they became superior, should observe the same law of neutrality. From respect and deference to the Nabob's authority, no hostile acts were attempted this year. A reinforcement of two fifty gun ships and a frigate enabled the English in the following year to present a bold aspect at Pondicherry, but the unexpected arrival of nine ships of war under the famous Bourdonnais disconcerted their projects, though it damped not their spirits. They gave him battle, and fought undauntedly till the darkness of the night separated them. In a council of war, holden the next morning on board the English Admiral's ship, it was not thought prudent, from the shattered state of their ships, and especially of one, a sixty gun ship, that had received the greatest injury, to renew the engagement, until the damages they had sustained had been

repaired. The fleet therefore sailed for Trincomalee, in Ceylon, to refit; and though, afterwards, the two fleets came in sight of each other, and continued so for several days, no second engagement took place.

The French admiral imputing to timidity what was solely the effect of prudence in the English commander from the great disparity of their respective force, instantly determined on the bold measure of laying siege to Madras. The English, alarmed at their situation now, in their turn, called on the Nabob to fulfil his promise of preventing any hostile attack of the French by land, but having no costly presents made him to stimulate exertion, he is supposed to have been not very ardent in their cause, and if he did not absolutely *provoke*, he certainly made no efforts to *repress* the violence of the invading foe. Madras, built with a view to commerce, rather than defence, was but indifferently fortified to resist an enemy; especially an enemy so well skilled in military tactics as Bourdonnais, the Commander of the French. It consisted of three divisions, of which the first contained the fort, the houses of the factors, and the public warehouses. It was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries of very defective construction. This quarter was inhabited solely by Europeans, was for distinction called the White Town, and is properly FORT ST. GEORGE. The second division is far larger, but worse fortified, inhabited by the richest Arminian and Indian merchants: this quarter was called the Black Town. Beyond this, northward, stretched a vast suburb, filled with the habitations of Indian natives of all ranks, promiscuously scattered. There were scarcely three hundred Europeans in the whole colony, and 200 of these composed the garrison; the total number of inhabitants in the Company's territory was not less than 250,000.

On the 18th of August, 1746, the French squadron appeared and cannonaded the town, but retired without doing much damage. In the mean time the terrified inhabitants anxiously expected the appearance of that fleet, which was principally sent out for their defence. Most unfortunately, however, the sixty gun-ship, the only one of that magnitude in the fleet, was found to be so leaky, that it was feared, if again brought into action, the very shock of firing her own cannon would sink her, and the squadron was compelled to proceed to Bengal. On the 3d of September, the French fleet again appeared on the coast, and four leagues to the south of Madras landed a considerable part of the large force which they had brought for its reduction. It consisted of 1100 Europeans, and 800 natives, while on board the fleet there remained 1800 mariners; an immense disparity! compared with the handful of men, which, by the most criminal negligence, were alone left to defend the first settlement of the Company on the shores of India. The remainder of the force, with all the engines of assault, with which the ships were so amply stored, were debarked the next day within cannon shot of the fort, and the White Town, in which the English resided, was first attacked. The bombardment and cannonade were extremely severe, not only from the batteries erected on shore, but from all those ships that could be brought near enough to fire upon it with effect. The conduct of Mr. Morse, the governor, on this occasion was highly praiseworty, and he resisted as long as his inefficient garrison, and his ill-conditioned works could hold out against so formidable a foe. On the 10th he sent deputies to capitulate, and the terms dictated by the victor were, that the English should surrender themselves prisoners of war, and that the town should immediately be delivered up; but that it should afterwards be ransomed. On the same day, Bourdonnais, at the

head of a large body of troops, took possession of the place, and the keys of the fort and the public magazines were delivered to him. An Indiaman, then lying in the road, was taken possession of; and the lilies of France were seen triumphantly to wave on the ramparts of St. George.

The ransom afterwards agreed upon was 1,100,000 pagodas, or about 440,000l. sterling. This ransom was for the town; all the money, merchandize, military and naval stores were sent on board the French ships. The amount of these was calculated at about 200,000l. more. M. Dupleix, however, the governor of Pondicherry, refused to ratify the treaty. He and the council of that presidency were decidedly of opinion that Madras, its rival, should be razed to the ground; and nothing but the honourable firmness of M. de la Bourdonnais in adhering to his engagements prevented that catastrophe. The disputes which on this and other accounts arose between these two high-spirited chiefs were of essential service to the Company's affairs; for they detained the latter with his fleet on the dangerous coast of Coromandel till the monsoon set in, when it was dispersed in a dreadful storm, and received irreparable damage. Matters however were at length brought to a crisis, and it was determined that the French, who were by the first treaty to have quitted the town on the 4th of October, should remain in the possession of it for three months, or at least for such a period as might be necessary to adjust all the discussions arising from the treaty. In consequence, Bourdonnais shortly after invested one of the council of Pondicherry, sent by M. Dupleix for the purpose, with the government, and to the regret of those whom he had vanquished, sailed with his shattered fleet under jury masts, for the Mauritius.

The Nabob, Anwar-odean, in the mean time had not been wholly inattentive to the proceedings of the French; and before

the capitulation had sent a menacing letter to M. Dupleix, at Pondicherry, for having violated the peace of the province. He was pacified however by the promise that Madras, if taken, should be given up to himself, and that he would be certain of receiving a large sum from the English for the restitution of so valuable a possession. In this expectation finding himself deceived, he soon after sent an army of 10,000 men to Madras under the command of his son Maphuze Khan, who invested the town. The French sent deputies to treat, but these he detained: still they delayed coming to extremities with a person of his high distinction, and committing themselves with the delegated viceroy of the great Nizam. Being at length compelled to come to an engagement with him, his army was in several successive actions utterly routed, and his camp and baggage plundered, to the great emolument of the victors. The charm being thus broken, and the terror of warring against the supposed invincible Mogul effaced from the minds of Europeans, the reader will not wonder after this to find their standards frequently opposed in the field to those which may be called imperial. In fact, as ambition or avarice swayed their minds, the Moguls fought alternately on the side of the English or French, and alternately became the plunder of those whom they themselves meant to pillage.

After these transactions, the French proceeded to one of the basest acts of perfidy that ever disgraced the page of history. They refused to relinquish Madras; they declared the ransom null and void; they sent the governor and principal inhabitants prisoners to Pondicherry; their valuable property was seized upon; and all who would not take the oath of allegiance to the French king were ordered to quit Madras, and its territory, in the short space of five days. A great addition was made to the garrison for its

better security, and the fortifications repaired and strengthened. Determined, if possible, to extirpate the English from Coromandel, they next led a formidable force against Fort St. David, situate near the sea, twelve miles south of Pondicherry. This town was a sort of dependency on Madras, small, but better fortified for its size than any in India. About a mile from it stood Cuddalore, where many rich Indian merchants, and others dependent on the Company, resided. The English of Fort St. David, in this extremity, applied to the Nabob, who now breathed nothing but vengeance against the French, for his assistance, and it was readily granted. At a moment when all seemed lost, a body of 6000 horse and 3000 foot made their appearance, and these, mixed with, and in some degree guided by the English troops, attacked the invaders with success, and compelled them to retreat with considerable loss. In proof, however, of what has been just observed concerning the fickleness and venality of these Mogul chiefs, M. Dupleix, by a bribe of 50,000 rupees, and a present of European trinkets of the value of 100,000 more, was able to purchase peace of them, and the recal of their troops from Fort St. David.*

Of the fleet whose unfortunate, I will not say disreputable, absence thus contributed to the loss of the first English settlement, Commodore Peyton had the command, having succeeded that valiant officer (Barnet) who had the year before perished on that shore which he had so well defended against the enemies of his country. Something more in the then perilous situation of the settlement should certainly have been attempted by Peyton, and in that opinion, doubtless, government coincided, by sending Admiral Griffin to supersede him. Griffin arrived in India about the middle of December, 1746, but found his collective force too small either

* Orme's History, vol. i. p. 85, ubi supra.

to reduce Pondicherry, or retake Madras; however he stationed his force with such admirable skill in Fort St. David's road, about five leagues to windward of Pondicherry, as for nearly two years, the period of his continuing on those seas, to intercept all the trade, and cut off all the supplies of that city. To him Admiral Boscawen succeeded, and with nine sail of the line, two frigates, and a larger body of troops than the English had ever yet sent out to India, began the regular siege of Pondicherry. It is revolting to the feelings of an historian to be perpetually recording disasters. The attack was not ultimately successful, owing to the great strength of the fort, constructed with uncommon skill, defended by two hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, with magazines and arsenals amply provided, and a well-disciplined garrison, consisting of above 4000 men. Exertions worthy of a British army were made by the besiegers; but Admiral Boscawen, invincibly brave and skilled in the conduct of marine engagements, is said to have wanted the qualities necessary to success in carrying on war on shore. Sickness, too, prevailed to a great extent in the British lines; and the stormy monsoon setting in earlier by three weeks than usual, compelled them rather ingloriously to raise the siege. But that transient disgrace was not long after amply retrieved. The hour of dreadful retribution for all the injuries committed by the French was not yet arrived. The finest European city in India was not razed to the ground till a few years later in the annals of Asiatic warfare.

In 1748, Peace auspiciously arose to dissipate the sanguine cloud that had so long veiled the horizon of India. By the conditions stipulated at Aix-la-Chapelle, Madras was restored to the Company, and the nation, in return for Cape Breton; and Boscawen with a part of his squadron sailed to take possession of

it in August of the same year. The English received it in a very improved state from that in which they had yielded it up; many new bastions and batteries having been constructed, and an excellent glacis had been formed that covered the north and south sides of the town. Re-established in its ancient abode, the genius of British Industry again began to rear its head; and wise from past misfortune, with their commercial speculations, the new presidency neglected not to blend that prudent attention to military concerns which their hazardous situation amidst a host of ambitious and contending foes seemed to require. During all this dreadful calamity the seat of supreme power on the Coromandel coast had been transferred by the Company's orders to Fort St. David, which had now become a place of great strength, and highly increased in its population and commerce. Nor was Madras again restored to its ancient honours as the seat of the presidency till May, 1752. A stronger garrison, however, was in future maintained within the walls of Madras, and the fortifications were constantly kept in the most respectable state of defence. This indeed was now become imperiously necessary, for M. Dupleix still pursuing the high game of conquest rather than of commerce, for which his genius was better qualified, was perpetually urging on the native powers to mutual attacks, that his ambition might be gratified by the elevation of himself and his nation on their downfall and ruin. The imperial standards of England and France were no longer opposed in the field, or on the ocean; but, as allies to the princes of India, the banner of hostility was still kept unfurled, reluctantly enough by the cautious English, but by their more daring rivals with the avowed principles of subjugation and triumph.

The death of Mohammed Shah, the enervate, the humiliated monarch of the millions of Hindostan, took place about this

period; and shortly after, at the advanced age of 104, expired the greatest of his subjects, if indeed the man who arrogated almost imperial honours could be called a subject, the Nizam. He left five sons, two of whom only it is of immediate importance to notice. The eldest of these, Ghazi-odean, still continued at Delhi, in his post of captain-general of the forces. The second succeeded him as soubah of the Deccan, though a grandson of the Nizam, born of a favourite daughter, and cherished by the old man with the greatest affection, on the ground of a will asserted to be made in his favour, laid claim to that distinction and to the greatest part of the treasures of his grandfather. His assumed name was Murzafa-jing, and a disputed succession offering a glorious opportunity for the intrigues of M. Dupleix, he resolved not to lose it; presuming that by vigorously promoting the objects of his ambition, he might afterwards make him an easy tool for the accomplishment of the great projects which he had himself in view, he gave the young prince his decided and zealous support. Convinced of the abilities and great military talents of Chunda-saheb, still languishing in fetters among the Marhattas at Sattarah, he extended all his influence to get him released, and by bribes and promises he at length succeeded. He then contrived to get him appointed general of the forces of Murzafa, and by a lavish expenditure of the Company's treasures, greatly increased their numbers and importance. Anwar-odean still continued acting viceroy of the Carnatic, but Chunda-saheb, related to the old line of Nabobs descended from Sadatullah, that anciently governed the province, so forcibly urged his own pretensions to that distinguished situation, that he soon prevailed upon his new-acknowledged lord to issue letters patent appointing him Nabob in the place of Anwar-odean. As opposition would doubtless be made to this assumption of viceregal honours, he

had the further art to persuade the young prince to try his strength first in this minor expedition, which, if successful, would secure to him the wealth and resources of that vast tract of country, which extended from Arcot to Cape Comorin, including many rich and powerful states. The scheme appeared so plausible, and at the same so highly flattering to the ambition of a brave young soldier, ardent to distinguish himself in the field, that it was immediately adopted.

Anwar-odean knowing the great military talents, as well as the pretensions of Chunda-saheb, had always regarded him with a jealous eye, and is thought to have used his influence in protracting the period of his confinement at Sattarah. When intelligence was brought him of the hostile intention of the combined princes, he lost not a moment in preparing to defend his rights by the sword. He levied an army of 12000 horse, and 8000 infantry, and with these he hastened to defend the passes of the mountains that led into the Carnatic. M. Dupleix had previously dispatched a body of 400 Europeans, and 2000 sepoys, under the command of M. d'Auteuil, to join the forces of the invaders, and in fact, to their skill and valour the success of the day must principally be ascribed. Independent of the stimulus of national pride, they were inflamed with a desire of plundering the camp of the Nabob, which was said to contain immense treasures. Fortunately the English were not engaged in this contest; either from an ill-judged parsimony, or thinking his force sufficiently strong without them, the Nabob had not applied to them for assistance. At Amboor, fifty miles to the west of Arcot, a decisive engagement took place; and so vigorous was the resistance of the Nabob's army, that even the French veterans, in their attempts to storm the entrenchments, with which he had fortified the front of his camp, were twice repulsed. In the third

attack they were successful, and the whole army pouring in impetuously through the breach, the battle became as general as the nature of the place, the defiles of a mountain, would permit. At a distance on an eminence was seen the Nabob, surrounded by a chosen body of cavalry, in which lay the strength of his army. The stateliness of the elephant on which he was borne, and the blaze of the great standard of the Carnatic, attracted every eye. His voice was heard animating his troops with the fortitude with which his own bosom burned, and his heroic actions were in unison with his address; nor was his ardour damped when tidings were brought him tha this son Maphuze Khan, who commanded one of his wings, was slain with a cannon shot. Amidst the slaughter that raged around him he happened to espy the elephant of Chunda-saheb, with the usurped insignia of the nabobship. A torrent of contending passions now agitating his breast, and eager to crush at once the author of so many calamities, he commanded the conductor of his elephant to drive furiously against the elephant of his rival; but before he reached the object of his indignation a ball from the musquet of a Caffre shot him through the heart, and he fell headlong on the plain. The death of the chieftain, in the battles of India, is always the signal for the immediate flight of his army; this was the case of the fallen Nabob's, and a very considerable booty was the reward of the victors.

Murzafa-jing, the next day, marched unopposed to Arcot, where he appeared in all the pomp and splendor of a soubah of the Deccan, and he there confirmed the appointment of his friend Chunda-saheb to the nabobship. Some time was occupied in receiving the submission of the great lords of the province, and, what was still more acceptable, their contributions; among whom Mortiz-ally, the governor of Vellore, alone paid

700,000 rupees. The confederate princes, accompanied by the French battalion, then proceeded to Pondicherry, which city they entered in great pomp. They were exultingly received by the gratified Dupleix, and entertained during their stay with oriental magnificence. Here were laid those deep concerted projects of ambition and conquest, in the attempt to accomplish which the whole Carnatic was convulsed, and which finally compelled Nazir-jing to take the field at the head of an army of 300,000 men. As in the transactions that rapidly followed are involved the interests of all the southern provinces, comprising nearly a fourth part of the empire, and as they must again come in review in the course of the general history, a cursory account can alone be given of them in this place.

Mahommed Ali, the second son of Anwar-odean, on the defeat and death of his father, had fled for safety to Tritchinopoly, where, expecting to be besieged by the conquerors, he eagerly solicited the assistance of the English. He represented to them that both Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb were to be regarded as rebels to the empire; that Nazir-jing was the real soubah of the southern provinces, and that he himself was now the real nabob of the Carnatic, having obtained the reversion of that post from the Nizam, and that he was in daily expectation of having his appointment confirmed by Nazir-jing. This statement had so much the air of truth, and was so conformable to all they had witnessed, that fearing to commit themselves with the court of Delhi, the Presidency complied with his request, but, in a cautious manner, and dispatched about 120 Europeans to his relief. Instead, however, of attacking Tritchinopoly, much against M. Dupleix's decided advice, who wished to extirpate the family of Anwar-odean, and make himself master of that strong fort, whither its representative had retreated, the thirst of greater

plunder induced the allied princes to invest Tanjore, where they obtained their object, the king of that place saving his capital at the price of 700,000 rupees, a large sum, paid immediately down to the French troops, and the cession of 81 villages to the government of Pondicherry. The approach of the Soubah at the head of such a mighty force saved Tritchinopoly. Every effort was made by Murzafa-jing to present a formidable front to the enemy, and with that view Dupleix increased the European force in his army to 2000 men. Nazir-jing summoned Mohammed Ali, as his feudatory, from Tritchinopoly; and requested the English at Fort St. David to send him a body of Europeans. In consequence, a few days after Major Lawrence with 600 Europeans arrived at the Nabob's camp at Valdore, about 15 miles from Pondicherry, which was now in sight of that of the enemy. An immediate engagement between the hostile armies seemed inevitable; but in the dreadful interval, events took place that materially affected its hoped for success.

Glutted with the wealth which they had divided at the siege of Tanjore, as well as exhausted with their fatigues, many of the officers on that service had obtained leave to retire from the camp to momentary repose, while others supplied their places. These latter, thus immediately exposed without *their* reward to the dangers of a severe service, the burthen of which, they knew must lay principally on them, loudly remonstrated, and demanded a sum of money that might render their fortunes adequate to those to whose posts they had succeeded. The high mind of M. Dupleix revolted at this demand, and proceeding to put one of this refractory band under arrest, the others insisted on receiving the same treatment. The moment was critical, and their services were deemed essential to the expected success of the day; and consequently no severities were resorted to. They

continued in the camp, but turbulent and factious; and the soldiers also caught the flame of discontent. The event was that the commanding officer, M. D'Auteuil, fearful of the consequences in a general engagement, withdrew the whole detachment from the field, and marched back to Pondicherry. Thus deserted by his principal support, Murzafa-jing was overwhelmed with astonishment and terror. He, therefore, listened to overtures of accommodation made him by his uncle, who had sworn on the Koran that his person should be safe, if he surrendered. On this solemn pledge he entered the camp of his enemy, but was instantly thrown into fetters. The prince secured, with the same shameless perfidy his army was attacked, treated as rebels to the empire, and for the most part cut in pieces, as the Soubah's troops gave no quarter. Chundah-saheb not choosing to trust the Soubah, had retreated with the French to Pondicherry. Some of the Patan chiefs who had attended the Soubah in confident hope of high rewards, being disappointed in those hopes, and treated insolently by him, began to be extremely dissatisfied. Dupleix heard of their discontent, and by his emissaries blew up the flame. He entered into close correspondence with them; and to pass over minuter circumstances, in which all the art, policy, and valour of Dupleix were exerted, the death of the Soubah, and the exaltation of Murzafa-jing to the nabobship were ultimately resolved upon. Major Lawrence, still in the Soubah's camp, but unstained by his treachery, obtaining information of what was going on, took the resolution at an audience to make it known to him; but the interpreter, either from fear, or induced by bribes, misrepresented his words; and shortly after, unable to obtain the confirmation of a grant of territory adjoining Madras, made to the Company by their friend Mahommed Ali, now esteemed Nabob of Arcot, left the camp in disgust. In the mean time the

conspiracy entered into against the life of the Soubah, by Dupleix, with the Nabobs of Cudapa, Canoul, and Savanore, all Patans by birth, and the most potent of the feudatory lords who had accompanied him into the Carnatic, went on cautiously and securely. Nor was the sanguinary project at all impeded by his suddenly breaking up his camp at Valdore, and retiring to Arcot. There devoting himself to the pleasures of his seraglio and of hunting, he lived in utter disregard of the storm which was just ready to burst upon him: but the capital and the palace afforded no opportunity for assassination like the field of war. The artful Dupleix, therefore, contrived by new irritations, by insulting embassies, and a vigorous attack on the fort of Gingee, one of the strongest in the Carnatic, to rouze Nazir-jing from his dream of indolence, and drive him to that field on which he was doomed to fall. The indignant Soubah soon appeared in arms, though at the head of far less numerous forces than before. When arrived at the distance of only sixteen miles from Gingee, the autumnal rains set in, and in two or three days he found his army inclosed between two rivers, rendered almost impassable by the inundations, with the probable prospect of not being released till the return of fair weather in December. The Soubah saw the danger of his situation, and immediately commenced a negociation with the governor of Pondicherry. He promised to ratify the treaty desired, and in fact had ratified it, when the quarter of the camp, in which his tents were fixed, was suddenly attacked before day-break by a strong division of the French army, and carried, while the greater part of his army, drawn up at a distance in battle array, remained inactive. These were the rebel chiefs, at the head of their respective legions, waiting the result of this premeditated attack of the French. It was a long time before the Soubah could be persuaded to believe that the aggressors were

really French. When convinced of this, he ordered the head of Murzafa-jing to be instantly struck off, and brought to him: but the officer who had him in custody was leagued with the conspirators to crush his captor, and did not obey. Equally astonished and enraged at the continued inactivity of his troops, he mounted his elephant, and, accompanied by his body guard, rode up to the nearest of the rebel battalions, commanded by the Nabob of Cudapa, and called him aloud a dastardly coward, for not daring to defend the imperial standard, against the most contemptible of enemies. The indignant Nabob answered him by the discharge of a carabine that lodged two balls in the heart of the unfortunate Soubah, who fell dead on the plain. He then ordered his head to be severed from the body; bore it himself on the point of a javelin to Murzafa-jing, already liberated from the fetters which he had worn seven tedious months, and exultingly hailed him Soubah of the Deccan.

The treasures of Nazir-jing were estimated at two millions sterling, and the jewels at half a million. Of these it is supposed M. Dupleix received for his share 200,000l. besides some very valuable jewels. The Patan chiefs had a million sterling allowed them, with large additions to their respective territories: but though they professed to be satisfied and swore allegiance to the new Soubah, on the Koran, discontent and rancour reigned in their hearts, and they wanted only a fair opportunity to dispatch this new puppet of their power, as they had dispatched his predecessor. That opportunity soon occurred. The Soubah's presence being necessary at his capital, he in a short time commenced his march for Golconda, attended, for his better security, in such turbulent times, by a considerable body of French troops, under the command of M. Bussy. When arrived in the territory of Cudapa, about sixty miles from Pondicherry, apparently by

accident, but doubtless by design, some straggling Mogul horsemen quarrelled with the inhabitants of a village, and the injury being resented, the incensed soldiers set fire to that and several other villages in the vicinity. The Nabob of Cudapa, pretending to be highly exasperated at the insult, attacked the rear guard of Murzafa-jing's division. The astonished Soubah commanded the whole army to halt, and would have immediately led on a large portion of it against the refractory Nabob. He was, however, restrained by the prudence of M. Bussy, and only a messenger was dispatched to enquire into the causes of so daring an outrage. An answer, breathing defiance, being returned, the Soubah rushed forward to the attack of the Nabob, who, with those of Canoul, and Savanore, had taken a strong station near a defile through which the army must pass, and which was strongly fortified with a number of cannon, *previously planted* there. So impetuous was the attack, and so powerful the fire of the French artillery, that the Patans were compelled to retreat, and the Nabob of Cudapa fled out of the field desperately wounded. Elated by this triumph, and anxious to exterminate the Patan rebels, the Soubah pushed on with the cavalry, regardless of the intreaties of M. Bussy, whose battalion, encumbered by the artillery, could not keep pace with him ; and in the pursuit came up with a body of his own troops, who were, at that instant, cutting to pieces the body of the Nabob of Savanore, dead on the ground. Shortly after he came up with the Nabob of Canoul, who finding escape was impossible, resolutely turned back his elephant, and urged him on towards the elephant of the Soubah. The latter accepted the challenge of single combat, and made a signal to his troops to retire. The two elephants were driven up close to each other, and Murzafa-jing with his uplifted sabre was just going to strike, when the wary Nabob thrusting

forth his javelin, drove the point through his forehead into his brain, and he fell back dead. A thousand javelins were immediately aimed at the Nabob; and himself and all his troops were cut to pieces on the spot. Such, in a very limited period, was the unfortunate end of three successive Soubahs of the Deccan, an awful lesson to human grandeur! but too frequent in that country to be much regarded; though the death of the three conspirators in one day, in addition to that of Murzafa-jing, who by their atrocious murder obtained the throne of his uncle, was even there considered as a signal retribution of the divine justice.

It has been already mentioned that the Nizam left five sons, of these the three younger were, for security, kept near him in strict confinement in the camp, by Nazir-jing, and for the same powerful reason were retained, in similar restraint, by Murzafa-jing. To prevent the confusion beginning to take place in the camp, on account of the death of the Soubah, M. Bussy, who was not wholly without suspicion of being conscious to the conspiracy that destroyed him, after consultation with the ministers and generals, immediately raised to the vacant throne Salabat-jing, the eldest of them. M. Dupleix, on being made acquainted with the event, consented to the appointment, and the new Soubah, in consequence, confirmed all the vast cessions made to the French by his uncle, with the addition of many others. The imperial army, restored to order and discipline, continued its march without interruption to Golconda.

CHAPTER IV.

The English, astonished and alarmed at the success of the French in the Carnatic, endeavour to counteract their ambitious projects.—They send assistance to the Nabob Mahomed Ali, besieged at Tritchinopoly.—Captain Clive volunteers his services, and, by surprize, takes ARCOT, *the Capital.—Maintains himself in it against very superior Forces, and displays the dawn of his great military Genius.—Mahommed joined, in his distress, by the Regent of Mysore, the Rajah of Tanjore, and a body of Mahrattas.—Chunda-saheb driven to extremities, surrenders himself to the Tanjorine General, and is by him perfidiously put to death.—The Mysorean and the Mahrattas lay claim to Tritchinopoly, as the stipulated price of their services, and besiege it.—Great length of the Siege and Sufferings of the Garrison.—At length the Regent abruptly breaks up his Camp, and retires to Mysore; while Mahommed, under the Protection of his firm Allies, the English, establishes himself in security at Arcot.—Transactions in* BENGAL; *prefaced by an Account of the Rise and Progress of the* MAHRATTAS.—*Their vast Empire founded by* SEVAJEE, *a Soldier of Fortune, of the Tribe of* RAJPOUTS, *or native Hindoos.*—SAMBAJEE.—SAHOOJEE.—*Astonishing extent of that Empire at the Death of* SAHOOJEE.—*The* RAM RAJAH—*finally divided into two distinct Governments, that of* POONAH, *and that of* BERAR.—*Account of the respective Sovereigns of those Governments.—Reflections on the Character and Manners of the* MAHRATTAS.

THE English government at Fort St. David, still the presidency on the coast of Coromandel, on receiving intelligence of these

important transactions, and of the high predominant influence of the French at the court of Golconda, were overwhelmed with astonishment, mingled with terror. They now saw the error of their too great caution, and regretted the abrupt departure of Major Lawrence from the Nabob's camp, by which the field was left open to their rivals. That able officer too had sailed for Europe on his private concerns, and had been succeeded in the command of the troops by Captain Cope. They now resolved to take a more active part, and faithful in their attachment to the family of Anwar-odean, dispatched a body of troops to assist his son Mahommed Ali, invested by the French at Tritchinopoly; while Chunda-saheb had marched to Arcot, and was receiving the renewed homage of the province, as Nabob. In a short time, however, he returned at the head of 12,000 horse and 5000 sepoys, and first invested Volcondah, a very strong fortress, near which the English were encamped, situated on the great road between Arcot and Tritchinopoly, which, after some negociation, was surrendered to him by the perfidious governor, and the English retreated to Tritchinopoly. He then advanced to the siege of the latter place, where his troops, which outnumbered the English, ten to one, took a position on the southern, while the English encamped on the western side of the city.

Tritchinopoly, situated about 90 miles from the coast, is one of the best fortified cities in the Carnatic. It is inclosed by a double range of walls, flanked by round towers, built at equal distances from one another: the outward wall is eighteen feet high, and about five feet thick: the inward wall is of much greater strength, being thirty feet in height, with a rampart of stone decreasing by large steps from the ground quite to the summit, where it is ten feet broad, with a parapet of stone about seven feet high, in which are loop-holes to fire through. The outer wall is

surrounded with a ditch thirty feet wide and twelve deep. The Presidency of Fort St. David made the greatest exertions to increase the number of their troops and artillery before Tritchinopoly, but the army of the Nabob and the French was still so much stronger, that the event of a battle seemed very doubtful; and it was now that the great military genius of young Clive, at this period only a lieutenant in the service, began to display itself. This intrepid officer proposed to the Presidency, as the only resource in this extremity, the daring measure of attacking Arcot itself, and offered to head himself the expedition, which, he urged, would infallibly cause a diversion of the enemy's force from Tritchinopoly. Fort St. David and Madras were exhausted of troops to furnish men for this important enterprize, which was as fortunately conducted as it was judiciously planned; for the city of Arcot having no walls or ramparts, and the fort being defended by only a slender garrison, they entered the place with little opposition; and 100,000 astonished spectators beheld a handful of English take possession of the capital of the Carnatic, its military stores and accumulated treasures. The generous victors, however, seized only the public property; all property of a private nature was considered as sacred, and punctually restored to the owners. When the panic, into which the garrison and inhabitants were thrown by the boldness of this manœuvre was over, troops were collected from all quarters, and Clive soon found he had an army of 3000 men to contend with; but by a series of bold and skilful attacks made upon the enemy, when opportunity most favoured, he contrived to remain in full possession of all the advantages which he had so gallantly obtained.

This spirited undertaking, which so early marked the character of the young commander, was attended with all the success that

could be desired. Chunda-saheb found himself compelled to detach 4000 of his best troops from Tritchinopoly to attempt the recovery of his capital, in which attempt, however, they completely failed, being routed in all their attacks by the superior skill and bravery of the garrison and their intrepid chief. At the same time, by this draught from the main body of the troops before Tritchinopoly, the besieging army was proportionably weakened, and time was afforded to Mahommed to strengthen himself with new allies. Among these was the Regent of MYSORE, a country of considerable extent, but at that time of little note, compared with its subsequent state of power and aggrandizement. The king was a minor; but his uncle enjoyed the regency of the kingdom, and governed it with unlimited authority. A body of Mahrattas, also, under Morari Row, were taken into his pay; and even the Rajah of Tanjore, with whom he had been so long at variance, seeing his cause so generally befriended, now joined with the other allies, to effect his deliverance from those evils which had been partly occasioned by his own hostility. It is impossible, in a summary history like this, to enter into the details of sieges, and minutely to record events of inferior importance. Suffice it to observe, that on the return of Major Lawrence to India, early in 1752, that experienced soldier, assisted by the victorious captor of Arcot, resumed the command of the English troops, and that by vigorous exertion on the part of the confederate army, Chunda-saheb was at length driven to such extremities, and his resources became so utterly exhausted, while his army was so completely inclosed and blocked up in the island of Seringham, near Tritchinopoly, that he was compelled to fly for succour to his most determined enemy, Mona-ji, the general of the Tanjorine army. Presuming that by the gratification of his avarice, his resentment might be appeased, he proffered the poor

remains of his treasury to secure his personal safety, and Mona-ji confirmed his promise of protection by the most solemn oath that binds an Indian soldier. He swore, on his sabre and poniard, that he should be safe, devoting himself to death by those instruments if he failed in his engagement. It was then agreed that Chunda-saheb, with a few attendants, should come to his quarters at midnight, where he promised an escort of horse should be in readiness to convey him to the nearest French settlement. As by perpetual fatigue and vigils the Nabob's health was greatly on the decline, a splendid pallankin, as for an infirm person, had been artfully got ready, which, with the other preparations for his escape, was shewn to the officer who conducted the negociation, and who returned without suspicion. At the dead of night the Nabob with his slender band cautiously advanced towards the Tanjorine camp, but with the perfidy usual among Asiatic princes, the instant he entered the lines, the perjured villain ordered him to be arrested, and thrown into irons.

On this intelligence being communicated to the other chiefs, they immediately assembled with a view to determine in what manner the unfortunate prince should be disposed of. The English, the Mahratta, and the Mysorean generals were all equally anxious to have the charge of so important a personage; but the Tanjorine firmly refused to part with his prisoner; and, the assembly breaking up abruptly, his savage soul, delighting in blood, resolved to end the contest by his destruction. A Patan, trained to deeds of horror, was dispatched to execute the barbarous resolution. He found the wretched prince, in chains, stretched on the floor of his apartment, from which, debilitated by age, by anxiety, and by disease, he was unable to rise. The monster's purpose was evident in his features; and it was in vain that his victim solicited a short conference with Mona-ji, to reveal a

secret of importance. The ruthless assassin stabbed him to the heart, and then severing the head from the body, carried it in savage triumph to his employer, who instantly sent it reeking with blood into Tritchinopoly, to be viewed by the Nabob and his courtiers. The army of the murdered prince immediately dispersed, and the French, who had fortified themselves in the great pagoda of Jambakistna, shortly after surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus, at length, Mahommed obtained in reality that distinction to which he had so long laid claim, and for which so much blood and treasure had been expended. The English, to whom he had exhibited his patents of investiture, from Nazir-jing, and Gazi-odean Khan, confirmed by the great Mogul, were satisfied of the justice of his claim, and on that basis they had, through innumerable difficulties, adhered faithfully to his interests, and still continued his friends and protectors.

Of the continuance of that protection he was, indeed, deplorably in want, for although the nominal lord of the whole country from the river Penner to Tinivelly, in all that extent there was scarcely a single fortress, besides Tritchinopoly, in which he could repose his head with security. What rendered his fate still harder was, the Regent of Mysore and the rapacious Mahrattas were hovering near to rend even that solitary possession from him. To that chief he had made a secret promise, evidently extorted from him by the necessity of his circumstances, that if, through his assistance and that of the allies, successful, he would surrender to him that city and fort, which the Regent now claimed, as the stipulated price of his services, and those of his subsidiary Mahrattas. Remonstrances were in vain ; the mercenary chief insisted upon the due performance of the contract, and the rival Mahrattas supported him in it. A compromise at length took place between the contending parties, and the Mysorean was, or

at least appeared to be, satisfied with having made over to him a grant of the revenues of the island of Seringham, and several other neighbouring districts, with full power to collect them himself; and a renewed promise, that, within a fixed period Tritchinopoly should be delivered up to him. Matters being thus accommodated, and a strong corps of Europeans and sepoys being left in the city, to guard against possible outrage, Mahommed Ali, at the head of a large body of horse, with 500 English and 2500 sepoys, trained after the European manner, began their march for the recovery of the Carnatic. The first place of strength at which they arrived was Volconda; where the chief bought his peace by taking the oath of allegiance, by the payment of 80,000 rupees, and by giving security for the perpetual payment of future arrears. From this place the Nabob dispatched a body of 1000 horse to strengthen the garrison at Arcot, and then marched on to Trivadi, in the pagoda of which place they found a body of French troops, who surrendered at the first summons. They were unsuccessful in their attack upon Ginjee; they were gloriously triumphant at Bahoor. Vandiwash was ransomed by its governor for 300,000 rupees; and every thing was giving way before them, when by the perfidy of the Mysorean who had invested Tritchinopoly, and driven the garrison to the utmost distress by cutting off all their supplies of provision, the army was suddenly recalled to that important fortress.

M. Dupleix stung with anguish at the discomfiture of his troops, and jealous for the honour of his nation, had been exerting all the energies of his mind, and all the resources of his situation, to re-establish its fame, and its power. He encouraged the Regent, and the Mahrattas, who still adhered to him, to persevere in their claims on Tritchinopoly, and he supplied them

with arms, with men, and with money. He employed both promises and threats with the Rajah of Tanjore, to prevent his sending succours or provisions to the exhausted garrison; and the Mahrattas cut off the noses of the country people whom they found engaged in that benevolent occupation. He proceeded at length to the bold measure of applying to be made himself Nabob of the Carnatic, and by means of M. Bussy, who still continued and was omnipotent with Salabat-jing, obtained a firmaun to that intent, from the new Soubah, although his own title to the viceroyalty had not been confirmed by the Mogul. By virtue of this pretended commission he appointed Mortiz-ally of Vellore, to act as his lieutenant, and received of him 50,000l. as the price of this delegated authority. He assumed all the pomp and dignity of a real Nabob; and the ample revenues which the French now obtained, in addition to former grants, for their assistance in placing and upholding Salabat on the vice-regal throne, were devoted to support his usurped authority. Among these may be enumerated what are called the Northern Circars, thus denominated from their position in respect to Madras, procured, also, by M. Bussy's intrigues at the court of the Deccan, and amounting to above half a million annually.* The return of the Nabob and Major Lawrence to Tritchinopoly saved the garrison from the disaster that immediately impended over it; but the great length of the siege, and the number of the besiegers, had rendered the country for miles round a desert, and supplies were obtained from a great distance with the utmost difficulty; nearly half the army being engaged as an escort, and the troops being perpetually harassed during their march by large bodies of Mahratta cavalry. Several desperate battles were fought, but nothing decisive took place, till at length an

* Orme, vol. i. p. 335.

event occurred of the greatest importance of any that could, at at that time, have happened, and by its consequence put a period, for a time at least, to those unceasing wars which, at a period when the parent countries were at peace, had so long desolated the Carnatic.

A strong remonstrance, occasioned by the complaints of our East India Company, who found their commerce greatly impeded by those wars, had been made by the British to the French ministry, concerning the ambitious projects of the French on the Coromandel coast, and the recall of M. Dupleix, the soul and source of them all, insisted upon. The additional menace that if the measure were not complied with, a national rupture must ensue; and an order of an immediate equipment for the shores of India, of a squadron of men of war, with a body of troops, induced the French court, at that time not at all inclined or prepared for a general war, to check the ambitious career of their servants in India. Early in the spring of 1754, M. Godehen was sent out to supersede M. Dupleix, and with powers to conclude a conditional treaty with Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, and the able opponent in the cabinet of M. Dupleix, to be approved or rejected, as they might think most proper, by the Court of Directors at home. M. Dupleix, totally unacquainted with what had taken place, received his order of recall with astonishment, but with dignity. He was convinced that in all he had done he had the secret approbation of his government, and submitted to be the victim of political convenience without repining. In the pursuit of this great object of national aggrandizement, if he had squandered the public wealth, he had not been sparing of his own; and he returned to an ungrateful country with a fortune much impaired, instead of being improved in its service.

By the appointed commissaries a suspension of arms was

immediately agreed upon between the French and English, which was to include their allies, followed by a conditional treaty, to which, however, the barbarous Mysorean would not submit, declaring that he was under no obligation to regard any treaty that was not made by himself. On receiving intelligence, shortly after, that Salabat-jing was advancing from Golcondah, at the head of a vast army, for the purpose of collecting the tribute, due for many years from Mysore, he abruptly broke up his camp, and after having waited three years with patient perseverance, as well as with great waste of men and treasure, at the head of 20,000 men, to accomplish a favourite project, he retired to his country, in 1755, without having accomplished it. Such was the commencement of our transactions with the kingdom of Mysore; the renowned Hyder served in that camp under his uncle, and learned from his failure, on this occasion, a more wise and politic lesson for his future conduct in war.

With a view to enforce, if necessary, their demands relative to a change of measures in the councils of Pondicherry, the British government had early in 1754 dispatched to India Admiral Watson, with a squadron of three ships, having the 49th regiment on board, and towards the close of the year, Commodore Pocock arrived with two more ships of the line, which, added to those already on the coast, composed a formidable fleet. Of Europeans, too, the number at Madras and Fort St. David's amounted to full 2000 men; yet the terms of the treaty were lenient and favourable, leaving in the hands of the French very large districts, and revenues far exceeding their own. Absolute peace, however, amidst so many armed claimants, and through so wide a circuit as the field of the late war, could not immediately be obtained. Inferior contests for some time agitated the south of the peninsula; but, before the close of the year 1755,

the rightful claims of Mahommed Ali, as Nabob, were generally acknowledged throughout the Carnatic, and, invited by the Presidency at Madras to Arcot, under their support and protection, he thenceforth securely fixed his residence in that ancient capital of the province.*

Having now brought the complicated history of affairs in the Carnatic to some kind of termination, we must direct our attention to the transactions of the Company in Bengal, whose Soubah already had followed the example of the Nizam in assuming independence, or at least in paying only a nominal obedience to the Mogul, without remitting a rupee for his support.

The frequent appearance of the MAHRATTAS, however, about this time, on the theatre of war, renders it necessary for us previously, and rather prematurely, for it properly belongs to the general history, to present the reader with a detailed account of the origin and progress of that singular race.

The term Mahratta is very properly derived by Major Rennel† from MARHAT, the name of a province in the Deccan, comprehending Baglana, and other districts, which at present form a large portion of the dominions of that people. The founder of the tribe was SEVAJEE, descended from the Rana of Oudipour, the chief of the Rajpoot princes. His mother was not of such high origin, she is said to have been an obscure person of the

* My authorities for the above extensive detail of affairs on the coast of Coromandel and in the Carnatic, independent of Mr. Orme's more elaborate work, are the authentic "Narrative of Colonel Lawrence" himself, published in 1762, in refutation of M. Dupleix's disingenuous Memoire; Cambridge's "War in India;" Dow's "Decline of the Mogul Empire," important, in what concerns the history of Nizam-al-Muluck and his descendants in the Deccan; the India Papers, and the Gazette accounts, published by authority.

† Memoir, p. 79, last edition.

tribe of *Bonsola*, or *Boonsla*, retained to this day as the family name by his descendants, the Rajahs of Sattarah and Berar. His immediate father bore a high command in the armies of the king of Visiapour. Sevajee was born in 1628, and spurning at subordination, early aspired to independent sovereignty. The distractions which about that period prevailed in Visiapour, from the irruption of the Mogul monarch into the peninsula, were highly favourable to his views. Among the mountains of the western coast, and the strong fortresses in which they abound, he first raised his banners, which were resorted to with eagerness by many bold chieftains, of his own tribe of Rajpouts, all animated by the same turbulent disposition. From those mountains they descended in formidable bodies, chiefly cavalry, into the wide-spread champaign country below, plundering the inhabitants of their treasures, driving away their flocks, and carrying off their grain to their strong holds.

Living entirely in this predatory manner, on the labour and industry of his subjects, the sovereign of Visiapour, who was at that time also engaged in a destructive war with the Delhian emperor, sent armies upon armies against them, but by open resistance, or by treachery, chiefly by the latter, every effort to crush the rising foe was defeated. Aurungzeb himself, then on the throne, who had in the first instance employed this body of banditti to promote his ambitious project of subjugating Visiapour, soon found them to be the more determined enemy of the two, and exerted against them the forces of the empire with very inadequate success. The King of Visiapour dying in 1661, left his son a minor, and dissensions arising among the nobles, relative to the regency, Sevajee took advantage of these distractions, and sent detachments to obtain possession of the towns and sea-ports

lying along the shore of the CONCAN,* which was effected with little opposition. Pirates had abounded on this coast from the time of Alexander, whose historians mention the Sangarians of those days as famous in that line, and Sevajee, to whom no species of plunder was unwelcome, encouraged rather than repressed their predatory disposition. By this means he gradually became formidable on the ocean, and to the Europeans settled on that coast: the interruptions given to their trade by his ships, though not hitherto of magnitude or importance enough to be recorded here, are frequently mentioned. In the event, however, we shall find the English navy occupied in utterly destroying the piratical empire in these seas by the defeat of Angria, and the destruction of GHERIA.

While his generals were ravaging the shore of the Concan, Sevajee himself descended from the northern hills in great force into the plains that stretch between Ahmednagar and Aurengabad, every where laying waste the country, and despoiling the Moguls. In another campaign which took place in 1664, he made an irruption into Guzzurat, and plundered Surat of a million sterling, but molested not the English and Dutch factories. Highly exasperated at this new insult, Aurungzeb now commanded the whole army of the Deccan to march against the

* "The region," says Mr. Orme, "called the CONCAN, extends along the western coast of India, from the territory of Goa to Daman, in length 240 miles. The vast range of hills which accompanies the sea-coast, and always in sight of it, from Comorin to Daman, is called the GAUTS, an Indian word which signifies *passages*. This chain, never more than 50, or less than 30 miles from the sea, has in its whole extent very few passages which open into the inland country by windings among the mountains. In all other parts, and especially in the Concan, the whole chain seems one connected wall, to the summit of which every path has been hewn by the hand of man; and, nevertheless, is not to be ascended even by the single foot of the traveller, without the fatigue of hours." Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 22, last quarto edition.

marauder, but at the same time ordered the general of that army, Rajah Jysing, to use every effort to decoy him to Delhi. What artifices were used it is impossible to say, but by superior cunning, of which he was a consummate master, Sevajee not only went to Delhi, but returned in safety, after an ineffectual attempt to assassinate him, and with a spirit of highly inflamed hostility, to commit new ravages in Guzzurat. We find him again, in 1669, before the gates of Surat, levying heavy exactions, and retiring with an immense booty, in safety, to the almost impregnable fort of RAIREE; situated, like many others of his strong holds in the mountains, on the summit of a lofty rock. Aurungzeb, about this time engaged in an obstinate war with the Patans, not being able to send troops in sufficient numbers to check his incursions, ordered vessels to be constructed in the ports of Surat and Cambay, for the purpose of invading the shores of the Concan, in conjunction with the Seddees; but Sevajee, at all points prepared, with his superior navy captured some, and burned others in the harbours. At length, having become in every respect an independent prince, he caused himself to be publicly enthroned with all the pomp of an Hindoo monarch of the war tribe, and on that day laid the foundation of one of the most powerful sovereignties of India. His life and his victories terminated in 1680.

He was succeeded, on his self-erected throne, by his son Sambajee, who began his reign with great apparent vigour, and for some years, upheld its glory, both in the cabinet and in the field, against Aurungzeb, personally opposed to him in the latter. His three principal forts of Sattarah, Pannela, and Rairee, having been separately invested, he descended with all his forces from the mountains, and defeated the assailants. He for a long time protected Sultan Akber, the rebel son of Aurungzeb, at his

court, against the menaced vengeance of his father, and at length he so deeply incensed the Mogul by the unprecedented barbarity with which he carried on the war against his troops, poisoning the tanks of pure water near which they might be tempted to encamp, and committing other wanton outrages, that he swore, before his return to Delhi, he would see at his feet the head of Sambajee weltering in its blood. With this determination he fixed, in 1688, his head quarters at the city of Visiapour. With his innumerable army he soon reconquered all the towns and castles in the open champaign country ; while along the foot of the mountains, which contained his strong and scarcely accessible fortresses, he so judiciously stationed bodies of troops as prevented any descent of the enemy into the plain. The number of these posts in the high ridge of the gauts, is said to have amounted to no less than 350.*

By open hostility, however, Aurungzeb soon found it impossible to conquer Sambajee, or obtain possession of his person. He therefore sought to effect it by secret ambush. Sambajee had an unbounded propensity to women. He who rose invincible from the toils of war, was still to be caught in the toils of love and beauty. The Mogul bribed the pander of his lust, and secured his prey. He appeared before his captor with an undaunted countenance. Being proffered life if he would turn Mahommedan, he poured forth a bitter invective against the Prophet, and lauded the gods of Hindostan. The fury of the bigotted Mogul rose to its highest pitch ; he was instantly ordered to a cruel death. After suffering a thousand indignities, his tongue was torn out. He was again insultingly offered life, if he would abjure the Hindoo faith, and adopt Mahommedism. He wrote, "Not, tyrant, if you would give me your daughter in marriage."

* Orme's Historic Fragments, p. 93.

His heart was then cut out in the presence of Aurungzeb, and his mangled limbs were given to the dogs.*

This nefarious execution, intended to awe a race not to be intimidated, had no other effect on the Mahratta nation at large than to exasperate them to keener vengeance, and to excite them to deeds of bolder enterprize. To Sambajee, at a very early age, succeeded his son Sahojee, who possessing all the courage and political wisdom of his father and grandfather, during a long reign of fifty years, not only very widely extended the bounds of the empire, but matured and consolidated what their genius had planned and their exertions had secured. The dissensions that raged among the sons and descendants of Aurungzeb, whom his ancestors had braved in the field, were extremely favourable to the exaltation of a race, inured to war and discipline, animated by the same religion, governed by the same laws, and doomed, as it should seem, to rise upon the ruins of a mighty empire. During this long period of distraction, the armies of the Mahrattas over-run and plundered almost every part of Hindostan, excepting Bengal. We have seen them, during the absence of Nizam-al-Muluck, their greatest check, at Delhi, and indeed by his express permission, taking a decided part in the wars that desolated the Carnatic; they had conquered the greatest part of the fine province of Malwa; and, on the return of the Nizam to the south, they had carried their devastations even to the gates of the capital itself, and extorted a vast sum, by way of tribute, from the enervate Mahommed. Finally, in 1735, they obtained from that weak monarch authority to collect the CHOUT, or *fourth* part of the net revenues of the other provinces of the empire, though Bengal for some time longer remained unviolated by their daring irruptions. In short, at the death of Sahojee, which took place

* Orme's Historic Fragments, p. 164, ubi supra.

in 1740, their territories extended from the western ocean to Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic, forming a tract of nearly 1000 miles long, by 700 wide, and including some of the richest and most fertile provinces of the Indian peninsula. The capital of this great empire was established at Sattarah, a fortress situated about 50 miles south-east of Poonah, and near the 18th degree of north latitude.*

During the latter period of Sahojee's reign, being oppressed with age and infirmities, he had almost wholly confided the reins of government to a very able minister, named Ballajee, who under the official denomination of the Paishwah, or vice-gerent, skilfully conducted all the affairs of the vast empire of his master. Sahojee, indeed, lived so wholly secluded from public business in his palace and fortress of Sattarah, that the Paishwah was considered in the light of a sovereign, and acted as such without the name. From him immediately issued all the orders of government, and peace and war depended on himself alone. Sahojee having no children, was succeeded by his nephew, Ram Rajah, a prince of weak intellects, over whom the Paishwah continued to exert the same powerful influence, or rather in consequence of his defective understanding, a still greater than he had exerted over his uncle, and kept him constantly confined in his splendid prison of Sattarah. He had the power to render the office of Paishwah hereditary in his family, and at his death his son Bajerow succeeded to his high office and his honours.

There was another officer of distinguished eminence in the court of Sattarah, termed Bukshi, or commander in chief. His name was Ragojee Boonsla, and he was nearly related to the reigning dynasty, as his name indicates. Uncontrolled in their respective situations, and equally ambitious of vice-regal sway,

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 124.

these two great officers agreed to divide between them the empire of their master; the one, the Paishwah, assuming to himself the government of the eastern provinces, fixed his capital at Poonah; the other, the Bukshi, who held the province of Berar in Jaghire, fixed his residence at Nagpour in that province. Though distinct and independent governments, still the chief of Berar acknowledged the supremacy of the Rajah of Sattarah, as the head of the empire, and regarded the Paishwah as the principal executive authority of the state, invested with the exclusive right of concluding treaties, and regulating other great national concerns. The descendants of Sevajee, in their splendid confinement continue to be treated with the greatest respect. "No Paishwah," says Lord Wellesley, who had the best opportunity of knowing, "can enter upon his office without receiving a *kelaut*, or dress of honour from the Rajah.* On taking the field he must previously have a formal audience of leave from the Rajah. The country in the vicinity of Sattarah enjoys an exemption from military depredations of all kinds; and whensoever any chief enters this district, all the ensigns of power and command are laid aside; and the nagara, or great drum of the empire ceases to beat."†

Although it may be considered as an anticipation of events, yet, for the sake of connection, I shall carry somewhat lower down in the century the history of their descendants, and the usurpers of their thrones.

The reign of Bajerow was a reign of activity and vigour; he greatly increased the limits of the Mahratta empire, and wrested from the Portugueze the important fortress of Bassein, and the island of Salsette, near Bombay. He died in 1759; and was

* A KELAUT is a dress of honour, conferred by a superior on an inferior, on occasion of accession to office, or as a mark of esteem and approbation.

† Lord Wellesley on the Mahratta war, Appendix, p. 8.

succeeded in the Paishwahship, that is to say, on the Poonah throne, by his son Ballajee. His real sovereign, the Ram Rajah, fourth Rajah of Sattarah, dying without issue, that dignity *ought*, by the ties of blood, to have descended to Ragojee Boonsla, sovereign of Berar; but his dread of the superior power of the Paishwah prevented him from putting in his claim, and it passed into some other branch of the family, who are *supposed* still to reside closely shut up in their ancient but splendid prison; I say supposed, because it is a matter of just doubt whether any of that family at present actually exist at Sattarah.* This suspicion is confirmed by the fact that the Rajah of Berar, on occasions of meeting between himself and the Paishwah, is always treated, in consequence of his rank, as his superior; and, in the capacity of first constituent member of the empire, claims the right of sending to the Paishwah a dress of honour on his accession to the office. The name, however, of Ram Rajah still remains, though his person be unknown; and is stamped on the seal and coin of the empire.

Ballajee died in 1761, leaving three sons, of whom Maderow ascended the musnud. He reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his younger brother Narrain Row, a youth of 19, whose unfortunate end excites the sigh of compassion. He was assassinated by the base contrivance of his uncle Ragonaut, better known by the name of Ragobah, son of Bajerow, the first Paishwah. Ragonaut had been for some time in confinement at Poonah; for what offence is unknown. On Narrain's accession he solicited his liberty, which it was not thought proper to grant him. Two officers, high in his nephew's service, were suborned by him to perpetrate the bloody deed. On a certain day all the avenues leading to the palace were secured, and the whole building

* See Moor's Narrative of Captain Little's Detachment, p. 432.

surrounded with the troops under their command. On the first alarm, suspecting the treason, and well aware of the author, the distracted youth rushed into his uncle's apartment, threw himself at his feet, and with tears implored his protection. "You are my uncle," said he, "take my throne; but spare my life; bathe not your sword in the blood of so near a relative." At this instant the two assassins entered the apartment. Ragonaut, affecting anger which he did not feel, ordered them to depart, The hardened ruffians, convinced of his insincerity, rushed forward with their poniards and stabbed him in the arms of his uncle, treacherously extended to protect him. A deed of such black atrocity could not fail to render the author the object of universal hatred and detestation. Though for a short time he enjoyed the throne in defect of other male relatives, yet his crown was a crown of thorns; and the widow of the young and unfortunate Narrain proving with child, and that child a boy, the vote of the chiefs that raised him to that musnud was rescinded, and he was hurled from it with merited indignation. To that favoured child was given the name of Sevajee Maderow, and in due time he mounted the throne, and reigned on it till 1795, when he was killed by a fall from the terrace of his palace.

Of the sovereigns of the eastern Mahrattas, on account of our having less political intercourse with them than with the western, fewer particulars are known. The first Rajah of Berar, Ragojee Boonsla, whom we shall soon see performing a part of very active hostility in Bengal, finished his career of glory and depredation in 1749. He left four sons, Janojee, Sabajee, Moodhajee, and Bembajee, of whom the eldest, Janojee, succeeded to the musnud. Janojee dying without issue in 1772, appointed as his successor, the son of his younger brother Moodhajee, whom he had adopted. This appointment occasioned a contention between

the brothers, Sabajee and Moodhajee. The former claiming the government in right of priority of birth, and the latter, as father and guardian of the adopted child. They were accordingly engaged in perpetual war until the death of Sabajee, who was killed in an engagement with that brother on the 27th of January, 1775. From that period the government of Berar was holden by Moodhajee Boonsla, who died at an advanced age in 1788, and was succeeded by his son Ragojee, the adopted child of Janojee, the present Rajah of Berar.*

To this summary abridgment of Mahratta history, it may be proper to add a short account, from the same respectable author, of certain celebrated chiefs among them, who amidst the perpetual contests for dominion, usual in all feudal states, have risen to power and eminence on the declining authority of the early usurpers.

The first of these in rank and extent of domain is the family of SCINDIAH. Ranojee Scindia, the founder of this family, rose to notice in the service of Bajerow, the first Paishwah, whom having attended in a successful invasion of the province of Malwa, he was rewarded with a considerable portion of the districts conquered in that province. The grant thus made to him was confirmed in Jaghire to his descendants, by the Rajah of Sattarah. On the death of Ranojee Scindia, Madhajee, his fifth son succeeded to the patrimonial inheritance, of which Oujein was the capital; but by these limits he was not to be confined. Extending his conquests every way, he gradually made himself master of the greatest part of Malwa, of the Rajpout states, and of Agra and Delhi, by which he became possessed of the person and nominal authority of the Mogul, of whom he was the ostensible minister. This ambitious and turbulent chief died in 1794, and

* Marquis Wellesley's Mahratta War, Appendix, p. 22, ubi supra.

was succeeded by his nephew and adopted son, Dowlet Rao Scindia, of whom much will occur hereafter.

The second feudatory chief of consequence, among the Mahrattas, is Holkar. The founder of this family, also, rose to eminence under the first Paishwah, and obtained the reward of his services, like Scindiah, in a large division of the province of Malwa, in Jaghire.* The capital of Holkar is Indore, a city situate about 30 miles south east of Oujein. His income is supposed to be about 80 lacs of rupees, or one million sterling per annum. Holkar has also a considerable part of Candeish, which province is, like Malwa, divided between himself, the Paishwah, and Scindia. He was succeeded by his nephew Tuckojee Holkar, who not being an ambitious man, and having ever shewn great attachment to the reigning Brahmin family at Poonah, was considered as a proper check on the ambition of the other great chiefs of Nagpour and Oujein. He died in 1797, and was succeeded by his illegitimate son Jeswunt, a man of a widely different stamp, politic in the cabinet, and enterprizing in the field, the determined opponent of Scindiah, but not unsuspected of designs on the musnud of Poonah itself, though prevented from carrying those designs into execution† by the vigour and vigilance of the British government.

The third considerable chieftain, or Jaghiredar, is Futtey Sing, known by the family name of Gwickar, who divides with the Paishwah the largest and finest part of Guzzurat; his particular share chiefly lies in its northern districts. The fourth is, or rather was, for he was killed in 1799, fighting against his old enemy, the Rajah of Colapore, Purseram Bhow, who to the dignity of

* Jaghire, or Jagheer, means a grant of land from a sovereign to a subject, revokable at pleasure; but generally, or almost always, for a life rent.

† Lord Wellesley, Appendix, p. 18.

belonging to the Brahmin class, added the advantage of great riches and military authority. His son, Appah Saheb, inherits his estate, and his hatred of the aforesaid Rajah, with whom he wages continual war. The fifth is the Rastia family, also Brahmins, long settled in the Concan, and possessed of great power and distinction in the state of Poonah. The present chief is named Maderow Rastia, has a revenue of about 20 lacs of rupees, and commands a force of about 4000 horse, and as many peons.* These are among the principal feudatories of the Mahratta state, which, in the course of a century and an half, from a few wandering bands of robbers, has arisen to the proud distinction of being the first native power of India. As their names, which may sound not a little uncouth to an English ear, will frequently occur in the subsequent pages of this work, the above concise account of them may be useful towards understanding their relative situation hereafter in that empire, which their ambitious projects convulsed.

In concluding our account of this singular race of men, a few reflections present themselves, to which a view of their extraordinary character and manners naturally give birth in the mind of every intelligent reader.

The Mahrattas, whether considered as a nation or as individuals, constitute a peculiar phænomenon in the history of human society. Superstitiously addicted to the mild rites of the Brahmin religion; never eating of any thing that has life, and by their belief in the metempsychosis, restrained from killing even the most noxious reptile that molests them, yet barbarously mutilating, and in their sanguinary warfare putting to death thousands of their fellow-creatures, and that often with aggravated tortures, they exhibit a contrast of character wholly unparalleled.

* Ibid, p. 28.

The engines of that torture which they are said to carry with them to force confession of concealed treasure, are of a terrible description. The iron chair in which, heated red hot, the offender is placed, and the envelope of the same metal also heated red hot to encircle his head, are among a few of them. These are particularly mentioned by the missionaries who resided in the Carnatic at the time of their grand irruption there in 1740, and, in fact, for one of them, Pere Madeira, after having been first severely flogged, and exposed several days naked to a vertical sun, to make him discover hidden treasure, the chair and that envelope were heated red hot; but by the interposition of one of the generals he was respited.* Their more lenient punishments are slitting the nose, and cutting off the ears; but Bernier, who was an eye witness of their cruelties during the plunder of Surat in 1664, says, that to make the rich inhabitants discover their wealth, they were guilty of more horrid cruelties, cutting off the legs and arms of those who were suspected of secreting it.†

If it were only against the Moors, the ferocious invaders of their country, the despoilers of the Hindoo temples, and the remorseless murderers of the priests of Brahma, that these cruelties were directed, it would be less a subject of wonder, since Sevajee publicly announced himself the avenger of the Gods of Hindostan against the sanguinary violators of their shrines, meaning Aurungzeb and the Moguls; but their rage is indiscriminating, and Hindoos and Mahommedans are alike the victims of their unrelenting barbarities. How astonishing must this conduct appear to every reflecting mind! Scrupulous minutely to observe all the prescribed duties of their cast, with respect to diet and ablutions, even amidst the tumult of war, and often to the

* See Lettres édifiantes, tom. xvi. p. 264.

† See his Memoir of the Mogul Empire, part 2d, p. 151.

obstruction of the business of a campaign, yet practising every species of brutal inhumanity: how strange the transition from the meekness of prayer to the rage of plunder, from ablution in the purifying wave that washes away sin, to bathe in torrents of human blood. From all this pollution, however, the Brahmins, who share in the plunder, have the effrontery to tell them they are purified by the sacrifice of a buffalo, accompanied with many mysterious ceremonies, and with this wretched salvo their consciences are appeased.

This whole account will render less incredible what on good authority I had long ago intimated in the Indian Antiquities, when detailing the ancient sanguinary rites of Hindostan, that, even at this day, certain tribes of the ferocious race of Mahrattas are more than suspected of secretly cherishing a number of human victims, the most remarkable for personal beauty that can possibly be obtained, and generally in the full vigour and bloom of youth, for the rites of the ALTAR; of fattening them like the stall-fed oxen for slaughter; and on grand solemnities of festivity or grief, of actually offering up those unhappy victims to their gloomy goddess CALI, in all the pomp of that tremendous sacrifice.*

Making war their sole profession, and letting themselves out to the best bidder, they are to be found in all quarters, and are alternately engaged by all parties. It is dangerous, however, to employ them, for the offer of better terms generally induces them to change sides, and, plunder being their grand object, they often devastate the very country which they were hired to defend. Their principal strength lies in their numerous cavalry, which they cherish with the greatest care, and their horses, like themselves, being inured to privations and

* Indian Antiquities, vol. v. p. 79.

perpetually in exercise, are of a hardier nature, and more capable of bearing fatigue, than any brought into the field by the princes of India. Rapid in their movements, and unincumbered with baggage, they render themselves formidable to the Mogul armies, by harassing their rear, by ravaging the country, and by cutting off their supplies. They avoid as much as possible a general engagement, but when it takes place they combat with resolution ; and in the use of the sabre are dreadfully dexterous. If however their arms are crowned with victory, their principal attention is instantly directed to plundering the camp of the vanquished, instead of pursuing them to extermination. Were they firmly united under one able commanding chief, as under Sevajee, they would be formidable indeed, and must soon be the sovereigns of Hindostan ; but their government being feudal, divided among many chiefs, mostly at variance with each other, their power is weakened in proportion, and it is only from their devastations that Hindostan has to fear.*

* Besides the authors above referred to, Fryer and Thevenot, who were both in India when Sevajee flourished, may be consulted ; and in Mr. Cambridge's "War in India" will be found, dispersed, many interesting particulars respecting this singular nation, their manners and habits. Mr. C. justly observes "that it is owing to their arms alone, that the Mahommedans have been prevented from the usurpation of the whole peninsula of India," p. 157, second oct. edit.

CHAPTER V.

Transactions in Bengal.—Jaffier Khan made Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; oppresses the English at Calcutta.—Succeeded in 1725 *by Sujah Khan.—Promotion of* ALLAVERDY, *and his Tartar Brother, to the first Authority in the Government—they intrigue against the Nabob, who dies in* 1739.—*Succeeded by his son Suffraze Khan, a Monster of Depravity—invaded and killed by Allaverdy, who usurps the Supreme Power.—The* MAHRATTAS, *in* 1742, *in two vast bodies make an Irruption into Bengal, and commit horrible Devastations.—Allaverdy contrives to sow jealousy between the two Commanders.—The Poonah Chief, bribed by two millions of Rupees, retires.—The Chief of Nagpour defeated and driven beyond the western Limits.—The Court of Delhi confirms Allaverdy in the Soubahship, and he finally makes Peace with the Mahrattas.—Appoints his Successor, and dies.—The situation of the English under Allaverdy's Government.*—SURAJAH DOWLAH.—*His character, and bitter hatred of the English.—Makes War upon them.—Besieges and takes Calcutta.—The* BLACK HOLE *Disaster.—Arrival in Bengal of Clive and Watson.—Calcutta retaken.—Battle of Plassey,* 1757.—*Meer Jaffier ascends the Musnud.—Death of Surajah Dowlah.*

AT the period when the English, settled at Calcutta, sent an embassy to the emperor Furrukseer at Delhi, as hath been already related, Bengal was governed by a viceroy from the court of Delhi, named Jaffier Khan, a rapacious and sanguinary tyrant, whose repeated exactions, as before intimated, had compelled them to make that appeal to the justice and liberality of

the emperor. He was himself, at the time, by his envoy, a suppliant at the court of Delhi, soliciting that the large provinces of Bahar and Orissa might be annexed to his government of Bengal, which request was granted, together with the reversion of the whole to Sujah Khan, an Omrah of distinction, who had married his daughter, and who he intended should be his successor. With the increase of his power his tyranny and extortions kept pace; but the Company's agents thought it more prudent to soothe him with presents than provoke him to open hostility, by opposition; especially as there appeared little probability of redress from any application to the court, at that period distracted by rival factions. In 1725, death released them from his oppressive yoke; and he was succeeded in the government of the three provinces by that Sujah Khan, whose appointment, we before observed, had been confirmed by the Mogul.

Sujah acted at that time as viceroy for his father-in-law, in the province of Orissa. On receiving intelligence of his death he removed to Muxadavad, the capital of Bengal, where he was invested with the insignia of the authority of Nabob, or rather Soubahdar. He was accompanied thither by two Omrahs, brothers, whose history, as being of considerable importance in the transactions of this period, must be summarily related. These Omrahs were of Tartar origin, and had come to his court at Cattack, the capital of Orissa, with strong recommendations from Delhi. The elder, Hodgee Hamed, was cool, cautious, and cunning, but not endowed with any great portion of natural courage; the younger, Allaverdy, possessed a brave, active, vigorous, independent, mind. Brothers by blood, they were also bound to each other by the ties of inviolable friendship. Steadily pursuing one object, aggrandizement, these favoured foreigners gradually rose to the highest employments in the court and the camp. Hodgee became his prime minister, and

Allaverdy commander in chief of his army. With their master's elevation they also ascended, and continued to occupy the same high stations in the Soubahship, as those which they had filled in the inferior government of Orissa.

In 1729, Allaverdy was appointed to govern Bahar, a province which being perpetually harassed by the contentions of petty chiefs, not yet wholly subjugated by the Mogul arms, demanded a viceroy of his vigorous and military character, to restore and sustain order within its limits. This desirable event, after a considerable period and several severe conflicts with the chiefs in arms, he happily accomplished, and in 1736, forgetting his innumerable obligations to Sultan Sujah, under whom he then acted, solicited as his reward from Delhi, the government of Bahar, free from any dependence on that of Bengal. To his own well-founded claims for this boon, immense bribes were added by his brother Hodgee, the probable plunder of the Bengal treasury, and the grant was obtained; though the public promulgation of it was prudently delayed till that minister could be placed in safety beyond the justly-apprehended vengeance of Sultan Sujah. It was impossible, however, that a public grant of this nature should long remain concealed from the knowledge of the Soubah. He heard of it, and meditated a deep revenge on the perfidious brothers. Before, however, any measure of vengeance could be resorted to, the invasion of India by Nadir Shah took place, and the thunder of the storm that rolled over Delhi was heard in the distant provinces; it appalled the terrified governors, and paralyzed alike the arm raised to inflict vengeance, or to extend conquest. While however revenge only slept in his breast, he was assailed by a more dreadful foe, incurable disease! and before the departure of Nadir Shah from India, Sujah expired.

His only surviving son, Suffraze Khan, ascended the vacant throne, inheriting with it his father's inveterate hatred against the two brothers, which the dictates of prudence alone restrained from bursting forth into some act of decisive vengeance. But revenge in the soul of Suffraze was only *one* of many dreadful passions that agitated it; he was from his youth the victim of unbounded lust, and was sunk in perpetual inebriety. With the increase of his power his rage for women, intoxication, and every other criminal indulgence kept pace. His intellects, never very strong, at length became impaired by this long course of debauchery, which afforded an opportunity to his disaffected minister to join with other Omrahs of the court, equally disaffected, to attempt his removal from a throne which he had disgraced by his folly, and polluted by his crimes. By deep dissimulation and intrigue, after long solicitation, Hodgee obtained permission to resign his high employ, and depart the realm. When he appeared at the Durbar, at the usual audience of leave, instead of being treated with the respect due to a minister who had so long held the reins of government, he was the object of insult and mockery to the infatuated Sultan; and an honourable retirement was converted into a disgraceful banishment.

Affecting indignation at this treatment of his brother, Allaverdy immediately commenced his march for Bengal. Nothing could obstruct his impetuous career; and he was in the heart of the province before the Soubah had raised a man to oppose him. By exertions, however, of which from his voluptuous and indolent life he could scarcely have been deemed capable, he raised an army of 30,000 men, horse and foot, and met his enemy on the plain of Gheria, about five miles from Muxadavad. The army of his antagonist was not superior in numbers, but it was far superior in spirit. It consisted of a hardier class of soldiers than those

which Bengal produced, many of them being Patans, the most warlike race of Hindostan, nurtured in the mountains of the north, amid the storms and snows of Caucasus. With troops, like these, and which in the recent wars of Bahar had seen much service, it was impossible for Suffraze successfully to contend. Treachery too had deeply infected every part of his army; and large bodies of troops deserting to the enemy left their master wholly unsupported, except by a few squadrons of horse. In this extremity his elephant driver, at the forfeit of his head, offered to conduct him safely back to his capital. He spurned at the cowardly proposal, and ordering him to push forward amidst the thickest of the foe that crowded around the standard of Allaverdy, at the head of his few remaining troops renewed the fight with desperate valour, and died more gloriously than he had lived.

Allaverdy after the battle immediately marched to Muxadavad, and, with loud acclamations of the delighted populace, was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. His high military character, together with the moderation which he used in this great change of fortune, endeared him to all, but rendered him formidable to Nizam-al-Muluck at the court of Delhi, who could bear no rival in arms, or power. By his incitement, therefore, the Mahratta bands again visited the districts round Delhi, and demanding the chout or tribute for Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were desired by the emperor to go and collect it themselves. Armed with this authority from the supreme power, and animated by the prospect of the immense booty to be obtained in those rich provinces hitherto sacred from their ravages, this mighty nation of marauders immediately began the preparations for the long-meditated irruption. They were proportionate to the magnitude of the *object*, and the extent of the *field* to be explored. After

harassing the frontiers with inferior detachments, the generals of that nation in its two divisions of Poonah and Berar, in 1743, each at the head of a body of not less than 80,000 horse, with their usual celerity, but in different directions, burst in upon that devoted region. The army of Poonah, commanded by Bajerow; that of Berar, by Ragojee Boonsla; the same, who, in 1740, invaded the Carnatic. The two armies, sweeping every thing before them, met at Burdwan, where it was agreed that the war should be carried on in conjunction, and the plunder be equally divided.

Sensible of the dangers that surrounded him, but still undismayed, Allaverdy encamped near his capital, determined, while there existed such vast disparity of numbers, neither to give nor to accept battle. He permitted them, for a time, without opposition, to ravage the country, and glut themselves with plunder. Well skilled, though a foreigner, in Indian warfare, and all the wiles of Indian politics, he relied for eventual success on the more certain measures of intrigue and bribery. By emissaries retained at an high price in their respective camps, and of too distinguished a rank to create suspicion, he sowed between the generals the seeds of distrust and jealousy, insinuating to each that undue advantage had been taken, and a fair distribution had not been made of the provincial plunder. In discussing this subject a coolness was produced between them, and at length Allaverdy so far gained over the Poonah general as to induce him to agree that, on the consideration of two millions of rupees to be instantly paid, and three millions more, when they should have arrived in their own country, their troops should be immediately withdrawn. At a meeting holden for the purpose between the three commanders, these terms were ratified; but Bajerow alone kept firm to the compact, for having received the money he marched

off with the treasure and his men, while Ragojee, with the usual faith of a Mahratta, continued plundering and devastating, wheresoever plunder was to be obtained.

Allaverdy having now accomplished one of the two objects which he had in view, their separation or expulsion, began the most vigorous preparations to attack Ragojee, but that wily chieftain avoided a general battle, and spreading desolation in his progress, retired into Orissa, which he wholly subjugated in the space of three months. In the following year, 1744, the indefatigable Allaverdy marched into that province at the head of all his forces, by various stratagems brought the enemy still reluctant, to engage him, totally discomfited him, and finally compelled him to retreat beyond its western boundary. Thus terminated an irruption, one of the most dreadful in the Indian annals, an irruption, still remembered with horror by the terrified Bengallers; "and I myself," says Major Rennell, writing in 1788, "have beheld many of the objects of their wanton barbarity, mutilated and defaced."*

Although during this invasion the European factories remained unmolested, and the English, in particular, received no other detriment than the loss of about 300 bales of raw silk which, in its passage down the river from Cossimbuzar to Calcutta, were seized upon by the Mahrattas, yet the great obstruction given to commerce throughout the provinces by these disasters, greatly impaired their profits, and retarded their payments. At the same time it had this pernicious effect, that while it enhanced the price it debased the fabrics of all kinds of manufactures. The affrighted inhabitants, in dread of personal insult and mutilation, fled from their looms and their fields, to the woods, where they perished with hunger, or were the food of tigers; and not a few sought

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 85, of the Introduction.

refuge among their countrymen at Calcutta, to whom they imparted their terrors. Under these impressions, and dreading a visit from those unprincipled robbers, the Indian inhabitants of the colony solicited and obtained permission at their own expence to dig a ditch round the Company's bounds, an extent of seven miles, and in six months nearly one half of that extent was finished; but those terrors at length subsiding, they discontinued the work; which from the occasion was called the *Mahratta ditch*. Allaverdy by no means opposed this act of self defence, nor, though guilty of some exactions on the ground that they who enjoyed the protection, should contribute to the expence of his arms, had the English any particular reason for complaint under his long and turbulent government.*

That reign was indeed embittered by various and successive calamities; for not long after, in a successful irruption of the Patans into Bahar, his brother Hodgee, then governor there, and who had been instrumental to the destruction of Mustapha Khan, the Patan general, was seized, publicly scourged like a criminal, and then cruelly put to death. Great bodies of Mahrattas too, chiefly from Berar, lured by the vast plunder which their countrymen in their former excursion had brought away, and incited by the court of Delhi, year after year poured in upon the more exposed parts of the province, ravaging and slaughtering without mercy, and kept his harassed armies continually in the field. At length, having contrived to make his peace with the emperor, a firmaun was issued confirming him Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of his annually remitting the ancient tribute of *six millions* of rupees. Of the Mahrattas, also, he finally purchased peace, by ceding to them, in perpetuity, all Orissa, south of Cattack; and having thus settled the affairs of

* Orme, vol. ii. p. 45. Holwell's Indian Tracts, p. 86.

that government of which he was originally an usurper, but was now the legal sovereign, he hoped to pass the few remaining years of his life in repose and felicity. An injudicious choice of a successor, however, destroyed that pleasing hope, and involved it in the deepest gloom and misery.

Having no male issue, he adopted from the surviving remains of his brother Hodgee's family Mirza Mahmud, the eldest son of the brave but unfortunate Zaindee Hamed, his nephew, whom in the first instance he had designed for his successor, and whose virtues and abilities justified the choice. Neither those virtues nor those abilities descended to his son, now only seventeen years of age, but old in every species of depravity; by habit and nature inflexibly cruel, sullen, obstinate, and vindictive. Flattered by minions from his infancy his insolence was unbounded, and, indulged by the over-weening fondness of Allaverdy in every gratification, his passions were headstrong and ungovernable. To this monster of vice the Soubahship of Bengal descended in 1756, and among the earliest acts of his reign was one of avowed hostility to the English, whom he had long beheld with rancour and suspicion, and whom he had basely calumniated to the dying Allaverdy. The occasion of his rooted aversion to them is stated to have been, summarily, as follows.

Among the Hindoo merchants, resident at Calcutta, and employed in providing the investments of the Company, there was one named Omichund, a man reported to be worth four millions of rupees, and the splendour of whose establishment was adequate to his princely fortune. To this man's protection had fled another Hindoo of eminence, by name Kissidas, whose family had been hostilely engaged in designs against his succession, and whose person the Soubah was anxious to secure. A letter was therefore addressed by him to the President, demanding that

Kissidas and his treasures should be given up ; but from some doubts respecting the genuineness of the letter, in a country where forgery is practised without limit, for political as well as other purposes, no satisfactory answer having been returned, and the Nabob also being given to understand by his spies in Calcutta, that the English were busied in strengthening their fortifications in that city, a second letter was sent, ordering them immediately to desist, and threatening them with his vengeance if they did not destroy all the additional works already erected. It was in vain the Presidency now urged that those works were solely intended to resist the possible attacks of the French, with whom a war was immediately expected to break out, their persevering in constructing them was considered as an act of rebellion against his authority, and he immediately marched with his army to Cossimbuzar, where the English fort was invested, taken, and plundered. The army, said to have consisted of 50,000 men, then moved on towards Calcutta, and notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the rich merchants and bankers of the province interested in its trade, and the frequent arrival of letters of submission and humiliation, dispatched from Calcutta in hopes of mitigating his wrath, continued its course to Hoogley. This was done with such rapidity, that many of the troops died through excessive fatigue, and many by the intense heat of the sun darting its beams perpendicularly on their heads at the hottest season of the year, about the middle of June. The reason of this rapid progress was the tyrant's fear of losing by removal the immense plunder which he had been informed by his courtiers was to be found in the magazines of Calcutta, which they represented to him as one of the richest cities in the world, overflowing with the choicest productions of either hemisphere.

When, at length, the Presidency became convinced that they

must owe their safety to resistance alone, the most vigorous measures possible, in their situation, were resorted to. What works of defence in that short space could be added to the existing ones, were added: and every preparation practicable was made by the garrison to repel the threatened assault. The regular garrison, however, consisted of only 264 men; the inhabitants serving as militia, amounted to 250, in all 514 men; one half of whom had never seen any service whatever. What, however, they wanted in number they made amends for in spirit and resolution; and therefore having previously sent the ladies and children belonging to the garrison, together with such as were infirm or otherwise unfit for active exertion, on board the vessels, of which there were several lying in the river, they awaited the dreadful contest with the intrepidity of Britons.

The town and fort were invested by this vast army on the 15th of June; but before the Nabob commenced the attack, he is said to have proposed an accommodation with the Governor, provided he would pay him the duties due upon the trade of Calcutta for 15 years, defray the expenses of his army, and deliver up the Indian merchants, the avowed objects of his indignation and vengeance, who, on suspicion of treachery, had been secured in the fort. This, however, being considered only as the insidious proposal of a tyrant, equally avaricious and sanguinary, was not assented to, the attack immediately commenced on a strong redoubt at the entrance of the town, called *Perrings*, whence his troops were repulsed with considerable loss. On the next day the assault was vigorously renewed in many different quarters, but with no more success, the garrison, though reduced by desertion and slaughter, to one half their original number, undauntedly persevering in all the arduous duties assigned them. On the third day the enemy was more successful,

and their overwhelming battalions pouring into the city, on fire in many places, filled it with death and desolation. The barbarous rage of plunder was let loose upon the habitations and warehouses of unoffending merchants. What could not be plundered the devouring flames consumed; and the miserable remainder of the inhabitants, who had not already fled before the stern destroyer, now sought refuge on board a vessel that still lingered in the road. From the crowded deck with agonizing hearts they beheld the flames, and the yet more cruel foe, ravaging their property, while sorrowing, dejected, impoverished, they slowly descended that river which had so often witnessed their exultation and triumphs.

The garrison now found it necessary to retreat within the walls of the fort, weakened, but not dismayed; overpowered, but not vanquished. Unfortunately, at this critical juncture, Mr. Drake, together with the commanding officer on duty, forgetting the character of men and Britons, in the face of the astonished and indignant garrison, meanly fled from their posts, and escaped in a boat that accidentally lay at hand, leaving to Mr. Holwell the honour and the danger, at the head of about 190 brave men, to combat to the last extremity against a foe of such immense superiority. That extremity, it may be supposed, under such circumstances could not be far distant; and, in consequence, after opposing the advances of the enemy step by step with heroic bravery for three days longer, till a third even of this small band were either killed or dangerously wounded, on the morning of the 20th of June, a flag of truce was displayed on the ramparts, answered at noon, and in the evening the fort surrendered.

At five, the Nabob, inflated with his success, entered the fort, attended by his general, Meer Jaffier, and other great officers. There, seated in the principal apartment of the factory, he held

his durbar in state, and received the adulatory compliments of his courtiers on the success of his arms, who compared him for valour and wisdom to Timur and Akber. His first order was to explore the treasury, which, from a variety of causes, proved to be exceedingly deficient, scarcely containing 50,000 rupees. On receiving this intelligence he expressed extreme surprise and indignation, and sent in a rage for Mr. Holwell to know where the vast treasures of the factory were buried. He reproached him for his presumption in attempting to defend the fort against so valiant a hero as himself, at the head of such a powerful army, and insisted upon his discovering the hidden treasure ; but, mingling promises with threats, assured him on the word of a soldier, that no harm should befall him. He then commanded Omichund and Kissidas to be brought before him, to whom he behaved with more moderation than was expected ; but in Omichund's treasury were found 400,000 rupees, which operated forcibly on his avarice, and probably disarmed his vengeance. Before seven o'clock that evening Mr. Holwell was again, twice, sent for on the subject of the treasure, but as no violent measures were resorted to, it was evident he meant to obtain by artifice what it was presumed would, by English firmness, be refused to severity. He was remanded to his companions in affliction, and the tyrant, after refreshment, retired to his repose.

The night approached ; a night of woe and horror indescribable ! The miserable remainder of the garrison, amounting in all to 146 persons, including Mr. Holwell, were assembled together under a varanda, or open gallery, surrounded by a strong guard. The night was intensely sultry, such as may be supposed in Bengal at the hottest season of the year, but increased considerably beyond its usual fervour. A place

sufficiently large and secure for their confinement till the ensuing morning was sought for, or pretended to be sought for in vain. They were then ordered by the commanding officer to go into an apartment adjoining, whose dimensions were not 20 feet square, the common dungeon of the fort, and from its darkness and noisomeness, denominated by the garrison the BLACK HOLE. To the greater part of the prisoners the dimensions of this room were unknown; but some, to whom they were known, beginning to expostulate, the brutal chief ordered the first that hesitated to be cut down: the murmur ceased, and they were all with difficulty thrust in. The door, which opened inwards, was then locked upon them: upon far the greater part of them for ever. "Figure to yourself," says Mr. Holwell, one of the few who lived to tell the affecting tale, "figure to yourself, if possible, the situation of 146 wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal; shut up to the eastward and southward, *the only quarters whence air could come to us*, by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred within, through which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air."* It is impossible for imagination to *figure* any thing half so tremendous as this untimely interment in a gloomy and fœtid cavern; this awful anticipation of the horrors of sepulchral darkness!

They had not been many minutes incarcerated in this terrible dungeon before it became evident to all, who were capable of serious reflection, that death by suffocation must inevitably be the doom of by far the greater part of them, unless immediate relief could be obtained. Violent efforts were therefore instantly made

* See Holwell's Narrative, in his Indian Tracts, p. 392.

to force open the door of their prison; but that door being very strong, and, as before observed, opening inward, all their exertions were ineffectual. In fact, those efforts only increased the rage of the fever that now began its dreadful work of devastation among them. In this state of awful suspense and perturbation, Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself near one of the windows, exhorted them, as the only means of preservation, to keep both body and mind as composed as possible. His remonstrances produced only a short interval of quiet, during which he applied to an old Jemautdar, who bore on his countenance some marks of humanity, promising him in the morning 1000 rupees, if he would separate the prisoners into two chambers. Apparently affected with their melancholy situation he went and used his efforts to accommodate them; but soon returned, and said it was impossible. A larger bribe was offered. He retired once more, and returned with the deathful intelligence that no relief could be afforded, for the *Nabob was asleep, and nobody dared to awake him.* Despair sate on the faces of all who heard it, and now crowding to the windows for *air*, distinction being forgot, and even friendship obliterated, each combated with ferocity against the other to obtain that invaluable blessing. In this tumultuous struggle, and closely wedged together in one compact mass, some, less robust of body, expired under the insupportable pressure; some fainting with the intolerable heat, sunk to rise no more! while others, parched with the ardors of a thirst never to be extinguished, filled the apartment with loud outcries for water. Indeed, *water! water!* soon became the universal cry, which when obtained by the kind offices of the good Jemautdar, only increased the fever which it was intended to assuage. The very sight of it threw them into convulsions, and occasioned a renewal of their dreadful conflicts, while in their eagerness to procure it,

half of the precious boon was lost. The inhuman guards were all this time making themselves merry with their sufferings, and held up lights to the bars to have the diabolical satisfaction of viewing their deplorable contentions.

The air of the dungeon now became in a high degree vitiated, being saturated with the effluvia of putrifying bodies, of which the stench was little less than mortal. Before midnight, all who were alive and had not partaken of the air at the window, were either seized with a lethargic stupefaction, or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuse was uttered in hopes of provoking the guard to fire into the dungeon, and put an end to their miseries. Some frantic with their torments, were blaspheming their creator, and others imploring heaven with wild and incoherent prayers. Sometimes a dreadful silence ensued; and then again were renewed the shrieks of woe and the outcries of horror. At two o'clock only 50 remained alive, but even this number were too many to partake of the saving air; the contest for which and life continued until the morning, long implored, began to break, and with the hope of relief gave the few survivors a view of the dead. Agonizing at the sight of their deceased comrades, most of whom, a few days before, were in the bloom and vigour of life, those at the windows again renewed their earnest solicitations with the guard to open the door, but in vain. Thinking that Mr. Holwell, who, entirely overcome with the heat and pressure, had retired from the window to die amid the ghastly throng expiring around him, might, if yet alive, have more influence than themselves, a search that doubtless saved his life, was instantly made for him, and he was again placed in his painful state of pre-eminence, the window. Before, however, he was sufficiently recovered to become their orator, an officer sent by the Nabob came and enquired if the English chief yet

survived, and shortly after the same man returned with the thrice welcome mandate to open the prison. The dead were heaped in such piles against the door, and the survivors had so little strength remaining, that they were employed nearly half an hour in removing them before they could clear a passage sufficiently wide to go out, one at a time; when, horrible to relate! out of 146 who went in, no more than 23 came out alive! The Nabob's troops beheld the dreadful havock of death, and the deplorable state of the survivors, without commiseration, although the intolerable stench that issued from the dungeon caused them to remove to some distance. At length, from fear of infection, they were compelled to clear the dungeon, and afterwards dug a deep trench on the outside of the fort, into which all the dead bodies were promiscuously thrown. Such is the statement of this dreadful affair, unequalled in the annals of human misery! given for the most part in the words of the respectable chief himself, (quæque ipse miserrima vidit) who notwithstanding the shock which his constitution suffered on this occasion, returned to England, and lived till the advanced age of 90.

Although the guilt of this dreadful massacre is not wholly imputed by the writer to the Soubah, who had only issued general orders for the secure confinement of the prisoners during the night, but to the enraged soldiers on duty, in revenge for so many of their comrades slain in the siege; yet his subsequent conduct evinced the callous obduracy of his heart. When shortly after Mr. Holwell, unable from weakness to stand, was, at his command, carried before him, he shewed no symptoms of compassion for his condition, or remorse for the death of the other prisoners, but sternly demanded the *treasures*, and threatened him with still farther injuries, if he persisted in concealing them.

He was then, in that weak state, put into fetters, and with two other gentlemen of the council, supposed also to be conscious to the concealment of the treasure, sent in an open boat, under accumulated indignities, to Muxadavad. The rest of the prisoners were permitted to go where they pleased, and a few of them, by the utmost exertion of their remaining strength, were happy enough to reach the vessels that still lay in sight at Govindpore. The remainder having removed to the farthest distance possible from the scene of woe, crawled into some deserted huts in the vicinity, where the compassionate natives administered to their wants, and as far as they could, assuaged their maladies.*

Having fulfilled, as he thought, his menace of exterminating the English, and having collected together the plunder, (which, altogether, did not exceed the sum of 200,000l.) on the 2d of July the Nabob quitted Calcutta to return to his capital, leaving a garrison of 3000 men, and Monick-chund, one of his generals, in the command of the place. In passing by the French and Dutch settlements, he also threatened *them* with extirpation unless they paid him a large sum of money. In their dread of a similar catastrophe, the Dutch bought their peace with 450,000 rupees; the French, who are said to have supplied him, in his march to Calcutta, with 200 chests of gunpowder, paid the fine of only 100,000 rupees. In the mean time those who had honourably, as well as those who had ignominiously, taken refuge on board the ships had passed down the river under the fire of several pieces of cannon, mounted to obstruct their progress, till at length they reached Fulta, the station of all the Dutch shipping, where, on account of the southerly monsoon, it being impossible to quit the river, they resolved to remain; though inconveniently crowded together, exposed to all varieties of weather, without

* Mr Holwell's Letter, in his "Indian Tracts," p. 387.

change of raiment, and often without provision, they suffered hardships little inferior to those who had experienced the horrors of the infernal dungeon. Mutual altercations, and severe reproaches for what now could not be remedied, greatly added to the distress of their situation; till, at length, wearied out with ineffectual wrangling, they agreed to dispatch messengers to Madras to make known their deplorable situation, and to solicit those immediate and effectual succours which could alone save them from utter ruin.

The deputation arrived at Madras on the 5th of August, and nothing could exceed the horror and consternation into which the presidency was plunged by the fatal intelligence of which they were the bearers. Although occupied in preparing to send a detachment of 300 Europeans, solicited by Salabad-jing to assist him in getting rid of the French army under M. Bussy, an object under any other circumstances of the highest possible importance, the destination of that force was immediately altered to Bengal, to which 600 more European regulars were added, together with 1500 sepoys. Admiral Watson was fortunately at that time in the road with a squadron consisting of the Kent of 64, Cumberland of 70, Tyger of 60, Salisbury of 50, Bridgwater of 20 guns, and a fireship; to which were added, as transports, three of the Company's ships, and two smaller vessels. Colonel Clive was requested to take the command of the forces, and embarked in the Kent, the flag-ship of Admiral Watson; while Admiral Pocock hoisted his flag in the Cumberland. This formidable force sailed for the Ganges on the 10th of October, and after encountering much bad weather, from the violence of the northern monsoon, during which the Cumberland, the largest ship, and having on board 250 men, and the Marlborough, one of the Company's ships, loaded with the greatest part of the

field-artillery, were separated from the fleet, arrived at Fulta on the 15th of December. This misfortune proved a very considerable diminution of the force. The absence of the troops, however, the more fatal disaster of the two, was in part repaired by the recovering men of Captain Kilpatrick's detachment, which had previously arrived in the Ganges, but by encampment on its swampy shores had suffered severely, and by volunteers who enrolled themselves at Fulta.

At length, every thing being prepared for this important expedition, on the 27th of December all the ships and vessels of whatever denomination that had assembled at Fulta were put in motion, and the next afternoon anchored at Mayapore, a town ten miles below the fort of Buz-buzia, which Admiral Watson determined to attack on the following day. As there could be little doubt of success, and it was probable that the vanquished garrison would endeavour to make good their retreat to Calcutta, an ambuscade was planned to intercept that retreat. It was directed by Colonel Clive in person, and was the prelude to a more serious action than was expected; for Monick-chund, who has been mentioned as the general left in command at Calcutta, having marched down to Buz-buzia the day before, at the head of 1500 horse and 2000 foot, a general engagement took place, and was continued by the Moguls for some time with resolution, till a cannon ball passing very near the turban of Monick-chund checked his ardour for combat, and induced him to turn his elephant, the usual signal of retreat to an eastern army. That signal was obeyed with no reluctance by his troops, who immediately marched away to the north-east, and with their chief expeditiously returned to Calcutta. The success of his master in taking that fort had filled this hero with a vain confidence of superiority; and he made no doubt but that a similar triumph

would attend the march of his own army to Buz-buzia. The vigorous exertions of a Clive, though extremely cramped in the late engagement, had taught this presumptuous chief a very different lesson. So deep indeed was the impression, that he remained in Calcutta only a few hours, when, leaving 500 men to defend the fort, he hurried away with his fugitive bands to Hoogly, and thence to the terrified Nabob at Muxadavad. In the mean time, the Kent, which had outsailed the other ships, anchoring before Buz-buzia, with her guns alone silenced the cannon of that fort, but the troops having been extremely fatigued, it was resolved to delay the assault till the next morning. The garrison however saved them the trouble, for taking advantage of the darkness that concealed their motions, they decamped in the course of the night. The two intermediate forts of Tannah and Aligur were also, on the approach of the fleet deserted, and at 9 o'clock on the 2d of January, 1757, the Kent and Tiger anchored before the gates of Fort William, but for want of wind could not immediately present their broadsides, during which disadvantage the Mogul garrison with an unexpected vigour cannonaded them briskly from the line of guns fronting the river, and killed several men. The encreasing fire from the ships, however, soon silenced them, and by 11 o'clock the fort was evacuated. A detachment under the command of Captain Coote (the troops with Colonel Clive having not yet arrived) immediately landed, retook possession of the fort, and with loud acclamations, once more, hoisted on the ramparts the colours of Britain.

The next day Admiral Watson solemnly re-instated Mr. Drake, and the former members of the council in the government. Their sensations, when again entering that fort from which some had been driven, and others had dishonourably fled, in the dark hour of peril, may be more easily conceived than

expressed. To their surprise they found the greatest part of the merchandize belonging to the Company remaining in the warehouses without detriment. It was the Nabob's portion of the plunder, and had not been removed. All other species of moveable property had been seized upon, and carried away. Many of the best houses in the settlement had been demolished, and a still greater number had suffered by the conflagration. About 50,000 of the Indian inhabitants had returned to their dwellings during the government of Monick-chund, but these were mostly of inferior rank: the superior classes knew and dreaded his insatiable rapacity.

The positive orders of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive were, to obtain full reparation of all injuries, and, if necessary, to attack the tyrant in his capital. The national honour had received a deadly wound in his triumph over Calcutta, and the horrors of the dungeon cried aloud for exemplary vengeance. Impelled by these orders, and animated with these sentiments, on hearing that the town of Hoogly was in great consternation, they resolved to attack it while that impression remained. The fort was garrisoned with 2000 men, and 3000 more had been dispatched from Muxadavad for the defence of the town; but these latter retreated on receiving intelligence of the advance of the *English*. A portion of the fleet, and a competent number of military without difficulty soon effected the capture of a place, incapable of making any vigorous defence. Here they retaliated on the Nabob some of the evils inflicted on Calcutta, setting fire to the buildings and storehouses, and greatly distressed the enemy by destroying the large granaries of rice collected in the neighbourhood. Having done this service, and without any intention of keeping possession of the place, the expedition returned to Calcutta.

The Nabob, highly exasperated at this new insult, immediately

left his capital at the head of all his forces. The English were prevented by the want of their field artillery, and of bullocks to draw it, from immediately marching to meet him, but were not negligent in making the necessary preparations to receive him, should he a second time pay a visit to Calcutta. The army encamped about a mile northward of the town, in a situation extremely well chosen, where they waited his approach, and the arrival of their artillery. That approach was not long delayed; and, soon after, a partial action took place, in which he lost 22 officers of distinction, 600 men, and 500 horses. This somewhat damped the ardour of his courage, and he retired to some distance. In the mean time intelligence was brought to Calcutta that war had been declared between France and England. As the French were strong at Chandernagore, where they had a large body of Europeans and a train of field artillery, Colonel Clive apprehended that if they should join the Nabob, the English force, strong as it was, would scarcely be able to cope with them, and therefore, mingling prudence with valour, was willing to try the effect of negociation. A correspondence with the Nabob was, in consequence, opened by means of Omichund, who attended that prince, and was high in his favour. The Nabob, not without his apprehensions of the final result of the contest, consented, and among the terms demanded by the English were the full restitution of all plundered effects; a permission to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they might think proper; liberty to coin gold and silver in a mint of their own; exemption of their merchandize from all taxes; and in general a renewal of all the immunities granted the Company by the emperor FURRUKSEER. To these terms he assented, swore to abide by them, and re-commenced his march to the capital; but, evasion being suspected, and it being afterwards proved that he secretly abetted

the French, and had even sent the government of Chandernagore a present of 100,000 rupees, all confidence in him was lost, and revenge only slumbered to be poured upon his head in a tenfold proportion.

The Marlborough having at length arrived with the field artillery, and a fleet from Bombay having brought a large additional force, the English troops were thought powerful enough to attack the French and Moguls united. Accordingly, on the 7th of March, the camp formed near Calcutta broke up, and, as the French had acted a very perfidious part both on the present and on the former occasion, the march against Chandernagore was instantly commenced. The Nabob, by expostulation and direct menaces, endeavoured to retard the fate of that settlement, but in vain. It was too near, too formidable, and too malignant a rival to be longer endured. The French, pre-eminent in military tactics, had fortified Chandernagore in the strongest manner. The works were of the best masonry, and the cannon were of an unusual magnitude. The garrison consisted of 600 Europeans, and 300 sepoys. I must again, however, repeat the impossibility of going, in this work, into the details of battles and sieges, except on occasions of the highest interest and importance. Let it suffice to say, that the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury, being so stationed as to batter the fort, in front, with irresistable effect, the batteries erected on the land side, exerted their fire in other quarters with proportionate success; and, though the place was gallantly defended during the time of the assault, in a very few hours this fine settlement was completely in the possession of the English, never to be restored. The amount of the plunder, of various kinds, however, did not exceed 100,000l. sterling, with which the ships being loaded they returned in triumph to Calcutta.

The account of the surrender of Chandernagore reached the Nabob at the same juncture with intelligence of a still more disagreeable nature, that a vast army of Patans were in full march to invade Bahar, and that they had engaged Balajee Row, the general of the Mahrattas, to invade Bengal. Although a part of his army, intended to raise the siege of Chandernagore, had already advanced within 20 miles of Hoogley, the artful despot now changed his tone, and not only sent letters of congratulation to Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, expressing the strongest desire to remain in friendship and alliance with them, but offered the territory of Chandernagore to the English on the same terms as those by which the French Company had held it. Shortly afterwards, the intelligence of the invasion of the Patans proving untrue, he repented of his proffered generosity, and openly protected and patronized the French, furnishing Mr. Law, the chief of the French factory at Cossimbuzar, who had raised a body of men to act offensively, with money, arms, and ammunition. On hearing that Colonel Clive had sent a detachment in pursuit of this Mr. Law, he grew enraged, and declared publicly he would put Mr. Watts, the chief of the English factory at the same place, to death: at the same time he gave orders to the general of his army that had advanced towards Chandernagore, to remain at Plassey, in the island of Cossimbuzar, 30 miles to the south of Muxadavad, and consequently so far on its way to Calcutta. Clive, at length, finding that with a prince so perfidious no measures were to be kept, that the articles of the treaty remained still unfulfilled, that in short no restitution was made or ever intended to be made; having moreover been informed that it was the Nabob's avowed purpose, declared to his courtiers in some vain-glorious moment, that after having vanquished the Patans, he would return, and exterminate all the English in his

dominions, and that, to accomplish this purpose, he had actually invited M. Bussy to join him with all his army from Deccan.—Clive, I say, fully acquainted with these particulars, resolved on WAR. It was a war deeply interesting in its conduct and results both to Asia and Europe; it taught the inutility of myriads in the embattled field without a soul to animate, and a head to direct them; it tore an empire from the house of Timur, and gave it to the "merchant princes" of a remote island in the western ocean.

A variety of circumstances led to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the immense army and resources of the Nabob, the contest would be favourable to the English. His tyranny and cruelties had arrived at an intolerable height. He had imprisoned Monick-chund, and fined him a million of rupees on account of the effects which that officer had plundered at Calcutta. Every man at his court that had wealth trembled at his rapacity. Two brothers, named the SEATS, the richest men in the province, were in such a constant state of alarm that they found it necessary secretly to engage a large body of troops for the defence of themselves and their property; if necessary, even against the Nabob himself. Assassination by poison or the dagger were in such frequent use since his ascension of the musnud, that no omrah, who attended his durbar, went without apprehension that he should never return. The spirit of rebellion had long lurked among his courtiers, and now a conspiracy deeply laid, but cautiously conducted, was verging on maturity, at the head of which were Roydoolub, his Duan, or treasurer, and his principal general, Meer Jaffier, who, as himself declared to Mr. Watts, the resident at Cossimbuzar, was in perpetual danger of his life from the sanguinary bias and dreadful caprices of his master. Mr. Watts was instructed to fan this flame of general discontent, and to stipulate those conditions with Jaffier, upon which Colonel

Clive promised to raise him to the musnud in case of success. The principal conditions stipulated were, "A full restitution in money for the losses sustained by the Company and individuals; a re-imbursement of the charges of the military and naval force in the expedition; the total expulsion of the French from Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and a large additional grant of territory round Calcutta." A treaty to this effect having been mutually agreed to, and signed, and all the necessary preparations previously made, the troops intended for the attack on the tyrant's capital were put in motion. Into the particulars of this expedition, and the consequent battle of Plassey, on account of its great importance, I shall enter with more than usual detail. I must here remark that my business is faithfully to record historical facts; but neither on this, nor on any other occasion of our interference with the princes of Hindostan, have I room, or inclination, to engage in political discussion.

On the 13th of June, 1757, the whole army moved forward from Chandernagore, to which place they had previously advanced; the Europeans, with the artillery, stores, and ammunition, in 200 boats, towed by the Indian rowers; the sepoys, in sight, along the high road, made by the Mogul government from Hoogley to Patna. At Hoogley the new governor threatened to oppose the passage of the boats, but a twenty-gun ship that attended them, coming up and anchoring before the fort, together with a menacing letter from Clive, prevented his putting that threat in execution. The commander had already dispatched letters to the Nabob, upbraiding him with his multiplied perfidies, and announcing his approach. A rumour of the conspiracy to dethrone him, with Jaffier at its head, had reached his ears, and after some angry messages had passed between them, he was preparing to attack the latter in his palace. The sudden

flight of Mr. Watts, the envoy, and the other gentlemen of the factory at Cossimbuzar, convinced him of the reality of that conspiracy; and now filled with consternation, and well aware of the great influence as well as military abilities of his general, he laid aside his hostile intentions towards him, and endeavoured by every means in his power to mollify his anger, and separate him from his English connection. The meditated assault was, therefore, converted into a friendly negociation, and Jaffier put on the appearance of being reconciled to his master. When solicited, however, to attend the durbar, being apprehensive of some violence, he declined the honour. The stake was great, a kingdom! and no time was to be lost. The Nabob, therefore, relinquishing his state, condescended to visit Jaffier, carrying with him but a slender guard. This visit, and the explanation that followed, produced a reconciliation; but only sincere on the part of the Nabob; though sanctioned by mutual oaths on the Koran. The confidence with which this interview inspired the Nabob, induced him immediately to write a letter full of invective and breathing defiance to Colonel Clive; at the same time he ordered his whole army, in which were now included the troops of Jaffier, without delay, to commence their march to Plassey.

In the mean time the English army had advanced to Cutwah, on the western shore of the Ganges, opposite the island of Cossimbuzar, and after some little resistance, had taken possession of the fort which commanded the passage of the river. Here Clive received letters from Jaffier, stating the circumstance of his pretended reconciliation with the Nabob, but in spite of his oath solemnly taken on the Koran, avowed his determination of abiding by his prior contract with the English commander; he also informed him that on the moment of writing he was preparing to quit the city for the camp, but as he proposed no plan of

operations, Clive remained for some time in a state of the greatest perplexity what plan to pursue, especially as the English had no horse, and the principal strength of the enemy lay in his very formidable body of cavalry. In this dilemma he summoned a council of war, and the majority, under the existing circumstances, were against immediate action. In this opinion Clive at first coincided; but the dread of imputations which might be dishonourable to the English name and character among the princes of Hindostan, who might impute his inactivity to timidity, determined him, at length, to pursue that line of conduct which valour dictated, and glory approved. Taking, therefore, all the risque upon himself, and resolved to brave every difficulty, he issued orders that the army should cross the river the next morning. With the first beam of the rising sun those orders were carried into execution, and, by four o'clock in the afternoon, the whole army was landed on the opposite shore, impatient to be led against the enemy. Here other letters arrived from Jaffier with information that the Nabob had halted at Muncarra, a village six miles to the south of the city of Cossimbuzar; that he was entrenching himself, and intended there to wait the event; and he recommended that the English army should attack him by surprise, marching round by the inland part of the island. No junction, or co-operation of forces being even now intimated, Colonel Clive returned this decided answer; that he should immediately march to Plassey, and the next day advance six miles farther to the village of Daudpoor, where, if Meer Jaffier did not join him, he would make peace with the Nabob. Before sun-set the troops were again in motion; but the immense labour of towing the boats against a stream uncommonly rapid prevented their proceeding with expedition, and it was one o'clock in the morning when they reached Plassey.

A grove of mango trees, of considerable extent, adjoined to Plassey, and of this grove the army took immediate possession. They had scarcely done this, before their ears were assailed with the sound of martial music, such as generally accompanies the night-watches of an Indian camp; by this they were convinced that a hostile army was encamped at no great distance, and, on cautious enquiry, it was found to be the Nabob's. On finding the English slower in their progress than his startled imagination had suggested, he had altered his intention of remaining at Malcurra, and arrived at Plassey twelve hours before them. The proper guards and centinels being stationed, the wearied soldiers were permitted to take repose; the crisis was too awful, from the vast disparity between the two armies, to allow the eyes of the general and his chief officers to be closed in slumber. The whole of the English force consisted of a body of 900 Europeans, 100 topasses, and 2000 sepoys; in all 3000 men, with eight field pieces, all six-pounders, and two howitzers. To these the advancing morning would see opposed the formidable army of 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and 50 pieces of cannon, for the most part of the largest calibres, 24 and 32 pounders. The cavalry, too, which Clive chiefly dreaded, both men and horses, drawn from the northern regions, were of a more robust class than any he had been accustomed to encounter in the armies of Coromandel. Near the grove, and on the banks of the river, stood a hunting-house of the Nabob, the summit of which Clive with the break of dawn ascended to take a comprehensive view of the numerous battalions, already alarmed and in motion, with which his small but resolute army had to contend. He was struck with the splendor of their battle array, and the exulting confidence which they displayed, as they quitted their entrenchments, and marched into the plain on which so many were that day doomed to perish. They ad-

vanced towards the grove in large columns of horse and foot, and in the openings between the columns were interspersed the artillery, mounted on huge machines, raised six feet from the ground, and drawn by 40 or 50 yoke of white oxen of the largest size, while behind each cannon walked an elephant, trained to assist at difficult tugs, by shoving with his forehead against the hinder part of the carriage. Against this immense unwieldy army the English general had now to oppose the efforts of genius, and the energies of disciplined valour.

The first display of that genius was shewn in his instantly ordering the army which he commanded to quit the Grove, as their longer continuance beneath its gloomy covert might, by the enemy, be imputed to timidity, and his boldly drawing them up in a line with the hunting-house, in the very front of the advancing foe. The European battalion, with three pieces on their *right*, and the same number on their left, occupied the centre of that line; the sepoys, in two equal divisions, were stationed one on the right hand, and the other on the left, of the battalion. The two remaining field-pieces and the howitzers were advanced 200 yards in front of the left division of sepoys, and posted behind two brick-kilns, whence in the course of the day they did effectual execution. Thus every thing being arranged by the wisdom and prudence of their accomplished general, the army waited, in awful silence, the attack which was to decide the fate of the English in Bengal.

On the plain of Plassey were two tanks, or public reservoirs of water, the one much larger than the other, and considerably nearer to the grove. These tanks are generally surrounded with a mound of earth, at some distance from the margin of the water. On the mound of the latter of these tanks, that nearest the grove, a body of about 40 Frenchmen, fugitives from Chandernagore,

and in the pay of the Nabob, under the command of one Sinfray, had advantageously taken their station with four pieces of light cannon. In a line with this tank, also, close to the banks of the river, two larger pieces of ordnance were stationed. Behind these posts 5000 horse and 7000 foot were drawn up under the command of Meer Murden, the Nabob's favourite general. Meer Jaffier and the confederate generals were in a distant part of the field, determined, as it should seem, to preserve his oath to God and his fidelity to the Colonel, by standing neuter in this arduous contest.

The first shot was fired by the party at the tank, which seemed to be the signal for commencing the fire through the whole line of the artillery of the Nabob. The shot from the French detachment did some execution; but that from the Mogul artillery, being unskilfully pointed, flew too high. The two advanced field pieces in front answered the fire from the tank; the dreadful fire of the European battalion was directed against the heavy artillery on the plain, but from the distance they kept could not reach the guns. Every shot however took effect either in one or other of the numerous bodies of infantry or cavalry opposed to them; and dreadful was the slaughter, horses and men rolled promiscuously together over the bloody plain. In order to induce the enemy to advance their heavy artillery nearer, a stratagem was devised and practised; the troops were ordered to retire into the grove. Elated by this retreat, the imagined effect of their prowess, the Moguls moved forward, and fired with increased vivacity, but their shot only struck the trees, for the men were ordered to sit down, all but the cannoneers, who now poured the destructive fire of their artillery upon them with the effect desired; silencing the guns, and exterminating those who worked them. Explosions of powder were now heard frequently among

their artillery; and this seemed the moment for rushing on the disheartened and confounded enemy; but in a council holden at the drum head it was determined to continue the cannonade during the rest of the day, and at midnight to attack the Nabob's camp. To add to their misfortune, about noon, a very severe shower of rain fell, and so materially damaged the enemy's powder that their fire slackened considerably; while the English ammunition continued uninjured, and their fire unabated.

All this time the Nabob, justly apprehensive that no superiority of numbers would ultimately prevail against British skill and valour, remained in his tent, far from the reach of danger, and deeply agitated with terror. Notwithstanding this, his attendants, one half of whom were engaged in the conspiracy, flattered him with the assurance of decisive victory. Intelligence being, at length, brought him that his favourite general Meer Murdeen was killed by a cannon-ball, that terror became excessive, and in an agony of conflicting passion he sent in haste for Meer Jaffier. As soon as the general entered the tent, he tore his turban from his head, and throwing it on the ground, exclaimed; "Jaffier, that turban you must defend." He promised to do so at every risque, but immediately on quitting the tent wrote word of what had passed to Colonel Clive, and urged him either to press forward that instant, or to attack the Nabob's camp at three the next morning. The incessant firing operating on the messenger's fears, prevented his immediate advance, and in the mean time, the Nabob's terrors continually increasing, he consulted his courtiers as to what in this extremity was best to be done. Roydoolub, the treasurer, taking advantage of them, recommended his immediate return to his capital. The Nabob acquiesced, and ordered the army to retreat into the intrenchments. No time was lost in making these orders known; the cannonade ceased on the part

of the enemy; the trains of oxen were perceived yoking to the artillery, and the whole army was soon in full retreat. The French party at the tank, alone remained firm in their station, and continued the firing; till Clive, in person advancing with a strong detachment drove them away, and planting the English artillery upon the mound, cannonaded from it the fugitive Moguls.

The main body of the English army now advanced towards the camp of the enemy. On their march a considerable portion of their army was observed to linger in the rear, and by their motions towards the north-east angle of the grove it was supposed that the baggage and boats were intended objects of their attack: a detachment with cannon was therefore sent to oppose their progress. They proved eventually to be the troops of Jaffier; but their signals were not understood, and the fire of the artillery soon stopped the approach of the supposed enemy. Advancing still nearer to the intrenchments of the enemy, a more vigorous cannonade than ever was now commenced by the English. Galled by the fire, some regiments of horse came out of the intrenchments, threatening to charge sword in hand, and several pieces of their artillery were again put in motion; but the former were constantly repulsed by the well-directed fire of the cannon, and the havock made by the shot among the bullocks rendered the latter absolutely unmanageable. At length the troops of Jaffier being recognized, and their desertion of the Nabob's standard being evident, Clive resolved to take advantage of this circumstance, and the panic universally prevailing through the Mogul army, by storming their camp. After a most judicious disposition of his little force, it pressed forward in three divisions; the works, principally defended by the French, were soon carried, and the astonished foe fled with precipitation; their terrified

monarch leading the way, mounted on a camel urged to its utmost speed, and accompanied by about 2000 of his fleetest horse. Although immense spoil was spread around them, the English soldiers, being promised ample compensations in money, suffered not their ardour to cool, nor their progress to be impeded by the plunder of it; but received, with acclamation the orders of their general, to march on, that evening, to Daudpore, where by a note written hastily on the field of victory, he requested Jaffier to meet him the next morning.

To that conference Meer Jaffier, attended by his son Meerum, was punctual, but approached the Colonel under evident apprehensions of his displeasure for not having joined the British army, conformably to his promises. Clive, though, not wholly satisfied with the efforts he had made, was too magnanimous to reproach him, and accepted his apologies for his conduct. He then embraced him, and aloud saluted him Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. He advised him not to delay an instant his march to Muxadavad, in order to prevent the escape of Surajah Dowlah, and the plunder of his treasures: promised that he himself would follow with all possible celerity; and by him dispatched letters to the other confederated chiefs, particularly to Monick-chund, promising him that no enquiry should be made concerning the plunder of Calcutta.

With respect to Surajah Dowlah himself, with such rapidity was his flight effected that he arrived at his capital before the midnight after the battle, attended by some of his principal omrahs, equally well mounted. These, quickly assembled in council, began to deliberate what was best to be done in the present calamity. Their opinions were various and opposite: some recommended his throwing himself wholly upon the generous clemency of the English; but this was rejected, as springing

from treachery. Others were for a liberal advance of pay to the army, and the Soubah's again appearing at their head the next morning. Out of the sound and the reach of the English cannon, this advice appeared the most plausible, and three months pay to the troops was immediately ordered. The morning, however, found the Soubah engaged in an employ widely different from that of commanding armies; he was preparing with the utmost precipitation for flight, and had already sent away his women, with 50 elephants laden with treasure, and necessaries, meaning himself to follow under the covert of the ensuing night. At ten that night, taking with him a casket of his most valuable jewels, disguised in mean attire, and shuddering at the quivering of a leaf, the conqueror of Calcutta secretly went out of a window of his palace, and attended only by his favourite concubine, and the eunuch who governed his seraglio, got undiscovered into a boat prepared for the purpose by the eunuch, and rowed away to the northward, meaning to go to Patna, where the governor was the faithful friend of his family.

Meer Jaffier, on his arrival, having been informed of the Sultan's flight, immediately dispatched various parties in pursuit of him. Many of his infamous parasites were taken in endeavouring to effect their escape, and intelligence soon arrived that the women, and elephants with the treasure, were stopped by a party of Jaffier's troops at a town on the Ganges, 15 miles north-east of Muxadavad. On the 29th of June Colonel Clive, at the head of a large proportion of his army, the main body of which lay encamped in the neighbourhood, made his public entry into Muxadavad, and was lodged in a magnificent palace, called MORAUDBAUG. Here he was immediately attended by Meerum, the son of Jaffier, with whom in a short time he returned to the palace of the late Nabob, of which Jaffier had taken possession. In the great hall

of audience, where the musnud was fixed, on which enthroned Surajah Dowlah sate on public days, Jaffier, with the great officers in the city, was waiting to receive him. The first salutations having mutually taken place, Clive led him towards the musnud, and, placing him upon it, made obeisance to him as lord of the three provinces, and presented a plate with gold rupees; in the same manner all the Omrahs present, likewise, paid their homage, and presented gold. Afterwards he was publicly proclaimed Nabob, and the general rejoicings proved how welcome was the change to an oppressed and irritated people.

The awful hour of retribution for so many extortions and murders as Surajah Dowlah had committed was at hand; and the vengeance of heaven was directed by one of the objects of his cruelty. So many parties were sent in pursuit of him, that it was scarcely possible for him to escape. The rowers of his boat had by very great exertions reached Rajamal, a town 70 miles north of Muxadavad. Here, overcome with excessive fatigue, they were compelled in the night to stop. Close by the river spread a deserted garden, under whose umbrageous covert the Nabob and his concubine were happy to procure shelter. At break of day he was recognized by a man of mean condition, who had however good reason to remember him, for on a former sanguinary expedition that way, for some slight offence he had ordered the poor fellow's ears to be cut off. The injured man immediately communicated the intelligence to a brother of Meer Jaffier who resided in Rajamal. He was instantly secured, and delivered to the soldiers who were in quest of him to be conveyed to Muxadavad, which was done with every mark of studied insult and indignity. At midnight, bound and covered with bruises, he was brought, as a common felon, into that palace of which a few days before he had been the despotic lord. Meer Jaffier is said

to have relented at the piteous spectacle, and as he lay prostrate before him, overwhelmed with the dread of death, and with tears imploring *life alone*, wished to preserve a prince who had been so highly his benefactor. But Meerum, his son, a youth not seventeen, to the last degree fierce and barbarous, insisted on instant death, in which decision joined many of the courtiers, who saw the impolicy of preserving the possible source of so much future contention. Others, however, induced by respect for Allaverdy's family, inclined to mercy, among whom apparently Jaffier. His committing him, however, to the care of Meerum, his decided enemy, for the night, argues little in favour of his sincerity; for Meerum, when his father had retired to his seraglio, by a confidential servant sent an immediate mandate for his execution. So eager were the executioners to perform their dreadful office, that when the agonizing Sultan requested time only sufficient to make his ablutions, and say his prayers, that he might die a true mussulman, a pot of water, which accidentally stood in the chamber, was hastily thrown over his head, and he was dispatched with repeated stabs of swords and poniards. The next morning his mangled remains were exposed on an elephant through the city, and then consigned to the tomb of Allaverdy.

The important work of the restitutions was now seriously entered upon; but the sum which Jaffier had engaged to pay on that score was found far to exceed all the treasures left in coined money and jewels by the deceased Nabob. The sum originally stipulated amounted to 22,000,000 of sicca rupees, equal to 2,750,000 pounds sterling, including donations to the squadron, the army, and the committee. Of this vast aggregate, upon the strong and repeated representation of Roydoolub, the treasurer, of the absolute inefficiency of the exchequer at once to discharge it, one half was agreed to be paid immediately down; the other

half to be paid in three years, at three equal payments. On the 6th of July was received the sum, in coined silver, of 7,271,666 rupees, which, being packed up in 700 chests, and laden in 100 boats, was, under a strong escort, conveyed down the river to Calcutta, the boats of the whole fleet attending with banners displayed, and music sounding, in the manner of a triumphal procession. In August following, the remainder was paid in gold and jewels; and caused not only the public but the private treasuries of individuals in Calcutta once more to overflow with wealth. Nothing could exceed the transport into which the whole city was thrown by this great change in their affairs, from despair and poverty to exultation, and affluence—commerce revived and protected, their ancient privileges restored, and the limits of their territory greatly enlarged. The praises of Clive, of Watson, and the brave army and squadron, whose unequalled exertions had redeemed them from that state of despondency and penury, glowed in every heart, and resounded on every tongue.

That exultation, and those praises, however, only the first of those commanders survived to witness; Admiral Watson, after a few days illness, having fallen a victim, on the 16th of August, to the attacks of a malignant fever peculiar to the climate. Colonel Clive, at length, having settled affairs at Muxadavad, and firmly seated the new Nabob on his throne, began to descend the river with the army on the 14th of September following, and was received at Calcutta with all the honours due to so distinguished a general. He freely lent the aid of his genius to every plan adopted for improving the settlement in its military and its civil departments; and for the defence and ornament of the city which his protecting arm had saved. From that æra Calcutta, now become the capital of an extensive district, daily increased in splendour and population. To guard

against the recurrence of any similar calamity, under Clive's inspection, the foundations of a vast fort, the future wonder and terror of the East! were immediately laid; immense magazines were constructed; and the banks of the Ganges were lined with the magnificent palaces of its merchants, who began to vie in splendour with the princes of Asia.*

The great importance of these transactions just recorded in Bengal, not only with respect to the Company's affairs, but eventually to ALL INDIA, which has since, through its utmost limits, felt the decided superiority of the British nation, both in the *cabinet* and the *field*, rendered necessary the ample details above given. Having now brought the history of the European establishments, and more particularly, that of the Company in Bengal, down to the close of the year 1757, we shall in the next book resume, and uninterruptedly pursue the regular Mogul history to its termination, that is, to the last visit of Abdollah to Delhi, when its authority virtually expired. In an additional book, the history of the European establishments, or rather that of our East-India Company, in which they were ultimately absorbed, will again be continued, and the work conclude with a summary statement of the different powers among which that once mighty empire is at present divided.

* My authorities for the preceding statements are nearly the same (except a few references, already correctly exhibited in the pages where they occur) as those referred to at the close of the last chapter; Orme, Cambridge, Holwell, the accounts published from the India House, and in the London Gazettes of the period.

BOOK VI.

IN WHICH THE HISTORY OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS IS CONCLUDED.

CHAPTER I.

SHAH JEHAN, *after crushing his rival, Shehriar, and murdering his Uncle Daniel's surviving Progeny, ascends the Throne.—Account of the Children of the Emperor.—Preliminary Observations, and Review of his Character and past Conduct.—In the subordinate Capacity of Prince deeply criminal; as a Sovereign, endowed with many excellent Qualities.—Flight and Rebellion of Lodi.—War in Deccan.—Defeat of the confederated Princes.—Death of Lodi.—Renewed War in Deccan.—Dowlatabad taken, and the Nizam made Prisoner.—The Emperor returns to Agra.—The astonishing Magnificence of his Court.—The Peacock Throne.—Aurungzeb begins to distinguish himself.—The Emperor visits the Northern Provinces of his Empire.—Rebuilds Delhi; and denominates the new City after himself,* JEHAUNABAD.

FROM the petty conflicts of rival Soubahs, and their feudal dependencies, we at length return to the more dignified contests of imperial ambition. A considerable portion of the early military achievements of Shah Jehan (or rather Jehaun) have already engaged our attention, during the reign of his father Jehanguire; first, in the wars waged with Rajah Ranna, the most powerful of the native princes in Malva ; * secondly in the partial subjugation

* See of this Volume, p. 198 and 199 ; see, also, Gladwin's History of Jehanguire, p. 30 and 39.

of the kingdoms of the peninsula; and lastly in his nefarious but unsuccessful attempts to dethrone that father. The hand of all-conquering death had now removed the great bar to his ambition; but he mounted not the vacant throne without some obstruction, and the shedding of that kindred blood, which, in Eastern climes, too generally bathes the steps by which it is ascended.

So entirely enslaved, in his latter days, was the deceased emperor by the charms and artifices of his beloved NOURMAHAL, and so unbounded was her influence in the empire from that monarch's devotion to her, and the power of her brother, Asoph Khan, the Vizier, that scarcely was the breath out of his body, when she attempted to realize the daring project, formed in her mind, of raising her son-in-law Sultan SHEHRIAR to the imperial dignity; a project to which she had, in the unguarded moments of blind devotion, gained the consent of the doating emperor. For this purpose a sum amounting to 90 lacs of rupees was lavishly distributed among the soldiery by the young candidate for sovereignty; and the great distance of Shah Jehan in the south, seemed to render practicable the meditated usurpation. Asoph, together with the principal courtiers, however, entertained different sentiments, and, firm to the interests of Jehan, not only confined his sister to the palace, but took up arms against Shehriar, who in vain opposed them with a purchased army of 20,000 horse. To prevent the tumults usual during an interregnum, and to crush for ever the claim of Shehriar, they placed the crown on the head of Sultan Bolaki, the son of Khosro, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, who certainly possessed the prior claim. His actual elevation to the throne, however, was by no means intended, nor did Sultan Bolaki without reluctance receive a boon pregnant with so much danger. Letters were immediately

dispatched to Shah Jehan, explaining their conduct, and recommending expedition in his progress to take possession of the hereditary diadem. In the mean time, precipitately hurried on by ambition to his ruin, though deserted by his mercenary generals, and the greater part of his hired army, who fled to Bolaki, Sultan Shehriar attempted to fortify himself in Lahore against the imperial troops ; but Asoph Khan with superior forces storming its castle, he was taken prisoner, and blinded by a red-hot iron, which fatal operation, throughout Asia, excludes the prince for ever from the imperial dignity.

Shah Jehan wanted no incentive to expedition ; and his right to the throne being indisputable from the death of his elder brothers, Sultans Parveiz and Khosro, he was joined in his march by all the principal Rajahs, and governors of provinces, with armies fully adequate to support that right. Still, however, accustomed to, as well as practised in, the perfidies of eastern courts, there appeared to him no safety while Shehriar, Bolaki, and the three sons of Sultan Daniel, the deceased brother of Jehanguire, who were all confined in the castle of Lahore, remained alive. Haunted by these phantoms, and the terrors of a guilty mind, he sent without delay, by an officer in his confidence, an order for the murder of those unfortunate princes ; and Asoph the governor, too obedient to his new sovereign, and too well versed in the state-policy that dictated the sanguinary measure, delivered them over to the ruthless assassins. Sultans Shehriar and Bolaki were executed as rebels and traitors, for having assumed the imperial purple, though in fact it was cruelly forced upon the latter. But hard indeed was the fate of the innocent progeny of Sultan Daniel who had been confined during the whole reign of Jehanguire, and from whom no plots could be feared, being alike imbecile in mind and body, from long

confinement. But what can allay the awakened fears of a tyrant? At midnight the blood-hounds of despotism were let into their apartments, and strangled them in their beds. Their bodies were then secretly conveyed away, and buried in a garden near the tomb of the deceased monarch. In this manner, either by the dagger or the bow-string, were dispatched all the males of the house of Timur, so that he himself and his children alone remained of the posterity of Baber the conqueror of India. Of those children, at least the sons, doomed at a future period to be the scourge of their father, and the avengers of the blood thus inhumanly shed, it is necessary to present a short account to the reader.

They were four in number: Dara, the eldest, was at his father's accession, only thirteen years old; he was a prince, as far as his mental qualities had yet dawned, of an open, noble, and generous disposition. Sujah, the second in order, was in his twelfth year, a youth of great shrewdness, penetration, and bravery. Aurungzeb, the third, was in his tenth year, and had already displayed evident symptoms of that cautious reserve and deep dissimulation which marked his riper years. Of the fourth, Murad, being only four years old, no opinion indicative of his future conduct in life could yet be formed. Shah Jehan had also three daughters, Jehanara Begum, Roxanara Begum, and Banu Begum, all highly accomplished, and beautiful; and all more or less conspicuous in the changeful scenes of this eventful reign.

These obstacles removed, and the empire being in profound peace, Shah Jehan was crowned at Agra, with circumstances of unusual pomp and splendour, according to Fraser,* on the 1st of February, 1628, in the 37th year of his age; having been born on the 5th of January, 1592. He immediately appointed Asoph

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 24.

his Vizier, and the famous Mohabet Khan captain-general of his armies. The first was the father of his favourite Sultana, had secured to him the possession of the empire, and was, moreover, endeared to him by the tender care which he had taken of his children, who were hostages for the good behaviour of the father at the court of Jehanguire, when that monarch died. The second, although once his declared enemy, had found means by assisting him in his recent misfortunes with large supplies of men and money to regain his forfeited regard. Their salaries were ample beyond all former precedent; proportionate to the great services rendered by both to the empire, and suitable to the magnificent mind of Shah Jehan. As the reader may possibly revolt at the term *magnificent* applied to the man so lately criminated as the unfeeling murderer of innocence and virtue, it becomes necessary to premise a few introductory remarks, before we enter on the events of this diversified reign.

It has been already observed that the lofty title of SHAH JEHAN, or *king of the world*, was given him by his father after his conquest of Rajah Ranna, and the province of Malva; an injudicious mark of over-weening affection! since the title of Shah, or king, had been hitherto solely confined to the EMPERORS of the house of Timur; and this doubtless fanned the flame of his ambition to be what that title implied. The reader will be pleased to pardon my bringing again before his view the portrait then drawn of this monarch, and the subsequent reflections, as they are necessary to the complete developement of a character, one of the most singular, in many respects, of all that occur in the varied page of this history; and not less eminent for his greatness than his misfortunes.

"From the moment in which Sultan Khorum was dignified with the title of Shah Jehan, he seems to have discarded from his

mind filial obedience, fraternal affection, and every other restraint on an insatiable ambition. He saw with equal indignation and contempt a woman (Nourmahal) swaying the sceptre of Hindostan, and every high post of honour and emolument bestowed upon her own relations. He determined to break the charm by which his father and the empire was bound, and risk every thing to obtain a throne for which he esteemed himself so much better qualified. There was no tie so sacred, no consideration so valuable, which he was not eager to sacrifice for the darling object that now engrossed all the powers of his soul, and influenced all the actions of his future life. The unfortunate Khosro had been committed to his custody, as to the custody of a brother who would naturally mingle pity with necessary restriction, and mitigate by tender assiduities the hardships of confinement. But Khosro was not wholly incapacitated for reigning, being very partially blinded, and *might* be an obstacle to his ascending the throne: he was therefore destined to destruction; and the better to prevent suspicion, the inhuman deed was perpetrated while he himself was absent on a hunting party. At midnight some hired assassins rushed into the chamber of the devoted prince, and strangling him, for ever annihilated from that quarter, the fears of a jealous and obdurate brother.

"If power alone could have satisfied this enterprising prince, he possessed already an ample share of it. The whole southern army was at his disposal; and he united under the extensive government, to which by the liberal indulgence, or perhaps the forced consent, of Jehanguire, he was appointed, the provinces of Deccan, Candeish, Berar, and Guzzurat; over which he ruled with unlimited authority. He assumed every attribute of royalty; appointed governors to the several provinces and cities under his jurisdiction; and affected on all occasions the state and splendour

of a KING. But nothing less than an imperial diadem would fully satisfy Shah Jehan.——"*

That diadem was at length obtained; that empire was now his own; and it must be owned that, could his previous assassinations be forgotten, no prince ever conducted himself in many respects more worthy of the imperial dignity, till that dark, that fatal moment arrived, when his sons, impatient for the sceptre of their sire, began to pursue towards *him* the same iniquitous line of policy with which he had acted towards Jehanguire; following with too scrupulous exactness the pernicious example which in his youth that sire had set them. For the greater part of this interesting piece of history we are indebted to the learned and philosophic Bernier, who resided at the court of this prince for eight years, in quality of his physician, enjoyed a great share of his confidence, and attended him in several of his journeys, particularly to Cashmere, of which beautiful province he has favoured us with a correct and animated description. Since we can no longer have the advantage of Mr. Gladwin's *almost literal* version of a respectable Persian author, as in the life of Jehanguire, Bernier will be our surest guide, though as Mr. Dow professes to translate the SHAH JEHAN NAMMA, or history of Shah Jehan, by Mirza Casim, private secretary to Aurungzeb, considerable advantage will accrue from that, certainly not *literal*, but very *liberal* version.†

* See of this Volume, Part I. p. 200; and indeed an attentive perusal of the whole of what relates to Shah Jehan in the former reign, is necessary to the full understanding of his conduct in this.

† Sir William Jones early cautioned me, on this account, against too great a reliance upon Dow. His letter runs thus: "I was acquainted with Dow; he understood Hindostanee, but knew little of Persian, and his translation of Ferishta is said to have been made through the medium of his Moonshee." The Moonshee, however, doubtless understood the original; and, if Dow reported

In the first year of the reign of Shah Jehan a strong body of Uzbek Tartars made an irruption into Cabul, of which province, during the distractions immediately consequent on the death of Jehanguire, they had meditated the entire conquest; but the speedy restoration of tranquillity enabled him to send a superior army into that quarter, by which they were repelled and routed.* To obliterate the memory of his sanguinary cruelties to those of his own house, he the same year opened the gates of the state-prison, GUALIOR, to all the criminals in that fortress, many of whom had languished in confinement there during the whole of the former reign. The Persian monarch, Shah Abbas, soon after sent a splendid embassy to Agra to congratulate the new monarch on his accession to the throne; but scarcely had the ambassador made his public entrance, when intelligence arrived of the death of that powerful prince, who in the last reign, had wrested Candahar from the Mogul. He was succeeded by Shah SEFI; a monster of cruelty, skilled to use the dagger and the bowl, but not formidable in the field. Shah Jehan, now sedulously applied himself to rectify the numerous abuses which, during the indolent reign of his father, had pervaded every department of the government. With inflexible severity he punished all well-founded complaints against his officers whether civil or military; and established an active and vigorous police throughout his vast dominions. By great rewards he encouraged agriculture, and by great immunities he promoted commerce. Midnight robbery † and assassination, before so

faithfully, the work must be considered as valuable. Notwithstanding, in consequence of that caution, I have throughout this work, when citing that author, always endeavoured to obtain collateral authorities.

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 288.

† In proof of this we are told by Bernier that the warehouses of the Dutch factory at Surat having been broken open by night and plundered of goods to a great amount,

frequent, were no longer heard of; and the Viceroys in their respective provinces being compelled to refund, out of their private fortunes, the money extorted by depredators on the public roads, took such vigorous measures for the extermination of those banditti, that the traveller, in pursuit of business or pleasure, journeyed in safety through the most inhospitable and unfrequented districts.

From these pacific and laudable pursuits the attention of Shah Jehan was suddenly diverted by the necessity of taking up arms to crush a formidable insurrection brooding in the south. Previous to his assumption of the crown, and while yet his success was doubtful, he had received a gross insult from Lodi, the general of the imperial troops in Deccan, who, gained over by Nourmahal, had not only openly espoused the cause of Shehriar, but had opposed his march through that province to Agra. Lodi was an Omrah of the highest distinction, and boasted his descent from the dynasty of that name which governed India, prior to the Moguls. Shah Jehan, aware of his power and great military talents, when, established on the throne, he sent an army to reduce him, sent also by his general terms on which pardon and reconciliation might be obtained. In those terms Lodi prudently acquiesced, consented to resign his station in Deccan, and was made governor of Malva. On the emperor's solicitation, he afterwards repaired to Court, where a series of indignities convinced him that the reconciliation of Shah Jehan was not sincere. In daily dread of assassination, he fled with his two sons towards Malva, and in their flight, being pursued by the imperial troops, the eldest was slain bravely fighting in his father's defence. Having reached Malva, he endeavoured to collect an army

on complaint to the emperor he obliged the governor from his salary to remunerate them for their loss. Bernier's Mogul Empire, tom. ii. p. 168.

sufficient to oppose the imperialists, but the pursuit was so warm and vigorous, that he could make no effectual stand against them, and therefore he continued his flight with his few valiant comrades in arms to Bundela, in the mountainous defiles and almost impregnable fortresses of which country he defended himself with such resolute bravery, that the army was at length wearied out by incessant fatigue, and gave over the pursuit. To Lodi, also, some repose was necessary; and after remaining a short time in Bundela, he traversed the provinces of Berar and Oudipore, in his way to Golconda, nor relaxed his speed till he reached Dowlatabad, where his friend, the Nizam, received the exhausted fugitive with open arms. His relation of the unmerited insults which he had met with at the court of Agra, and the sufferings he had since undergone, excited alike the compassion and the resentment of the Nizam, and he promised him protection, at the risque of his kingdom.

In the mean time the emperor, to whom the darling project of conquering the Deccan, had descended from his predecessors, Akber and Jehanguire, determined to make this friendly reception of a rebel to his authority an excuse for renewing those efforts for its complete subjugation which had hitherto been only crowned with partial success. Its princes were tributaries indeed to the empire; but were far from being wholly subdued. The principal of them were Adil, sovereign of Beejapour, or Visiapour, Cuttub, king of Hydrabad and Tellingana, and the Nizam, king of Deccan proper. At the courts of each of these princes Lodi was hospitably received, and his cause espoused with ardour. The crisis seemed favourable to their views of bursting those shackles which the Delhian sovereigns during two reigns, had attempted to impose on the princes of the Deccan! Lodi, equally brave and eloquent, in a strain of glowing oratory, inflamed their hopes;

and promised, if they would unite their forces, to lead them to certain victory. Combating singly they would, as before, fall an easy prey to the Mogul; united they would be invincible. After some hesitation, the effect of mutual jealousies, they complied with his advice. Under so consummate a general they thought they had nothing to fear, and preparations for the worst that might happen were accordingly commenced with the utmost promptitude and vigour. Shah Jehan, to the rage of disappointed vengeance adding that of ambition and conquest, lost no time in executing the resolutions he had formed. His project of conquering the Deccan forms one grand feature of his reign; and as it is only those grand features of the reigns of the Mogul dynasty, that this history attempts to display, we shall dwell more largely upon it than usual.

Early in the year 1631 he moved southward at the head of 100,000 horse, and arriving at Brampour, the capital of Candeish, fixed his encampment in the vicinity of that city. Thence he dispatched messengers to the confederated princes, commanding them to appear personally before him; to disband their armies, and to deliver up Lodi, his rebellious subject: otherwise he would pour destruction upon them, and make their country a desert. The princes returned an evasive answer; and, with increased vigour, continued the preparations for war.

Thinking it beneath his dignity in person to lead his troops against a rebel in arms, Shah Jehan dispatched Eradit Khan, the governor of Candeish, with 25,000 horse, assisted by two other Omrahs, with 14,000 each, making in the whole a body of 53,000 men, to ravage the territories of the Nizam, who having first received Lodi under his protection, became the first object of his resentment. Lodi with an inferior army, but with superior military abilities, immediately advanced to oppose these forces, and,

taking possession of the difficult passes of the mountains on the frontier, so completely obstructed their line of march, and so harrassed them with partial attacks, without risking a general engagement, that Eradit with all his exertions was unable to penetrate into Golconda. The Emperor, who knew the abilities of Lodi, and by no means expected an easy conquest, yet after some months was stung with disappointment that no farther progress was made, and distrusting Eradit's ability to cope with Lodi, immediately sent his Vizier Asoph, with ten thousand additional horse, to supersede that Omrah. The very name of Asoph, a man equally illustrious in the field and in the cabinet, carried terror with it. The war assumed a new aspect, the confederates were panic-struck, and in spite of the most heroic bravery displayed on the part of Lodi, were defeated. They were compelled to sue for peace, but the Emperor would listen to no terms that did not include the surrender of Lodi. That brave man, however, suspecting treachery, had fled beyound the bounds of Golconda, but not beyond the vengeance of the Emperor. Numerous parties were sent every way in pursuit of him, and, at length, with about thirty of his faithful adherents, he was overtaken, surrounded, and cut to pieces; after having made dreadful havoc among his assailants.

The confederates had lost their general, and had suffered a defeat: they had even solicited peace in hopes that the conditions would be reasonable at least, if not favourable. The demands of Shah Jehan however being too exorbitant to be complied with, the negociations were broken off. The Vizier's presence being necessary at court for the transaction of public business, Eradit was again intrusted with the command of the army. The confederates had after their defeat retired from the field into their strong holds, and the war was converted into a succession of

sieges. The fortresses were strong, the garrisons determined, and the imperialists not over skilful; still the Emperor would not relax from the severity of his demands; great numbers of his troops perished by famine, disease, and the sword, but little progress was made in the subjugation of Deccan. Thus matters continued for a great length of time; all the open country was ravaged with fire and sword; whole cities were depopulated, and fertile provinces converted into deserts. Armies were sent on armies in fruitless and destructive expeditions; and a succession of great generals was employed with no other ultimate success than the capture of a few insignificant forts. At length in 1633, the fortress of Dowlatabad, deemed impregnable, in which the Nizam had shut himself up, was taken by the most experienced of those generals, Mohabet; who after all owed his success to a large bribe bestowed on the governor. During the protracted siege the aged Nizam had died, but the young Nizam, his grandson, was delivered up; sent prisoner to Gualior, and his dominions were annexed to the empire. Beejapour and Tellingana still remained to be subdued; but the Emperor, gratified with this partial success of his arms, leaving Mohabit in the command of the country which he had conquered, returned to Agra. It was his fixed determination however at no distant period to return with all the forces of the empire, and undertake in person the accomplishment of his favourite object.

Engaged in detailing the more important events of the Portugueze government in Malabar, and at their presidency of Goa, I neglected to notice the misfortune that befel them in the present year (1633) at their factory at Hoogley, where from their imprudent conduct having drawn down upon them the displeasure of the Emperor, they were by his command attacked by Casim, the Soubah, at the head of the provincial troops, their property

plundered, and many of them put to death. Shah Jehan is said, in Dow's life of him, to have harboured resentment against this nation for refusing to assist him in his distresses, when, after the battle of the Nerbudda in the former reign, he took refuge in Bengal; and it is there added that these were the first hostilities against Europeans, recorded in the histories of the East.*

The revolt of the Rajah of Bundela (Bundelcund), which also happened this year, would, from its inferior importance, have remained unnoticed in these pages, had it not proved the means of introducing, for the first time, on the theatre of Indian warfare, the young prince, AURUNGZEB, to whom, under the tuition of Nuserit, governor of Malva, the reduction of that rebel was intrusted. Though then only thirteen years old, he on all occasions manifested the most undaunted intrepidity; was foremost in every assault of danger and difficulty; and eminently displayed those talents for military command which afterwards distinguished the conqueror of the peninsula. After a long and obstinate contest the Rajah was subdued, slain, and his head carried to Agra, where, soon after, Aurungzeb also appeared the welcome bearer of about three millions in silver coin, gold, and jewels, found in the vaults of his palace, which he laid at the feet of his transported father, as the first fruits of his victories.†

Shah Jehan had from his early youth a taste for splendour and magnificence. The sumptuous throne which he caused to be built in the former reign, when contending for the empire, out of the spoils of plundered provinces, ornamented with a profusion of the richest jewels, evinced that to be one of his ruling passions.‡ He now began a more superb one, the famous TUKT TAÔUS, or *peacock throne*, of which the body was formed of solid

* Dow, vol. iii. p. 145. † Ibid, p. 147. ‡ See of this volume, p. 203.

gold, incrusted over with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds. This throne, in finishing, and the expence of the jewels alone, amounted to twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling! It was called the peacock throne, from having the figure of *two peacocks* standing behind it, with their tails expanded, which were studded with various jewels to represent the life. Between the peacocks stood a parrot of the ordinary size, cut out of one emerald. The finest jewel was a RUBY, which had fallen into the hands of Timur when he plundered Delhi in the year 1398.* This is Dow's account, and it is corroborated, with some little variety of description, by Tavernier, a merchant in diamonds, who travelled in India, in Shah Jehan's reign, and who declares that monarch to have been the most skilful in jewels of any man in his own dominions. After such lengthened and disgusting details of blood and slaughter, I am not afraid of offending the reader by inserting Tavernier's more circumstantial account of the peacock throne; it is evident, from the variation in the accounts,† that some alteration must have taken place in this splendid pageant, between the period when it was first exhibited (1635) and about twenty years after, when Tavernier surveyed it at Delhi.

"The Great Mogul has seven thrones, some set all over with diamonds; others, with rubies, emeralds, and pearls. This (the peacock) is the largest throne, and is set up in the hall of the first court of the palace; it is, in form, like one of our field-beds, six foot long and four broad. The cushion, at the back, is round

* Ibid, p. 155.

† I had it engraved for the Indian Antiquities from a drawing by a Venetian artist who visited India in the suite of Manouchi, chief physician to Aurungzebe during forty years. It forms the frontispiece of the final volume of that work. It answers to the first of these descriptions, and has *two peacocks.*

like a bolster; the cushions on the sides are flat. I counted about a hundred and eight pale rubies in collets about this throne, the least whereof weighed a hundred carats; but there are some that weigh two hundred. Emeralds, I counted about a hundred and forty, that weighed some threescore, some thirty, carats.

"The under part of the canopy is all embroidered with pearls and diamonds, with a fringe of pearls round about. Upon the top of the canopy, which is made like an arch with four panes, stands a peacock, with his tail spread, consisting entirely of sapphirs and other proper coloured stones: the body is of beaten gold enchased with several jewels; and a great RUBY upon his breast, to which hangs a pearl that weighs fifty carats. On each side of the peacock stand two nosegays, as high as the bird, consisting of various sorts of flowers, all of beaten gold enamelled. When the king seats himself upon the throne, there is a transparent jewel, with a diamond appendant of eighty or ninety carats weight, encompassed with rubies and emeralds, so hung that it is always in his eye. The twelve pillars also, that uphold the canopy, are set with rows of fair pearl, round, and of an excellent water, that weigh from six to ten carats apiece. At the distance of four feet, upon each side of the throne, are placed two umbrellas, the handles of which are about eight feet high, covered with diamonds; the umbrellas themselves being of crimson velvet, embroidered and fringed with pearl. This is the famous throne (he adds) which Tamerlane began and Shah Jehan finished; and is really reported to have cost a hundred and sixty millions and five hundred thousand livres of our money. Besides this stately and magnificent throne, there is another less, of an oval form, seven foot long and five broad. The outside of it shines all over with diamonds and pearls, but there is no canopy over it.

The five other thrones are erected in another magnificent hall, in a different court, entirely covered with diamonds without any coloured stone."*

As another instance of that ostentatious magnificence in which the soul of Jehan delighted, the same traveller mentions the sumptuous gallery built by that monarch, which he had purposed to cover entirely over with a kind of lattice-work of emeralds and rubies, that should have represented to the life grapes when they are green, and when they begin to grow red. But this design, which made such a noise in the world, and required more riches than all the world could afford to perfect, still remains unfinished, there being only three stocks of a vine in gold, with their leaves, as the rest ought to have been, enamelled according to their natural colours, with emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, wrought into the fashion of grapes.† To this account Manouchi, also an eye witness, adds, that the opposite side of the gallery, in which are the windows, is adorned with looking-glasses of considerable magnitude whose borders are set with the largest oriental pearl. The clusters of precious stones, multiplied in the looking-glasses, reflect an inconceivable splendor, which dazzles by day, and enlightens the whole gallery by night.‡

This costly pageant of Jehan, was not wholly without parallel amidst the magnificence of Eastern courts; for we are told by Herodotus, that Pithius, the wealthy Bythinian, made Darius a present of a plane-tree and a vine of gold. This vine, according to Athenæus,|| was adorned with jewels hanging in clusters, in

* See Tavernier's Indian Travels, part 2. book ii. chap viii.

† Tavernier's Indian Travels, book I. chap. vii.

‡ Manouchi's Mogul History, p. 218. edit. oct. 1709.

|| See Herodot. Lib. VII. and also Athenæus, Lib. XII.

form and colour resembling grapes, and spread like a rich canopy over the golden bed of that monarch. But, without going to Persia, we find in Curtius,* amidst that luxuriant description, in his eighth book, of the state and pageantry of an Indian monarch, particular mention made of the golden vines that twined round those ornamented columns of the same metal which supported his palace, amidst whose branches artificial birds of silver, in imitation of those most esteemed in India, were disposed with the nicest art by the curious designer.†

Independently of the innate love of regal pomp, Shah Jehan thought that a public display of magnificence raised awe in his subjects, and gave weight to his authority. With this view he selected a hundred youths from among the sons of the nobility who were of the most distinguished merit, and made them omrahs in one day. He gave to each a golden mace, and they always attended the presence. They were all uniformly dressed in clothes richly embroidered, with golden helmets, swords inlaid with precious stones, and shields studded with gold. When the Emperor went abroad these constantly attended him with drawn sabres, all mounted on the fleetest Arabian horses, and from these he chose his officers of state. His vanity, however, was principally gratified in the splendour of his Haram. Early in his reign he had the misfortune to lose, in child-bed, his favourite Sultana, the daughter of the Vizier, and mother of all his surviving children. For a time he was inconsolable, and raised at Agra a magnificent tomb to her memory, which cost, in building, no less a sum than 750,000l. sterling. While she survived he was very constant to her; but, after her decease, he indulged his licentious passions to great excess, and his seraglio was crowded with the

* Quintus Curtius, Lib. VIII. cap. ix.

† Indian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 213.

finest women of Asia. Most of our Eastern travellers who have attempted to describe the œconomy of the seraglio, have doubtless, from the sacredness of that recess, imposed upon their readers a heap of gross falsehoods. Manouchi, so long physician at the court of Agra, may be supposed to write from better information than most of them, and his account of what concerns the external decoration of the fair incarcerated inhabitants is in substance as follows.

Their hair, perfumed with the finest essences, and braided with pearls, falls down in graceful tresses. Some, on the crown of the head, wear turbans adorned with plumes of feathers, glittering with precious stones, while long scarves of gold tissue fastened to them behind, hang down, and reach to the very ground. Others wear a kind of diadem, formed of pearl, on the front part of the head, in the centre of which is fixed a glorious jewel resembling in its figure the sun, a crescent, a star, or some beautiful flower. Their necklaces, too, are of the finest oriental pearl, intermixed with diamonds, rubies, and sapphires. The climate obliging them to wear only the slightest covering, there is, he tells us, a silk made on purpose for them, so very fine that a whole suit of it does not weigh above an ounce. These dresses are never worn a second time, but every returning day supplies a new suit of a different colour from the former. While, however, these delicate females shrink from this slight incumbrance of clothing, they wear, he adds, so many jewels that they are in a manner burdened with them. The neck and bosom are covered with interwoven pearl and diamonds, suspended crosswise in brilliant rows. Their pendants and bracelets are of a surprising magnificence. Their fingers and their toes, which are always uncovered, as they only wear sandals, are alike adorned with the richest rings. On the right thumb they wear a small looking-

glass, in the form of a signet, set round with pearl, in which they are for ever admiring themselves. The ornament most becoming these princesses (for we must suppose Manouchi only speaking of the highest order of females in the seraglio) is a gold girdle of about two fingers breadth garnished with variegated stones. Labels of the same metal hang down from it with clusters of orient pearl at the extremities. What is most astonishing is that each Sultana has, at least, six or eight changes of these jewels. The reader will doubtless here fancy that he has been travelling in *fairy land*, where all is pearl and diamonds; but the description just given falls very far short of the truth.

Here I should finish this gaudy picture; but what our author has remarked concerning the *sources* of this vast accumulation of precious stones at the Mogul court is too deserving of notice to be omitted, and I hope to render it more so by additional remarks of my own.

The court of the Mogul, he observes, is richer in jewels than can well be conceived in Europe. Timur, the founder of the empire, had enriched himself with the plunder of the palaces of the greatest part of the sovereigns of Asia. In the Indian Antiquities the reader will find an account of the great feast which that conqueror made after his conquest of Asia, on the plain of Canagha, in which all his immense treasures in gold and jewels were displayed; treasures compared with which, as I have there truly observed, the riches of Xerxes and Darius were trifling.* The delight of the Tartar monarchs who succeeded was to hoard up inconceivable masses of precious stones. Baber carried with him from Samarcand to the Indies a great part of the treasures

* Indian Antiquities, vol. vii. p. 98. in an express dissertation on the wealth of the ancient world, which for the most part centred in India in the purchase of her rare and valuable commodities.

of Gengis and Timur. The long reigns of Akber and Jehanguire, enriched with the plunder of the Rajapouts and the Deccan, gave time for the imperial treasures to accumulate. To the latter no present was so acceptable as a rare and costly jewel, of which the vanquished Rajahs, among whom remained the ancient stores in that way of the ancient Hindoo empire, were aware, and availed themselves.* Aurungzeb, by his conquest of the kingdom of Golcondah, became master of the diamond mines; and every year, besides the tribute paid him out of Golconda in precious stones, bought up the fairest and most perfect for the use of his wives and daughters. These jewels are never alienated, for at the death of the Sultanas, the emperor being their only heir, they revert to the crown. It may be farther observed, that the jewels of the seraglio are rendered unfit for sale by being perforated. In proof of this it is observed that Akber, being in want of money to carry on the war in Guzzurat, sent some rubies to be sold at

* See in Gladwin's Life of Jehanguire a great variety of instances. Thus, when the Ranna of Oudipour, after his defeat, was first introduced to the prince, his victor, he made him a present of a "RUBY, a valuable family jewel," p. 30. When the prince and his captive the Ranna had their audience of Jehanguire, his nuzzir among other things was "*a chrystal casket full of jewels*, and the RUBY which had been presented to him by the Ranna, valued at 60,000 rupees," p. 31. "Rajah Bickermajeet laid out two lacks of rupees (24,000l.) at Goa in the purchase of a RUBY, which he presented to Shah Jehan," p. 39. The *peishcush*, or present, at one time offered by Shah Jehan to his father was as follows: "the above RUBY, weighing 17 miskals; an AMETHYST, valued at a lack of rupees (12,000l.); a DIAMOND, valued at 40,000 rupees; another, of the same value; another, valued at 30,000 rupees; a pearl worth 25,000 rupees; two other pearls of the same price," p. 40. When the Emperor was last at Agra, Shah Abbass sent him a RUBY which had descended from Ulug Beg to the Seffi family. The name of Ulug Beg was engraved upon it, and Jehanguire ordered his own name to be added to it," p. 52. This is the great ruby, before mentioned, as being the noblest ornament of the peacock throne. Rubies, therefore, seem to have been the jewel most valued by these princes; the finest are found in Pegu.

Goa. They were very beautiful to the eye, but their being perforated spoiled the sale of them. With respect to that superior class of precious stones which adorn the person of the emperor, they are the master-pieces of nature, and are all distinguished by peculiar high-sounding names. One is called the Sun, another the Moon, a third Aldebaran, a fourth Sirius, and a fifth the Bear-star. By these names the Mogul distinguishes them, and calls for them when he wants them on days of national festivity.*

About this time the marriages of Sultans Dara and Sujah were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence at Agra: no less a sum than 875,000l. was expended by the emperor on this occasion; and the nobles vied with each other in the most expensive entertainments and shews. Aurungzeb, now in his fifteenth year, became so expert in his martial exercises, and evinced such a superior understanding, as greatly to increase in favour with his father. His fortitude at those years was such as amazed the Emperor and the whole court, before whom he publicly fought on horse-back against an elephant, and by his dexterity killed that enormous animal. On this occasion appeared the first symptoms of that unhappy jealousy, which afterwards broke out among the princes; the two elder burned with envy at the preference given to Aurungzeb, and ever after bore the young prince a secret enmity. To prevent any ill effects from this rising spirit of animosity, Sujah was sent into Deccan to govern that province, assisted by the councils of the sage Mohabet, whose control, however, his lofty spirit could not brook. He was, therefore, recalled, and shortly after made viceroy of Bengal, which province he governed nearly all the remainder of Shah Jehan's reign. With respect to Sultan Dara, the eldest,

* Manouchi's Mogul History, p. 331.

being the imperial prince, his father kept him near himself at court, much against the Sultan's consent, who murmured greatly at the distinguished honours conferred on Sujah, while he himself had neither province nor command. His father endeavoured to pacify him by representing to him, that it arose solely from his tender affection towards the heir of the throne that he did not permit him to take the field ; and that, in the palace, there was no need of the parade of a military command. With these representations, however, Sujah was by no means satisfied ; and the emperor, to appease him, appointed him to the command of six thousand horse. Jehan, for this guarded conduct towards Dara, had doubtless other motives besides affection : he had marked the young scyon of ambition shooting up and expanding in his mind, and viewed him with the same jealous eye with which the prince himself regarded his brother Sujah.

The vast preparations making for the Emperor's intended conquest of Deccan were, in the mean time, advancing towards completion. The greater part of the year 1634 was spent in visiting the northern provinces of the empire. He moved but slowly; a considerable army, and the whole court attending his progress. Being an excellent sportsman, he hunted in all the forests on the way, and is said with his own hand to have shot *forty deer* before he reached Delhi. After staying some time at Delhi, he proceeded to Lahore, and with great pomp and affected piety went to visit the tomb of that father whose life he had so much embittered. He made magnificent presents to some learned men of that city, and to the fakeers who kept up the perpetual lamp burning in the tomb of his father ; he then hastened on to Cashmere, where he arrived about the middle of June. There, during the tropical heats, he relaxed from the fatigues of public business, and amused himself with viewing the curious springs, the cascades,

the hanging woods, and the ample lakes which diversify the face of that romantic and beautiful region.

Shah Jehan, during his stay at Delhi, had formed the resolution of rebuilding that ancient capital after a magnificent manner. The two kings, his predecessors, had set him an example in this respect, Akber having rebuilt Agra, and Jehanguire having repaired and beautified Lahore. On the Emperor's return southward, this important undertaking was ordered to be immediately carried into execution, and the most skilful architects and masons were procured from the greatest distances to forward its accomplishment. He drew the outlines of his new city on a large plain on the western banks of the Jumna, and, in constructing it, made use of the same sort of red stone, of the hardness and colour of jasper, brought from the quarries of Fettipore, which Akber employed in building the castle of Agra. The city was fortified with twelve lofty towers, and had as many magnificent gates; the principal, that fronting the palace, of uncommon magnitude and grandeur. The palace itself surpassed every thing of the kind in India, the walls of the principal apartments being lined with marble, and the cielings of many of them overlaid with plates of silver. The grand mosque, or JAMA MUSJED, was also without its rival, being incrusted within and without with marble of various colours. The great Omrahs, too, of Shah Jehan's court, to gain their master's applause, vied with each other in raising splendid palaces within the limits of his new city, and besides the JAMA MUSJED, there were many other mosques inferior in magnitude, but of exquisite beauty. The bazars, or public market places, were surrounded by arches, which at the same time that they gave a perpetual shade below, supported noble terraces above, while the shops themselves were stored with the richest merchandize of Asia, encouraged by high immunities to

centre in this new and beautiful metropolis. The city was about seven miles in circumference, and was surrounded on three sides by a wall of brick and stone, the Jumna itself forming its defence on the fourth, while Shah Jehan's principal care was to make two gardens of inconceivable magnificence, called the gardens of Shalimar, which alone cost him a million sterling. Here were grottos of great extent and depth, where the beams of the sun never penetrated, canals of the fairest water filled with gold and silver fishes, fountains that for ever playing diffused a refreshing coolness around, while the choicest flowers and fruits of Asia, by their fragrance and flavour, on every side administered to the gratification of the delighted senses.

Lest the reader, not accustomed to the extravagance of Eastern magnificence, should think the above account exaggerated, I shall conclude this chapter with inserting Mr. Franklin's description of a part of this palace, as it was seen by him in its ruined state, on his visit to Delhi in 1793, from which some judgment may be formed of [illegible] was in the meridian glory of the empire, when adorned with the peacock throne, and the other sumptuous regalia of Mogul splendour. This description, it will be observed, only concerns the great and lesser hall of audience, and the royal baths.

"The PALACE of the royal family of *Timur*, was erected by the Emperor SHAH JEHAN at the time he finished the new city. It is situated on the western bank of the *Jumna*, and is surrounded on three sides by a wall of red stone. I suppose the circumference of the whole to be about a mile. The first object that attracts attention after entering the palace, is the *Dewaun Aum*, or public hall of audience, for all descriptions of people. It is situated at the upper end of a spacious square, and is a noble building, but at present much in decay. On each side of the *Dewaun Aum*,

and all round this square, are apartments of two stories high, the walls and front of which in the times of the splendour of the empire, were adorned with a profusion of the richest tapestry, velvets, and silks ; the nobles vying with each other in rendering them the most magnificent, especially on festivals, and days of public rejoicings, when they presented a grand sight. These decorations have however been long since laid aside, and nothing but the bare walls remain. From the *Dewaun Aum*, we proceeded through another handsome gateway to the *Dewaun Khass* beforementioned. This building is also situated at the upper end of a spacious square, and elevated upon a marble terrace about four feet high. The *Dewaun Khass* in former times has been adorned with excessive magnificence,* and though stripped and plundered by various invaders, still retains sufficient beauty to render it admired. I judge the building to be a hundred and fifty feet in length by forty in breadth. The roof is flat, supported by a great many columns of fine white marble, which have been richly adorned with inlaid flower-work of beautiful stones : the cornices and borders have been decorated with a great quantity of frieze and sculptured work. The cieling was formerly incrusted with a work of rich foliage of silver throughout the whole extent, which has been long since taken off and carried away. The delicacy of the inlaying in the compartments of the walls is much to be admired, and it is matter of heartfelt regret to see the barbarous ravages that have been made in picking out the different cornelians, and breaking the marble by violence. Around the interior of the *Dewaun Khass*, in the cornice, are the following lines in Persian engraved in letters of gold, upon a white marble ground.

"If there be a paradise upon earth, this is it—'tis this, 'tis this."

* Within this the peacock imperial throne was erected.

The terrace on which the *Dewaun Khanah* is built is composed of large beautiful slabs of white marble, and the building is crowned at top with four pavilions or cupolas of the same materials.

"The ROYAL BATHS built by SHAH JEHAN, are situated a little to the northward of the *Dewaun Khass*, and consist of three very large apartments surmounted by white marble domes. The inside of the baths is lined, about two thirds of the way up, with marble, having a beautiful border of flower-worked cornelians and other precious stones, executed with taste. The floors are paved throughout with marble in large slabs, and there is a fountain in the centre of each with many pipes: large reservoirs of marble, about four feet deep, are placed in different parts of the walls; the light is admitted from the roof by windows of particoloured glasses; and capacious stones with iron gratings are placed underneath each separate apartment. There is a noble mosque adjoining, entirely of white marble, and made after the fashion described above. A great part of this noble palace has suffered very much by the destructive ravages of the late invaders. The *Rohillas* in particular, who were iutroduced by GHOLAUM KAUDER, have stripped many of the rooms of their marble ornaments and pavements, and have even picked out the stones from the borders of many of the floorings."*

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 431.

CHAPTER II.

Third Expedition of the Emperor to Deccan, the Result of Ambition and Avarice united.—Conquest of the Kings of Bejapour, and Tellingana.—Aurungzeb made Governor of Deccan.—His Marriage.—Candahar restored to the Moguls.—Incursions of the Uzbek Tartars; defeated by Aurungzeb.—Candahar retaken by the Persians.—The Emperor grows jealous of his Sons, and they of each other.—Consequent dreadful Distractions of the Empire.—Their Contests for the Sovereign Power.—Aurungzeb finally prevails, imprisons his Father, and ascends the Throne.

IT was near the close of the year 1636 before Shah Jehan commenced his long-meditated expedition for the purpose of reducing the Mahommedan governments of the Deccan, not yet conquered. Mohabet, the greatest of his generals, was dead; and from that event the progressive march of his armies in that quarter had ceased. The kings of Bejapour and Tellingana, in modern geography Visiapour and Golconda, having retreated into the strong fortresses in which those kingdoms abounded, defied the utmost efforts of his generals to bring them under the Mogul yoke. They had laid waste, but had not subdued, the country; and the task of their complete subjugation was left to the emperor, and his son Aurungzeb.

Ambition had doubtless a very decided influence over the emperor's mind in making this attack, but the vast sums which Shah Jehan was at this moment expending in rebuilding Delhi, and improving Agra, and in the unequalled splendour of a most luxurious court, render the supposition of his eastern biographer

extremely probable, viz. that AVARICE had also no small share in exciting him to this undertaking. In the different assaults already made on that devoted country, much of its hoarded treasure in coined money, and very considerable quantities of the finest jewels of Golconda, had found their way to Agra. For this species of wealth we have seen the insatiable avidity of this monarch, as well as the mode of its application. That kingdom was a mine of jewels, rich in itself, and rich in the wealth of its dependent kingdom of Bisnagar, as yet only partially plundered. Both Tavernier and Thevenot were at Golconda in this reign; and the latter, a traveller of great veracity, gives the following account of the king's splendid personal appearance, from which an idea may be formed of the riches and magnificence of his court and kingdom. I cite it verbatim from the English edition of 1687. "This prince wears on the crown of his head a jewel almost a foot long, which is said to be of inestimable value. It is a rose of great diamonds, three or four inches in diameter. On the top of that rose there is a little crown out of which issues a branch resembling that of a palm tree, but it is round; and that palm tree branch is a good inch in diameter, and about half a foot long. It is made up of several sprigs which are (as it were) the leaves of it, each of them having at their extremities a lovely long pearl, in shape like a pear. At the foot of this posie there are two bands of gold in the fashion of table bracelets, in which are enchased large diamonds, set round with rubies, which with great pearls that hang dangling on all sides make an exceeding rare shew: these bands are fastened to the head with clasps of diamonds. In short, this king doubtless surpasses all the kings of the Indies in precious stones," &c. &c.* Tavernier's account of the wealth of Golconda is still more particular and surprising;

* Thevenot's Indian Travels, book 2d. chap. 7. p. 102. folio edit. 1687.

but the above specimen is fully sufficient to support the conjecture that it was not *ambition alone* that led this ostentatious monarch to invade the Deccan.*

From political motives the march of the army was slow and circuitous. He had given orders to the governors of the provinces to join him with their forces, as he advanced, and many of them, being at a considerable distance from the intended scene of action, required time for the junction. Aurungzeb, now in high favour, and ardent to distinguish himself, accompanied the emperor. At his request the army passed through Bundelcund, which was the scene of the first campaign of that prince, and where he pointed out to his delighted father the spots on which he had encountered the greatest difficulties, and the forts that had longest held out in that protracted contest. By premeditated delays, and by excursions of hunting, in which exercise the emperor greatly delighted, nearly a year was consumed before he entered the borders of the Deccan. When, at length, he reached Dowlatabad,† and had been joined by all the troops, his force was so prodigious, as almost to exceed calculation, while it promised to annihilate resistance on the part of the enemy.

Twelve different armies were immediately formed, and dispatched, under as many experienced generals, by different routs, into the kingdoms of Bejapour and Tellingana. The amazed inhabitants were attacked at once and from so many different

* In his chapter on Golconda Tavernier informs us that the two largest diamonds in the world, that is, *cut diamonds*, belong, the one to the Great Mogul, weighing 279 carats; and the other, weighing 139 carats, to the Duke of Tuscany.

† The names of Eastern capitals and provinces are perpetually varying, which causes much inevitable confusion. Thus to the province called Ahmednagar, in Ferishta's History of Deccan, a later age has given the name of Dowlatabad, in that writer's time its capital; at a still later period, Aurungabad, built by Aurungzeb, became its capital; at present the Nizam's capital is Hydrabad.

quarters that they knew not whither to retreat, and no quarter was given to any that resisted. "Towns and cities," says the Persian historian, "were seen in flames on every side; the hills were shaken with the continual roar of artillery, and the tigers of the desert fled from the more ferocious fury of man." One hundred and fifteen towns and castles were taken and destroyed in the course of a year, while from the lofty citadel of Dowlatabad the relentless emperor looked down with savage pleasure on a country in flames, and an expiring people. Shut up in their strong fortresses, and unable to assist their suffering subjects, the kings of Bejapour and Tellingana at length became convinced that universal ruin and depopulation must be the consequence of longer resistance in this war of dreadful devastation. In supplicating terms they therefore solicited peace; and Shah Jehan took advantage of their necessities, to impose such severe terms upon them as virtually amounted to the loss of their kingdoms. Though their crowns were forfeited, however, they were established hereditary governors of their own dominions, on condition of acknowledging the emperor, and his successors, to be LORDS PARAMOUNT of the Deccan, and of paying a large annual tribute, of which the first payment was to take place immediately. Although no particular sum is specified, and the task of completely ransacking Golconda was left to Aurungzeb at a future period, yet we may depend upon it that the ransom and tribute paid by these princes in gold and jewels were of no inferior kind; but sufficient at once to re-imburse Shah Jehan the expense of the expedition, and greatly to augment the lustre of his inestimable THRONE.

His grand project being now fully accomplished, the emperor commenced his march for Ajmere, leaving Aurungzeb with a large force, under the tuition of Khan Zeman to govern the

conquered provinces. For some time past a treaty of marriage had been negociated between that prince, now in his twentieth year, and a grand daughter of the famous Asoph Khan, the Visier, which the present cessation from hostilities gave leisure to complete. The most splendid preparations were accordingly made, and in the course of a few months the marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp at Ajmere; the venerable Visier himself coming from Agra to attend the ceremony. Shortly after Khan Zeman died, when he had the sole command of the imperial army, and the undivided government of the Deccan intrusted to his charge; an important charge to so young a prince. He had however given proofs of wisdom and experience adequate to it, and had already formed in his mind the plan of his distinguished triumphs on this wide theatre of his future glory.

Candahar, to which the Persian sovereigns had long laid claim, and which had been taken from the Moguls by Shah Abbas, during the distractions that prevailed in the reign of Jehanguire, was, about this time, restored to Shah Jehan by its Persian governor, Ali Murdan, who, disgusted at the innumerable cruelties practised in Persia without bound and without remorse by the tyrant Shah Sefi, from the highest Omrah to the lowest peasant, and fully aware of his own precarious existence, resolved to change masters; and only stipulating for his personal safety, delivered up that citadel to the governor of Cabul. Nothing could exceed the joy of the emperor at the recovery of this important fortress, the source of perpetual contentions between the two kingdoms; and he not only immediately conferred the most ample pecuniary rewards on Ali Murdan, but, finding him worthy of his esteem and confidence, afterwards exalted him to offices of very high trust and dignity in the empire. On the other hand enraged equally at the treachery of his governor, and the loss of

the fortress, the Persian Shah ordered an army of 7000 horse to advance from Chorasan to retake it. The Indian commander, however, marched out with an inferior force, and totally defeated those troops, who possibly fought with no great ardour in the cause of their sanguinary master.

The Emperor continued his rout from Ajmeer to Lahore, in his progress correcting abuses, hearing complaints, and removing cruel or venal governors. His sons, Sultans Dara and Sujah, were about this time dignified with higher rank in the army, the former being made an Omrah of 10,000 horse and as many foot, and the latter of 7000 horse and an equal number of foot. Sultan Murad too, the fourth son of the Emperor, now in his seventeenth year, having in a late instance, in the province of Marwar, given decisive proofs of his martial fire and talents, had a considerable command given him, and was, shortly after, under proper tuition, made governor of Multan. It is, in this place, necessary to observe that Shah Jehan, having frequently declared his intention of leaving the throne to Dara, he always appointed him to the first place in dignity and power, and wished to habituate his sons to regard him as their future sovereign; although he is said by Bernier* to have ever harboured a latent jealousy of this prince, and secretly to have encouraged the ambition of Aurungzeb, whose abilities for governing he thought superior. This writer also informs us that on this account, while the other sons had distant and affluent governments assigned them, he retained Dara at court, where he had a throne placed for him, in the hall of audience, a little lower than his own, and whereon he sate as a second emperor, forgetting an old eastern adage, that *two suns never yet shone in one hemisphere*. This imprudent, irresolute conduct in Shah Jehan, who had acted so summary a part by his own

* Bernier's Mogul Empire, p. 29, et seq.

brothers, and who might have crushed the evil in time, by sending *all* the suspected to Gualior, is rather astonishing, and certainly *was* the cause of all his succeeding calamities.

Amidst events of more important consideration in an empire, the death of a great and good man, who, when acting from himself, was the model of upright ministers, may surely be enumerated. Such was Asoph Jah, brother of Nourmahal, and father of the favourite Sultana, the mother of so many princes and princesses, who died this year, 1641, in the 72d year of her age. Although he left several sons and daughters, yet for political reasons he constituted his grandson, Dara, heir to his immense fortune, amounting in coined money, jewels, and plate, to four millions sterling. He bequeathed his children to that empire which he had more than once, together with its sovereign, preserved from destruction. The beautiful Tajemahal, his daughter, had died in child-bed in 1631, and was honoured with a marble mausoleum at Agra, now called by her name, that had scarcely its rival in India, and cost Shah Jehan no less a sum than 750,000l. sterling. His sister, Nourmahal, died in 1645, in her palace at Lahore, in dignified seclusion from that world in which she had, by her beauty, borne so unbounded a sway. Such was the concluding scene of the three most distinguished personages of their day!

One method which Shah Jehan, in his strict administration of justice, took to prevent that undue influence which the Soubahs were too apt to acquire in their governments, was to remove them every third year. Tirbiet Khan was in this year complained of for his unrelenting severity in exacting the revenues from the poor oppressed inhabitants of Cabul. He was superseded, deprived of his honours, and confined; for during this reign, even of the once sanguinary Jehan, the punishment of death was seldom inflicted, and justice and clemency seemed to go hand in hand.

Ali Murdan was appointed in his room Soubah of Cabul. Even Aurungzeb himself, when complaints were once made against him for mal-administration in Deccan, was ordered to the presence to answer to the charge. That prince readily obeyed the summons, completely exculpated himself, and was re-instated in his government.

In laudable occupations of this kind, occasionally intermixed with the pleasures of the chase and the delights of an overflowing haram, sometimes at one capital and sometimes at another, as either caprice or the varying season dictated, elapsed several years of Shah Jehan's reign. Nothing was now wanting to fill up the measure of his greatness, or the plenitude of his power. Excepting the occasional insurrection of a discontented Rajah, and an accidental irruption on the frontier of some daring Patan, or Tartar chief easily crushed by neighbouring Soubahs, the empire remained in profound tranquillity. Rebellion suppressed in the provinces, and order and subordination happily established among all classes of his subjects, the will of the Emperor was received as law through all its vast extent. An immense revenue, the result of commerce duly encouraged, and property effectually protected, under the code of the great Akber, poured from every quarter into the royal coffers. The new capital honoured with his name, and by which that name was to descend to latest ages, as well as himself to be considered as the patron of architecture and every nobler science, was now nearly finished, and about to open its gates to admit the most splendid court of Asia. The domestic irresolution of a monarch, whose conduct in every other respect was marked by the utmost vigour and decision, ruined this fair prospect of dawning felicity, and cast a dreadful gloom over his closing life.

In 1642 Shah Sefi who had inundated Persia with the blood

of his subjects, having quelled those intestine commotions which his cruelties excited, directed his arms towards Candahar, with a determination to recover that city and fortress. As this was a favourite acquisition of Shah Jehan, he made the most formidable preparations for resisting the attack, and Sultan Dara at the head of an army of 50,000 men, to be joined at Cabul by 30,000 more, was soon on his march for that citadel. Sultan Murad, too, whose character was now become eminent for invincible bravery, was dispatched with twenty thousand horse, with orders to take post behind the Nilab, and re-inforce his brother if requisite. All these mighty preparations, however, proved in the end unnecessary. Shah Sefi, breathing war and vengeance, had not advanced far in his march towards Candahar, before he was suddenly taken ill, and died, it was thought by poison, amidst the execrations of his remaining subjects. His army was disbanded, and as Abbas the Second manifested at that time no inclination to follow up the military projects of his predecessor, the two princes returned with their forces to their father at Lahore.

Awed by the reputation of Shah Jehan and his valiant sons, the Uzbek Tartars had long refrained from committing depredations on the Indian frontier; but in 1643 they recommenced their barbarous incursions. Ali Murdan, however, the governor of Cabul, repulsed them with great slaughter, and, in return, ravaged their country as far as Balkh. In the following year he renewed the attack upon those northern hordes, the descendants of the ancient Massagetæ, and took several towns and forts in Badakshan. His daring courage hurrying him on too far into that inhospitable region, the enemy were enabled to cut off his supplies and his communication with Hindostan; they had also retaken several forts which had fallen into his hands when he advanced. A retreat, therefore, was deemed prudent by that commander, who

extricated himself with great ability from the difficulties that surrounded him ; reconquered the captured forts ; and having established a chain of posts along the skirts of Badakshan, returned with honour to Cabul. This however did not satisfy Shah Jehan; any thing short of the absolute subjugation of so presumptuous a foe his soul disdained, and, therefore, on a renewal of their incursions, more vigorous and decisive measures were taken for that purpose, during which the military talents of both Aurungzeb and Murad were successively called forth. Their complete reduction was at length accomplished in 1647, but not without several obstinate battles, and a very great expenditure of blood and treasure.*

It was not until the commencement of the year 1648, according to his Persian biographer, that his new city of Jehanabad, was completely fitted for the reception of his numerous court, and the immense population that, encouraged by the promises held out to the new settlers, flocked to it from every quarter of India. From Agra alone were exported thither by his order and at his expence, no less than 500,000 of its inhabitants, and that great city was left almost a desert. On this occasion no bounds were placed to the generosity and hospitality of the Emperor, and when in all his glory he mounted the throne in that city on the festival of the NAURUZ, or *new year's day*, which in India falls at the vernal equinox, no end to the presents that were offered by the high nobility to himself, and by their ladies to the Sultanas. That festival, ever magnificent, was sumptuous beyond all conception, and continued *nine* days, a favourite number of the Moguls, during which period the whole city as well as the court

* Compare Abulghazi's History of the Uzbek Khans with what occurs in Dow, vol. iii. p. 190, and in Bernier, tom. ii. p. 1. who met the Uzbek ambassadors at Delhi, A. D. 1656.

was treated at the public expence, and all classes dissolved in boundless dissipation.

In the life of Jehanguire I have given Sir Thomas Roe's description of the celebration of this great Persian and Tartar feast at Agra. Bernier was at this new capital, of which he has favoured us with an elaborate description, in 1663, about fifteen years after this first ascension of its throne by Shah Jehan, when its lustre was probably rather increased than abated by fresh importations from Golconda, and saw Aurungzeb, (Shah Jehan still living) sitting upon it, and celebrating the same great annual festivity. The eastern narratives may appear extravagant and inflated to our cold northern conceptions, but credit ought surely to be given to so authentic a writer as Bernier. I may add, that Mr. Franklin's and his account of the palace will be found mutually illustrative of each other, due allowance being made for the great distance of time, at which they respectively saw it, the one in its full splendor, the other in ruins. With respect to the grand pageant, the THRONE itself, he agrees in most points with Tavernier, and he is very particular in enumerating the *sources* of the wealth of the Mogul. He computes the actual treasures of Shah Jehan at six crore of rupees, about seven millions and an half sterling; but he adds, " In this sum I by no means comprehend that great abundance of goldsmith's work, so variously wrought in gold and silver, nor that vast store of precious stones and pearls in his possession, of a very high value. The throne alone covered with them is valued, at the least, at three crore. It is however, to be considered that they are the spoils of those ancient princes, the Patans and Rajahs, accumulated from immemorial times, and still increasing from one king to another by the presents which the Omrahs are obliged yearly on certain festivals to make him, especially on his *birthday*. These are esteemed

the jewels of the crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a king of India, in case of necessity, would find it very difficult to raise the least sum."*

After introducing us through those great gates, where the stone elephants *were* at that time standing, and through the two outer courts, full of guards and living elephants, he leads us to the Am-kass, or hall of audience, where "The king appeared sitting upon his throne, in the bottom of the great hall of audience, splendidly apparelled. His vest was of white satin flowered, and raised with a very fine embroidery of gold and silk. His turban was of cloth of gold, having a bird wrought upon it like an heron, whose foot was covered with diamonds of an extraordinary bigness and price, with a great oriental topaz, which may be said to be matchless, shining like a little sun. A collar of big pearls hung about his neck down to his stomach, after the manner that some heathens wear their great beads. His throne was supported by six high pillars, said to be of massy gold, and set with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious stones, because it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity. Only this I can say, that the great diamonds are there in profusion, and that the throne is estimated to be worth four crores of rupees. Shah Jehan, the father of Aurungzeb, is the prince who caused it to be made, to shew so many precious stones as successively had been amassed in the treasury, of the spoils of those ancient *Patans* and *Rajahs*, and of the presents which the *Omrahs* are obliged to make yearly upon certain festival days. The art and workmanship of this throne is not answerable to the matter: that which I find upon it best devised, are two peacocks covered

* See Bernier's Mogul Empire, vol. i. p. 165. English 12mo. edit. 1676.

with precious stones and pearls, which are the work of a Frenchman, that was an admirable workman. Beneath this throne there appeared all the *Omrahs* in splendid apparel, upon a raised ground covered with a great canopy of purfled gold with great golden fringes, and inclosed by a silver balustrade. The pillars of the hall were hung with tapestries of purfled gold, having the ground of gold; and for the roof of the hall, there was nothing but great canopies of flowered satin, fastened with red silken cords, that had big tufts of silk mixt with threads of gold hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be seen but great silken tapestries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the court there was set abroad a certain tent they call the *Aspex*, as long and large as the hall and more. It was joined to the hall by the upper part, and reached almost as far as to the middle of the court; mean time it was all inclosed by a great balustrade covered with plates of silver. It was supported by three pillars, being of the thickness and height of a barge-mast, and by some lesser ones, and they all were covered with plates of silver. It was red from without, and lined within with those fine *Chittes*, or cloth painted by a pencil of *Masulipatan*, purposely wrought and contrived with such vivid colours, and flowers so natural drawn of an hundred several fashions and shapes, that one would have said, it were an hanging parterre. Thus was the great hall of the *Am-kass* adorned and set out.

As to those *arched galleries*, which I have spoken of, that surround the court; each *Omrah* had received order to dress one of them at his own charges. And they now striving who should make his own most stately, there was seen nothing but purfled gold above and beneath, and rich tapestries under foot.

The third day of the feast, the king caused himself to be weighed with great ceremony, and after him divers *Omrahs*, in

great scales, and with weights said to be of massy gold. I remember that all the Omrahs expressed great joy, that the king weighed two pounds more than the year preceding.

Every year there are held such kinds of festivals, but never any was celebrated with so much splendour and charge. It is said, that what induced Aurungzeb to celebrate this splendid feast, was nothing else but to make the merchants of purfled gold recover themselves, who had whole magazines full of it, much spoiled in these four or five years of war, wherein they could not sell them. These expenses of the Omrahs were great; but the simple cavaliers paid their share of it, because that the Omrahs after the feast made them take off that commodity to make vests thereof.

There is an ancient custom accompanying these feasts, which little pleaseth the Omrahs: and it is this, that then they are by respect obliged to make some fair presents to the king in proportion of their pay. There are some, that to appear generous, or for fear of being searched for the rapines by them committed in their offices and governments; or to purchase the favour of the king, in the hopes of having their pensions augmented, make him presents that are extraordinary. Some present fine vessels of gold set with precious stones; others present fair pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubies; others give him, without other ceremony, a quantity of those pieces of gold, that are worth about a pistole and an half. I remember, that Aurungzeb, having gone to visit (during this great festival) his Visier Jafer-kan, not as Visier, but as a kinsman, and under the pretence of desiring to see a piece of building, which he had caused to be raised anew, Jafer-kan presented him in these pieces of gold, with the value of an hundred thousand crowns, some good pearls, and one ruby valued at forty thousand crowns.*

* Ibid, vol. iii. p. 57.

From the bower of indolence, and the banquet of intemperance, the emperor was roused before the close of the year, by intelligence that Shah Abbas, at the head of a great army was rapidly advancing to besiege Candahar. He immediately commenced his march for Lahore, and the Visier Sadulla and Aurungzeb were dispatched with 50,000 men, to cover that fortress. Before their arrival, however, in the spring of 1639, it had surrendered by capitulation, and the Persian sovereign, leaving ten thousand men to garrison the place, had retreated with the remainder of his army. The great strength of the citadel enabled the besieged for a long time to resist all the efforts of this formidable force to retake it, and the valour of the garrison, when a practicable breach was made, to repel the assailants, with great loss. On the presumption that the place could not hold out till winter against such an army, commanded by such leaders, neither provisions nor warlike stores had been provided in sufficient abundance for their support. The intenseness of the cold, also, in that high and mountainous region, began to be severely felt by troops accustomed to milder latitudes. In consequence of this, but determined under more auspicious circumstances to renew the attack, Shah Jehan ordered the siege to be raised, and Aurungzeb for the first time was on his return to his father, unadorned with the laurels of victory. But that disgrace was prevented by the guardian genius which seemed to preside over all the actions of his fortunate life.

The imperialists had not advanced far on their retrogressive march, when Ali, governor of Candahar, aided by the army of observation that guarded the Persian frontier, fell furiously upon the rear of the retreating army. Aurungzeb, who was at the head of the cavalry in the van, immediately and with rapidity wheeling round, attacked the assailing army in flank, threw them into confusion, and then following up the blow, completely routed

them. Having however been reinforced by a strong detachment from Candahar, the enemy shortly after renewed the contest against an army thinned by famine, and exhausted by fatigue. The imperialists turned upon them with the heroic courage of men determined to conquer, or die; and now the contest and the carnage became alike dreadful. The shock was along the whole line from wing to wing; every Indian soldier was strenuously engaged in warfare with his Persian antagonist. Victory seemed inclined to favour the unimpaired vigour of the Persians, and to be already within their grasp, when, Rustam, one of Aurungzeb's generals, who commanded the reserve, consisting of 2000 horse, undauntedly leading up his battalions, charged the Persians with such irresistible impetuosity, as greatly contributed to turn the fortune of the day. Aurungzeb, both by his voice and his actions, animated his troops; the combat was renewed with redoubled fury, and the enemy were not only a second time routed, but pursued twenty miles beyond the field of battle. Crowned with unexpected but well-earned glory, the prince returned to his father at Lahore, was received with rapturous gratulation, and loaded with distinguished honours.

In the mean time Shah Abbas, undiscouraged by this defeat of his army, greatly increased the number of the garrison in Candahar, and so strengthened the works as to render that fortress almost impregnable. In vain therefore, did Aurungzeb, after immense preparations, and with a still greater army, in 1642, again appear before that fatal obstacle to the repose of two great empires. To retake it baffled his utmost efforts, as well as those of his brother Dara, and Candahar, till its seizure by Abdollah, remained an appendage to the Persian empire.

The smothered flame of rancour and jealousy that had long secretly burned in the bosoms of these rival brothers was now on

the point of breaking out, not a little increased, in that of Aurungzeb, by the Emperor's solemn public appointment about this period, of Dara to the succession. He went even farther than this; he permitted him to enjoy a large portion of the imperial power, gave him a signet of equal authority with his own, and settled upon him an annual allowance of nearly two millions sterling, for the expences of his household. The passions of Shah Jehan had by no means diminished with his advancing years, but having devolved on Dara and the Visier the burthen of public business, he passed the greatest part of his time in the pleasures of the haram, and the varied delights of the gardens of Shahlimar. There, forgetting the martial exercises of his youth, he gave himself up to enjoyments unworthy of so great a monarch. Music, dancing, and comic entertainments engrossed, in succession, the hours of his voluptuous day. He was not content with that multitude of women which the Mahommedan law allows to the gratification of a grovelling passion, but ranged among his courtiers for forbidden beauty, and stained the hallowed purity of the nuptial bed. To his favourite women he was generous and magnificent beyond conception, but sometimes not very nice in his choice of them. The gallery adorned with jewels is said by Manouchi to have been made to gratify a female dancer of the very lowest class; and to the wife of Calil Khan, one of his principal officers, he presented a pair of slippers of inestimable value.

By a transition not very unusual, the passions of this prince, in his old age, became greatly altered, and boundless prodigality was exchanged for insatiable avarice. He grew intolerably severe in exacting the tribute from the governors; and those were highest in honours and most in favour who remitted the largest sums to court. For the better security of the immense treasures

which he had thus accumulated, we are told by Manouchi that he caused two deep and capacious vaults to be excavated under the palace of Delhi, supported by marble pillars, in one of which, in mighty heaps, was piled up his gold, in the other his silver. He tells us farther, that to prevent these precious metals from being carried away, he had the precaution to form them into vast ingots, unfit to be used in commerce, and that these vaults were the favourite resort of the emperor, who under the pretence of enjoying the cool of that subterraneous gloom, spent a great part of the day in these caverns, feasting his eyes on the enormous wealth contained in them.*

No very important national occurrence arose to interrupt the domestic repose of Shah Jehan till 1656, when new disturbances broke out in Deccan, owing, as was alleged by Aurungzeb, in his representations to his father, to the dilatoriness of Cuttub Shah, in remitting the annual tribute due to the empire. On this account he professed to have put the troops under his command in motion, and requested farther assistance from the Emperor to enable him to compel the obedience of its refractory sovereign. His request was granted, though in direct opposition to the advice of Dara, who beheld with indignation the growing power of his brother in that quarter, and dreaded its increase, if an army adequate to the conquest of so wealthy a kingdom as Golconda were sent him from Agra. Aurungzeb, however, had taken the precaution to dispatch a messenger, armed with irresistable arguments, to convince Shah Jehan of the necessity of this new war; it was his friend and comrade in arms, Emir Jemla, a most important personage in the dreadful drama about to be acted, and whom we must therefore, in a particular manner, introduce to the notice of the reader.

* Manouchi, p. 233, et seq.

Emir Jemla was born near Ispahan in Persia, of parents in an inferior rank in life; but able to give their son a tolerable education. His abilities recommended him to the employ of a merchant who traded to Golconda for diamonds, whither he usually accompanied him, and where, finally settling, and by commerce growing affluent, he purchased a considerable place about the court. In this situation, the same abilities rendering him conspicuous, he attracted the notice of the reigning sovereign CUTTUB Shah (a name common to the kings of this dynasty, as ADIL is to that of Visiapour) who assigned him a military post of consequence, and gradually advanced him to the chief command of the army of Tellingana. He carried on the war in Karnata, or the Carnatic, for that prince; and brought it to a successful termination. His conquests in that rich country enabled him to transmit immense treasures to the court, but he likewise retained incalculable wealth for himself, which, when called upon, he refused to divide with his sovereign. In consequence, being compelled to fly from Golconda, he sought and found a ready asylum with Aurungzeb, who promised to revenge his cause and to procure the restoration of his family, and treasures, on a great part of which Cuttub had seized. Aurungzeb, who dived deep into the human heart, exulted in his good fortune in having found, as he thought, in Emir Jemla, a proper instrument to promote his ambitious projects, and exerted all his interest for his promotion at the court of his father. Of these projects at various conferences he gradually unfolded to him the depth and extent, and in these consultations were laid the first solid foundations of his future sovereignty.

Fully acquainted with all his views, and fully resolved to support him in them, no more proper ambassador could have been selected than Emir Jemla to impress on Shah Jehan the necessity

of renewing the war with the king of Golconda, nor any argument more powerful than a bulse of the finest diamonds, recently delved from its mines, one absolutely unparalleled for its lustre and magnitude, which he now displayed to his delighted view. The doom of its monarch was instantly sealed, and an army of twenty thousand horse, which, to avoid increasing the envy of Dara, Aurungzeb deputed his eldest son Mahommed to command, was in a short time before the gates of its capital, Hydrabad. Cuttub, wholly unprepared to resist so formidable a force, prepared by submission to ward off the blow; he offered immediately to pay down the arrears of the tribute, he released the son and family of Emir Jemla from their confinement, and endeavoured to soothe Mahommed by presents of great value; but that prince, stern, haughty, intractable, refused every overture of accommodation till the treasures of Emir Jemla should be returned. A few chests of money, and some caskets of jewels were now sent to the camp, as the property of Emir Jemla, but his son, then with Mahommed, declaring *that* to be but a small portion of the immense treasures of his father, and, in fact, the object being conquest and plunder rather than restitution, the dreadful work of desolation and slaughter immediately commenced.

Than the sack of this rich city, according to various writers before me, Thevenot, Tavernier, Dow, De Faria, nothing can be conceived more terrible from the united rage and avarice of the assailants. The pavement of the principal street and square is said to have been died with the blood of the miserable inhabitants, and the spoil taken was beyond all calculation; there being in it whole streets full of shops of jewellers and bankers, in which the finest diamonds were wrought, and disposed of. It was not only in diamonds that this superb city abounded; it was crowded with merchandize brought to the shores of Coromandel from the

farthest parts of Asia in exchange for those valued articles, but much of this was consumed by the flames which their fury had kindled in different parts. What was incombustible, the gold, the silver, and the jewels alone, remained uninjured to the conquerors, but of that the amount was enormous, for Thevenot in particular informs us that the very floors of the state-apartments in the palace were covered with plates of gold.* In the mean time the king had escaped out of a private gate, and fled to the castle of Golconda, two leagues distant, a castle which in the usual style of the Indian writers was called impregnable. The hill on which it stands, like that of Dowlatabad, rises like a sugar-loaf to a vast height, fortified with walls and bastions, mounted with cannons of a great size, to its very summit. At its base, and round its sides, stand the palace and the town. Mahommed invested this formidable retreat; Cuttub drawing courage from despair marched out at the head of 6000 horse and 12,000 foot, and gave battle to the imperial troops. He was defeated with great slaughter, and together with his recreant troops those of Mahommed rushed into the castle. Cuttub now threw himself at the victor's feet, imploring mercy and peace. Mahommed was relentless, till Rizia, his beautiful daughter appeared in a supplicating posture. Electrified, vanquished by her charms, he sheathed his sword. A treaty favourable to Cuttub was concluded, by which half of his wealth became the conqueror's. He granted him, also, his daughter in marriage, with a kingdom in reversion for a dowry. The shouts of mirth and the shrieks of sorrow were heard rising together on this memorable occcasion; and the palms of victory were seen blended with the funereal cypress.

Aurungzeb received with transport his son doubly triumphant

* Thevenot's Indian Travels, part 3, chap. vii. p. 101.

in the field of war and love. He sent a pompous account of his exploits to the Emperor, who raised him to the rank of eleven thousand horse. Emir Jemla was charged with these dispatches to Shah Jehan, and so ingratiated himself with that monarch that, contrary to all the remonstrances of Dara, he conferred on him the high office of Visier, vacant by the recent death of Sadulla. The Emperor is said to have been not wholly uninterested on this occasion, but, relinquishing the more rigid maxims of his early government, to have received from Jemla a *peishcush* of six lacks of rupees. While Jemla remained at Agra information was received of the death of Adil, king of Visiapour, with the additional intelligence that the principal officers of his court had, without asking permission of the Emperor, raised his son to the sovereignty. Shah Jehan, who considered the dominions of Visiapour, after the last compact, as an appendage to the empire, took fire at this neglect. The new Visier was immediately ordered with 20,000 men into that kingdom, to depose the son of Adil, at least till he should make his submission at the court of his lord paramount, the Emperor. On his arrival at Brampour he was joined by Aurungzeb with all his forces, and the march was continued with all the expedition possible for so numerous an army. In the mean time, Ali, the Visier of the deceased and the existing sovereign, had foreseen the impending storm, and had in some degree guarded against its fury by levying troops, and fortifying again the dismantled castles and towns on the frontier. His army, however, consisting for the most part of raw recruits, were unable to stand the shock of veteran troops, and though numerous, were every where routed. Bider, one of the strongest fortresses in the country, and indeed deemed impregnable, was taken by storm after a siege of twenty-seven days, and the garrison put to the sword. In Bider, Ali had deposited

all the wealth of the young sovereign, which consequently became the spoil of the captor. Kilburga, with a more numerous garrison, held out longer, but was at length taken in a similar manner on the 11th of June, 1657. Callian, near the coast, was next invested, and met with the same fate. At length, utterly discomfited both in the open field, and the fortified redoubt, Adil, led by his minister Ali, threw himself at the feet of the conqueror, and was pardoned on condition of paying down a great sum, the amount of the expence of the war, of putting his strongest forts into the hands of Aurungzeb, and of remitting to court, as the future tribute of Visiapour, what in our money would be equal to one million, eight hundred, and seventy-five thousand pounds.*

The strict bonds of friendship that subsisted between Aurungzeb and the Visier were still more closely cemented by these splendid successes in the field, while their projects of ambition were greatly promoted by the additional force which had attended the latter into Deccan. The hour was now arrived when those projects were to be carried into execution, for in September of the same year Shah Jehan was seized with that dangerous illness, the result of intemperance in his seraglio, which was the signal for his four sons to rush to war, and desolate the empire with their sanguinary contests. The better to conceal those views of ambition which were only known, in their full extent, to Jemla, and extinguish the jealousy of his brothers, Aurungzeb

* The reader will find the substance of the above in Manouchi's History, p. 249, in Bernier, Thevenot, and Tavernier, at the places before cited ; in Dow, vol. iii. from p. 116 to p. 205, and all for the most part confirmed in the account of the Nizam, Cuttub, and Adil Shah dynasties in Scott's valuable but summary history of the Deccan. In Fryer's Travels, and in the Portugueze Historians, De Faria and Maffæus many allusions are also made to these facts ; the above is the result of all. From this period to the end of the chapter we shall principally be obliged to the entertaining Bernier.

on all occasions, whether in the palace or the field, affected the rigid austerity of a Fakeer, or Mahommedan devotee. Being only the third son, and Dara having been not only publicly proclaimed heir to the throne, but already invested with a great share of the imperial authority, he saw in deep dissimulation alone the secure means of attaining his ends. Absorbed in the rigid routine practice of the prescribed duties of the Koran, in fasting, prayer, and ablutions, he avowed an utter contempt for the magnificence of courts, and in the lofty pride of spiritual elevation, looked down on the pageantry of thrones. The wars in which he had engaged were by no means contrary to the spirit of a religion that delights in blood; those wars were waged with infidel Hindoos, or those who were equally detestable to a true Islamite, against the Deccan kings, who were from Persia and of the sect of Ali, and termed in contempt Schiites, heretics; but even amid the rage of war enthusiastic devotion prevailed, and on *Friday*, the Mahommedan sabbath, the operations of the field were constantly suspended. By nature of a severe, reserved, saturnine disposition, he was well adapted for the character which he assumed. His exterior was through life accommodated to his professions; for, even when a monarch, except on high festival days, he seldom appeared arrayed in cloth of gold, or decorated with jewels, nor was his table loaded with Eastern delicacies and profusion. His affectation of religion, however, had never the effect to veil his real views from his father, or his elder brothers, but they deceived, as they were principally intended to deceive, his younger brother Morad, whose open, generous, unsuspecting nature rendered him an easy dupe to his designs.

The artful and deep policy of Aurungzeb in thus appearing the zealous champion of religion is farther evinced by the

circumstance that Dara was known to be a great latitudinarian in religious principles, or rather that he was, as Aurungzeb frequently called him, an absolute KAFIR, an infidel; while Sujah was known, for interested purposes, to favour the heretic sect of ALI, of which sect were most of the great Persian lords about the court, and to be very partial also to the Hindoo Rajahs and their religion. This conduct in the two brothers, and in general the laxity of the descendants of Timur in those religious maxims which they brought into Hindostan, had given great offence to all true Mussulmen, of which our pretended *Fakeer* knew well how to take the proper advantage. This summary sketch of the leading feature in the character of Aurungzeb was thought necessary to the full developement of that character; the current of history now leads us back to events at Delhi.

The disease of the emperor was at first thought mortal, and he remained for several days in a state of utter insensibility. By copious bleeding, however, after some time, he recovered his senses, but was wholly unable to attend to public business, and it was thought would ever remain so. Dara of his own accord instantly mounted that throne in the splendour of which he had before so largely participated. The violence with which he acted, on seizing the imperial sceptre, betrayed, at once, his hatred and his suspicions of his brothers, and hurried on that catastrophe to which, otherwise, affairs were unhappily, but only gradually, advancing. He forbade all persons on pain of death, from holding any correspondence of a political kind with his brothers. Their known agents in the capital, together with their papers, were seized and imprisoned, and all the money in their hands confiscated. In a public assembly of the nobles he expatiated on the insatiable ambition of his brothers, from intercepted letters unfolded their designs, and deprecated the horrors of a civil

war. He declared his firm resolution not to abandon a throne which heaven and his father had assigned him. He called upon his own friends for their active support; from the friends of his brothers, those who had received favours from them, or had estates in the provinces commanded by them, he disdained to ask aid, but he commanded the strictest neutrality. An army proportionate to the emergency was immediately assembled, and he seemed anxious to risque the fate of a great empire on a single battle.

Under the plea of improving his father's health, but doubtless with a political view, that he might be more in the centre of the empire, and nearer the threatened field of war, Dara caused the infirm monarch to be conveyed in a barge down the Jumna from Delhi to Agra. The army and court accompanied him, moving slowly along the bank of the river, under his immediate command. Most part of the day was spent with his father; but his night was invariably passed on shore. As the recovery of the king's health was exceedingly slow, and his relapses were frequent, various and even contradictory reports were circulated on that subject, which were eagerly carried, by their partizans, to the princes in the provinces. Some of these affirmed him to be actually dead of his disorder; others, that he was only confined to the palace by Dara; others that he was poisoned by him. Sultan Sujah, who had accumulated vast wealth in Bengal, during his long government of that rich province, was the first who appeared in the field, and he justified his conduct by the violence of Dara. He had attached to himself most of the great Omrahs about the court; his resources were vast, and his army was formidable. He issued a manifesto, declaring that he was marching to revenge the death of his father, and to dethrone the parricide. It was in vain that letters were dispatched to Sujah, even by the

Emperor himself, announcing his gradual recovery, and commanding his return to his capital. He professed to treat them as a daring forgery of the usurper; and advanced with his army to Benares. He had gone too far to retreat; his object was a diadem, and that the richest of Asia. At Benares for the present we must leave him, and return to observe the motions of the politic Aurungzeb.

From the immense preparations making on all sides, the war was likely to prove of the most obstinate and sanguinary complexion. It may here be remarked that the conflicts of the younger princes of Asia are in general of this cast. The contest between them is not only for victory, but for life. A throne, perpetual imprisonment, or a grave, are the dreadful alternatives. The unsettled succession to the crown, especially among the Moguls, where primogeniture confers no absolute right to the empire, is the cause of this sanguinary warfare. That magnificent boon by the Tartar code depends solely on the will of the reigning Emperor; but even that will is not always implicitly obeyed, of which Dara in the present case is a glaring proof. Each brother is, in consequence, to the other equally the object of terror and envy, till success or the scymeter shall have decided his fate. On this principle, which has led to the extermination of so many illustrious Asiatic dynasties, are the inextinguishable hatred and jealousy that raged between the sons, and we may add the grandsons, of Shah Jehan to be accounted for. Inflamed with no inconsiderable portion of those passions, Aurungzeb determined to oppose the claims to the empire on the part of Sultans Dara and Sujah on the embattled plain; of Sultan Morad he hoped to unite the army, the valour, and the resources with his own. In consequence he immediately dispatched to that young prince, in Guzzurat, letters at once the most importunate

and affectionate, informing him that as he himself from religious motives declined being, a candidate for imperial honours, and as he wholly disapproved of the accession of either of their elder brothers to the throne of India—of the first, from his incapacity for government and his utter indifference about all religion; of the second, from his being little superior in ability to Dara, and from his being a heretic—he was resolved to throw all the weight of his influence and authority into the scale of Morad, who from his bravery, ability, and principles, was alone worthy to sit on the throne of their great ancestor, Timur. That with respect to himself, the utmost he solicited of him was, when, by their mutual exertions, the crown should be secured to Morad, that he would grant him in some corner of the empire a secure and quiet retreat, where he might pass in acts of piety the remainder of his days. He conjured him to lose not a moment in urging those just claims, but, joining the forces of Guzzurat with those commanded by himself in Deccan, immediately to commence the march for Agra. He accompanied his letters with a present of 100,000 rupees, apologizing for the smallness of the sum, but advised him, without delay, to seize on the castle of Surat, where he knew the imperial treasure was deposited, to employ that treasure in raising troops to reinforce his army, and to meet him, with the whole force he might thus be able to raise, at Ujein, in their way to the capital.

Morad, blinded by ambition, and the splendour of a crown, neither perceived nor suspected the artifices of the writer. On the contrary he was transported with joy at the proposal, seized Surat and the imperial treasure, levied a great army, and having caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Hindostan, hastened to meet his brother at the appointed place. On the junction of the two armies, which took place on the banks of the Nerbudda,

the troops sent by Dara to oppose his march having taken possession of Ujein, Aurungzeb's solemn renunciation of all pretensions to the crown, and his determination to live and die a *Fakeer* were renewed ; at the same time he never addressed the deluded prince without the title of *majesty*. During these transactions, Emir Jemla, whose family were at Agra, in the power of Dara, did not dare openly to appear in the field against the court. He continued extending his conquests in the south, but his heart, and the flower of his army, were with Aurungzeb. One of the first acts of Dara's assumed power had been to discard him from the Visirat, as the sworn friend of Aurungzeb ; and the destruction of his whole family he had reason to think would be the immediate consequence of his openly espousing the cause of his patron. The confederated princes, however, had too often triumphed in the bannered field to fear the result of a contest with the troops of Dara, even without the counsels of that experienced warrior.

The imperial army, for thus we must denominate that of Dara, was commanded by Kassim Khan, a general of distinguished reputation, and Jesswunt Sing, who had married a daughter of the famous Rajah Ranna, and succeeded him as well in the title of Maha Rajah, as in the command of the Rajapouts of Marwar, of which province Ujein is the capital. Previous to hostilities, these commanders had obeyed the injunctions of Shah Jehan, anxious to preserve the lives of his children, by announcing to them that monarch's recovery, and his positive orders contained in letters from the Emperor himself for their return to their Soubahs. The messengers were detained, and the letters treated only as a forgery of Dara. The result was a battle, into the particulars of which, as well as of many inferior ones in this contest I cannot enter, fought on the banks of the Nerbudda, in which the princes were completely victorious over their antagonists, although they

fought with heroic bravery, in particular Jesswunt and his Rajapouts, of whom after the engagement, out of 8000 only five or six hundred remained alive. Aurungzeb and Morad, after this signal victory, entered Ujein in triumph, whence the latter, in the pride of his exultation, insisted on immediately proceeding to Agra. Aurungzeb, however, convinced him of the absolute necessity of staying there some days, both to refresh the army, exhausted by a long march and a battle, and to obtain intelligence from their friends of affairs at Agra.

In Bengal the imperial army had been more fortunate. On the first intelligence of the taking up arms by Sujah, Soliman Shekoh, the eldest son of Dara, was dispatched into that province with a large body of horse under the control of Rajah Jessing, a venerable and cautious general, who had secret orders from Shah Jehan to avoid coming to an engagement with his rebellious son till the last necessity. These orders Jessing would gladly have carried into execution, but Soliman being full of the fire of youth, and that ardour for glory, which distinguished his family, and Sujah being impatient to become master of the capital before his competitors from Deccan should arrive there, he found it impossible to prevent an engagement. The two armies appeared in battle-array on the two opposite banks of the Ganges, and Sujah was preparing a bridge of boats to cross the river with all possible expedition, and make that assault which he too vainly confided would secure him the empire. Till that bridge should be completed he imagined himself safe from attack, and considered the Ganges as an insuperable barrier. The discipline of his army was in consequence rather relaxed, and his camp less strictly guarded than it ought. The active enterprising spirit of Soliman could not brook this delay. He changed his ground; he had the river explored; and some miles higher up, owing to a remarkable

drought which occurred that year, it was found fordable for cavalry. He passed it with all his horse at the dead of night; and the instant day-light appeared rushed furiously on the enemy, buried in profound slumber, and totally unprepared for resistance. Sujah himself, roused by the clashing of swords, and the cries of the wounded, started from his bed in wild surprise. He was soon armed, and on horseback, at the head of the few guards whom the universal consternation had not driven to precipitate flight; but it was too late to rally the dispersed and terrified battalions, who, in the utmost confusion, were flying on every side before the impetuous assault of Soliman's cavalry, or lay trampled beneath their feet.

At length having succeeded in collecting together a small but resolute body of men, principally officers, he charged the enemy with retorted fury; but their courage was unavailing: they were defeated with great slaughter, and driven into the river, and the prince himself with difficulty made his escape in a canoe, nor stopped till he reached the strong fortress of Mongeer. Soliman continued for some time in Bengal, and, after pursuing to destruction the routed army, closely invested the fugitive prince in Mongeer. The critical situation, however, of his father and grandfather at Agra imperiously commanding his presence and that of his troops there, he was compelled suddenly to raise the siege, and making the best terms which the urgency of the times would admit of with Sujah, among which was an express stipulation that he should no longer oppose the claim of Dara to the throne, he returned by forced marches to that capital.

When the intelligence of the defeat at the Nerbudda reached Agra, the whole court was thrown into the greatest consternation. Dara was filled with rage at the perfidious or cowardly conduct of the Moguls, who, if they had fought like the brave

Rajapouts, must inevitably have secured the victory. Shah Jehan, now perfectly recovered, with apparent liberty, but in reality a prisoner at the disposal of his son, viewed the distractions in his family with the agonizing feelings of a dethroned king, and a neglected father. To whomsoever victory inclined, he was convinced that no benefit would result to himself; he was a prisoner for life, and his sceptre was gone for ever. Still, however, as Dara treated him with great external respect, and consulted him in all public transactions ; as he had fanned his ambition and had prematurely exalted him to that throne of which he was now so tenacious ; he submitted with the best grace possible to his altered condition. Too justly suspecting, also, that a change of masters might be for the worse, he exerted in favour of Dara all his remaining authority, summoned his oldest generals, unlocked his buried treasures, and even intimated his resolution to take the field with him against that prince's rebellious brothers. From his resolution he was imprudently dissuaded by Dara, who, elated with the success of the army in Bengal, panted for a day of victory, in the glory of which none should participate. For this reason it probably was that he refused to follow Shah Jehan's earnest recommendation to wait the junction of the army under his son Soliman, though composed of the best troops in the army, in the same vain confidence telling his more experienced sire that in three days he would bring both Aurungzeb and Morad, bound hand and foot, before him to suffer for their nefarious conduct what his justice should determine. The old emperor, whose ideas and whose practice of carrying on war were widely different from his son's, heard him with a dejected aspect, again cautioned him not to be precipitate, and by no means to hazard a battle till reinforced by the troops of Soliman. With the farewell embrace he gave him his blessing, and said, " Go, my son ; but

beware of returning to my presence unadorned with the laurels of victory!" Vehement by nature, and inflamed with all the ardour of hope, Dara passed like lightning through the capital, and was soon at the head of an army more formidable than any that had issued out of its gates since Shah Jehan marched to conquer the Deccan: it consisted of 100,000 horse, and 1000 pieces of ordnance. He advanced rapidly to the banks of the river Chambul, distant about twenty miles from Agra, and there occupying a position, strong by nature, but made doubly strong by art, he awaited with impatience the approach of the enemy.

In the mean time the confederate princes, after some days repose at Ujein, and having obtained all the information desired from their spies about the court, commenced their march towards Agra, and gained the banks of the Chambul on the 1st of June. They encamped on an eminence directly opposite to the principal army, whence the extent and the strength of their lines could with ease be discerned, and they appeared to Aurungzeb, who the following morning more closely reconnoitred them, too formidable to be forced by an army of such inferior magnitude as theirs, scarcely amounting to 40,000 men. The depth of the river too at that place was an additional obstacle; and though Morad was for trampling on every difficulty, the prudence of his brother again restrained his impetuosity. A momentary gloom overcast the aspect of both, but genius is fertile of expedients, and perfidy accomplished what force could not. Prevailed on by large bribes, a neighbouring Rajah undertook to conduct his army by secret paths over the mountains that stretch between that spot and Agra. Leaving, therefore, their tents, baggage, and part of their artillery, under a strong guard, to amuse the enemy, that very night the army decamped, performed with rapidity a fatiguing journey of thirty miles, and the next day were discovered by

the scouts of Dara in full march towards the capital. Dara, equally confounded and astonished, with precipitation broke up his camp, and leaving, also, part of his cannon behind him, by forced marches pushed between the enemy and the capital. On the fourth he presented himself in front of the confederates, and on the fifth ordered his army to be formed in battle array.

His artillery was placed in the front, joined together with chains, to prevent the passage of the cavalry of the enemy. Behind the artillery were ranged light camels, mounted with a small swivel, with a man behind to manage it. In the rear were drawn up the musqueteers in three lines, and the two wings were formed of the cavalry, armed with bows and arrows, together with sabres, in the use of which the Indian cavalry are expert. Dara, mounted on a lofty elephant of Ceylon, whence he could command a view of the field, was in the centre, surrounded by his body-guard. Shaista, son of Asoph Jah, had the command of the right wing; that of the left was entrusted to Rustam, a Persian Omrah, and the greatest general of his time. Of the confederate army Morad was requested by Aurungzeb to take the command of the centre; as the post of honour due to the sovereign. The artillery was ranged in the front, opposite to that of the enemy, and, among the engineers who served it, were several Portugueze and other Europeans, lured into his service by high rewards. He took upon himself the command of the right wing, and appointed his son Mahommed to that of the left. According to a recent fashion introduced with effect by Emir Jemla, some concealed field pieces were intermixed among the troops of the Omrahs, a sort of masqued battery; and here and there were stationed persons armed with *Bannes*, a sort of grenado fastened to a stick, which may be hurled among

cavalry to a great distance, while the explosion greatly terrifies the horses, and often kills them.

The firing of Dara's artillery along the whole line announced the battle commenced. It was answered by vollies of shot, and a shower of arrows from the confederates. At this moment a sudden storm of rain poured down, and checked the fury of the combatants. The tempest subsiding, the artillery again began to play, and now was seen Dara aloft on his elephant, resolutely advancing in the centre of the cavalry, and in the very face of the enemy's cannon. Aurungzeb's artillery being much better served than that prince's, did infinite execution among the great bodies of horse that attended his banners, and they were soon thrown into confusion. However Dara, undaunted, continued to advance, animating his troops both by his voice and his actions. Repulsed by repeated vollies they again and again rallied, and at length rushing forward in one vast phalanx, they forced the enemy's artillery, broke the chains that linked them together, and coming up with the central cavalry, commanded by Morad, a mutual and dreadful slaughter commenced. Morad, from his elephant, dealt the arrows of death thick around him, and his troops, though out-numbered three to one, for a long time fought like lions by his side. At length overpowered by multitudes, they were broken, and compelled to retreat. The prince himself, though covered with wounds, disdained to retreat, and ordered his elephant to be urged forward among the thickest of the foe, in hopes of animating his troops to renew the combat, and rally around the standard of their chief. This bold measure had the desired effect. His squadron seeing the enemy surrounding their prince, were ashamed of their terror, and collecting around him, fought with renovated vigour. A daring Indian chief, unable from the height of the elephant to reach Morad with

his sword, cut the pillars that supported the roof of the *Amarī*, or castle, in which he sate, and that falling upon him encumbered him in such a manner as for a time to prevent his exertions. He soon, however, disengaged himself, pierced with an arrow the bold assailant, and the dreadful work of death was renewed. At this instant Mahommed, sent to his assistance by Aurungzeb, though himself severely pressed, coming up with fresh troops, the battle was renewed with redoubled fury, and the imperial squadrons were in their turn repulsed.

Dara himself in the ardour of heated valour had advanced into the heart of the enemy, and was eager to terminate the contest by a personal combat with Aurungzeb. On hearing however of the retreat of his troops before the united exertions of the two princes, he returned, accompanied by a strong body of cavalry, to the support of his repulsed battalions, and re-conducted them against the enemy with such decided success as appeared eventually to promise certain victory. Aurungzeb, in the mean time, attacked on one side by the Moguls, and on the other by the dauntless bands of Rajapouts, who were ever his implacable enemies, from his hostility to their religion, could scarcely keep his troops together by the example of actions the most heroic, and of words the most animating. Seeing them gradually decreasing in number, he called aloud—"Courage, my friends, advance; what hope can there be in flight?" To shew that he himself was determined to perish on the spot rather than fly, called for chains to be fastened to the feet of his elephant: his troops, abashed at these words, once more rallied around his standard, swore to live and die with him, and the contest and the carnage were renewed.

In the field of Indian warfare it has before been observed that every eye is fixed on the general, who, seated conspicuous on

his elephant, from that lofty station beholds and directs the motions of his army. The retreat of that elephant, or the disappearance of that general, is the signal of flight to his troops. While Dara was engaged in thus directing his troops, Shaista the general of his right wing, who having received a grievous outrage from Dara, secretly favoured the cause of Aurungzeb, and had remained inactive during the whole fight, rode rapidly up to the former prince; congratulated him upon his success, assured him that the contest was decided, that the day was his, and advised him to descend from the *Amari*, and mount a horse in pursuit of the routed foe. Dara not suspecting treachery incautiously followed this advice. His troops, no longer seeing him on his elephant, but that animal retreating—supposing he was slain, and that in fact the object for which they were fighting no longer existed, were struck with a sudden panic, and fled tumultuously from the scene of action. Aurungzeb having routed his assailants in another part of the field, now coming up, and joining his forces to those of Morad, fell with fury on the astonished foe, and a complete victory was unexpectedly obtained over an enemy on the very verge of being triumphant. By that fatal step was a great empire lost to Dara, and his military renown for ever tarnished.

Shaista Khan, called Khalil Khan in Bernier, by whose artful manœuvre the battle had been gained, after its termination, received the warmest acknowledgments from the confederate princes, to whose banners their own dispersed army immediately returned, and, soon after, the greatest part of the enemy's crowded with their commanders at their head. No pursuit was attempted beyond the field of battle: near that field they encamped: and Dara, continuing his flight towards Agra, sixteen miles distant, reached that capital in safety. He was overwhelmed with too

much confusion and shame to visit his father; and, fearful of being taken prisoner, at the head of a small party, about midnight, commenced his march for Delhi. The Emperor on hearing of his defeat and flight was penetrated with the deepest affliction, and finding that he had departed without his treasure, sent after him fifty-seven mules laden with gold coin, with an order for all the money in the treasury of Delhi, together with all the horses and elephants in the royal stables. The money sent by the mules was seized, on its way, by banditti. With the help of the treasures collected at Delhi a tolerable army was raised, with which it was the Emperor's recommendation that he should advance along the northern banks of the Ganges, and form a junction with the prince Soliman his son; for to that prince he had dispatched the earliest intelligence of the calamity, with orders for him for that purpose to enter the *Douab*, or interamnian country, watered by the Ganges, and the Jumna.

Soliman, however, was too near and too formidable an object of jealousy to be neglected by Aurungzeb, and, in consequence, soon after the engagement he had dispatched confidential messengers to the two generals of that prince, Rajah Jessing, and Delil Khan, with the information that Dara was utterly defeated; that most of the grea[illegible]rahs had deserted his cause and joined the victorious army; that, to say the truth, Shah Jehan from age and infirmities was no longer fit to govern a great empire; that a successor should be appointed, and that Morad was the most proper person; that to prolong the contest would be a fruitless waste of blood; and he concluded by adding, that if they would seize on Soliman and join him with their army, they should not only keep their commands, but be rewarded with the highest honours of the empire. The two generals on consultation were not averse to joining the confederate princes; but the measure

of seizing Soliman seemed to them too bold and dangerous. They, however, went together and represented to him the desperate state of his affairs; displayed the great power which their recent victory had necessarily given to his uncles; that opposition would, under the present circumstances, prove fruitless; and they recommended him to retire to Serinagur, the Rajah of which country was his friend, and among the mountains of which he would be safe, till an opportunity should occur for descending those mountains, and commencing hostilities with better hopes of success. The prince, absorbed by anxiety for the fate of his father, earnestly solicited them to march to Delhi, and make, at least, one effort for his deliverance; but this they positively refused. Seeing himself surrounded with foes and traitors, he followed the advice of his generals, and ordering his baggage to be packed up, with a few chosen troops commenced his march for the mountains. Those faithless generals had the baseness afterwards to send a considerable body of troops to plunder the baggage of this unfortunate prince. The robbers also brought back an elephant loaded with gold rupees, by which he was driven to the greatest distress in his long and toilsome march. At length he reached the mountains, and found in that desert region a safe asylum from the perfidy and ingratitude of man.

Fully informed by his spies, who were among the first lords of the court, for every body now looked upon Aurungzeb as the sovereign of India, of all the transactions at Agra, on the fourth day after the battle the confederate princes commenced the march for Agra. The capital was in no condition to sustain a siege, and the gates were left open; those of the citadel, which was a place of great strength, were ordered to be kept shut. Aurungzeb, affecting respect for Shah Jehan, declined entering the city, but with Morad encamped in a garden without the

walls. The latter lay ill of his wounds, and the political field was, therefore, not inopportunely left open for his more artful and enterprizing brother. His father was now as perfectly restored to health as his advanced years would admit of. Still considered, therefore, by all but rebels as the only lawful emperor, it might be dangerous, as it was indecent, to force open the gates of the citadel: he determined, therefore, to make use of fraud, where he thought force might fail. His hoary sire, however, was no inapt scholar in that science of stratagem which his son practised so extensively, and was prepared to repel art by art.

In conformity with this plan of deception, when, soon after his arrival, Aurungzeb dispatched to Shah Jehan a confidential messenger to make his respectful submission, he was desired to touch the ground, in his name, with his forehead, and in the strongest terms possible to assure him both of his affection as a son, and his duty as a subject. He was ordered farther to express his extreme sorrow for what had past, which was solely imputable to the ambition of Dara, whose violent and imperious character had forced both Morad and himself into those extremities; finally, that he rejoiced exceedingly at his recovery, and respectfully waited without the city the commands of his father and his sovereign. To this strain of affected attachment and loyalty Shah Jehan with equal sincerity, replied by his favourite daughter, Jehanara Begum, whom he sent on purpose to give weight and veracity to his answer, that he was fully convinced of his zeal and loyalty, as a son and a subject; that he supposed him to have been misled by designing villains, and as he doubted not the contrition he had expressed was sincere, he freely pardoned him. He added, that he could not think thus favourably of Morad, who was an obstinate determined rebel, and had actually proclaimed himself emperor in Guzzurat; but that if he would

desert Morad, he should not only be received with open arms, but whatever he could desire in the empire beneath the throne of his father should be at his command. The artful Fakeer affected to be won over by these words. For himself he declared he had no other ambition than to continue to live as a derveish, retired from man, and devoted to God; that in taking Morad's part against Dara he acted from principle, and under the conviction that the generous and open nature of the former, who was also a good Mussulman, rendered him better calculated for governing a kingdom than the licentious and arbitrary disposition of the latter; that if the Emperor was determined not to revoke his decision in favour of Dara, nobody had a right to control him; and he solemnly promised within two days to wait upon him in person, in order to discuss that important question.

Jehanara, deceived by her brother's vows and his tears, which he could shed at will, hastened to the Emperor with the joyful intelligence, that his gray hairs were not to descend in sorrow to the grave; that Aurungzeb would come in two days and make his submissions; and that their beloved Dara might yet enjoy the throne decreed to him by heaven and his father. But the Emperor had too long and too well known the Fakeer to be himself deceived. Never indeed was a deeper game of duplicity ever before played, or by more experienced masters in the art; for while Aurungzeb was determined that neither Dara nor Morad should sway the imperial sceptre, Shah Jehan was as fully resolved that Aurungzeb, if he entered the gates of the palace, should never go out of them alive. Aurungzeb, in fact, had no real intention of visiting his father. He had ever an active spy in the palace, Roxanara Begum, who was as devoted to his interests as Jehanara was to those of Dara, and she had secretly warned him to beware of treachery, for that as soon as he should

enter the more secluded apartments he would be seized upon by a number of robust Tartar women usually employed in the seraglio, whom he had armed with daggers, and who from the spirit of their country were fit for any desperate measure. After the two days had elapsed, message after message arrived soliciting the promised interview, and stating that his aged sire wished only to embrace his repentant son, and restore him to favour and distinction. That aged sire, however, had at the same time dispatched letters to Dara of a very different stamp, which were intercepted and brought to Aurungzeb. Those letters evinced the unrelenting disposition of his father towards Aurungzeb, and pointed out the necessity of the most active and immediate exertions. At length a day for his coming to the palace was appointed, and Aurungzeb sent his eldest son Mahommed to announce his approach, but confessed, as reports hostile to his safety were in circulation, that unless a small guard were allowed for the protection of his person he could not enter the palace. The request seemed too reasonable to be denied: while a refusal might excite suspicion. A guard, therefore, consisting of a limited number of men, and commanded by his son in person, was permitted previously to enter the gates. The prince, on entering, examined all the avenues with caution, and finding in one of the courts a body of men concealed, complained to the Emperor of an intention to seize his father's person, and declared that unless those men were sent away he would dispatch a messenger to prevent that father from entering the citadel. Shah Jehan, depending probably upon his armed Tartar women, consented to dismiss them. The royal Fakeer had actually set out, and his near approach was announced; when on a sudden, as if seized with a fit of devotion, he ordered the cavalcade to change their course, and move towards the tomb of Akber, where he professed his

intention of offering up his prayers to heaven. This was the signal for action. The prince's party was composed of picked men, inured to danger, whom nothing dismayed. They rushed furiously on the imperial troops that guarded the gates, and overpowered them, though infinitely superior in number. They then opened them to a far greater number of their armed comrades, who were stationed for the purpose without; and these bursting into the fortress soon made themselves masters of the walls and ramparts, while Mahommed with his chosen band took possession of the whole interior of the palace. The Emperor finding himself a prisoner, and fallen into the very snare which he had spread for another, immediately began to vent his rage against Aurungzeb and his perfidious grandson in a torrent of bitter invective. The prince replied not, but, making the usual obeisance, respectfully retired.

Not long after, when the rage of passion had subsided, Shah Jehan sent again for his grandson. The prince obeyed the summons, and found the venerable king sitting in a desponding attitude, with his hand resting on the Koran, and his eye raised upward to the imperial crown, suspended over his head. Pointing to the crown, and firmly grasping the Mahommedan code, he exclaimed, " Mahommed, by these sacred objects I swear, that if, taking compassion on my age and sufferings, you will release me from this prison, I will make you Emperor of Hindostan." The prince, by nature sufficiently ambitious, yet either doubting the emperor's *sincerity*, or his *power* to accomplish what he proposed, or rather, perhaps, fearing the vengeance of an incensed father, remained silent. With many urgent expostulations, he repeated the proposal; and Mahommed appeared agitated by contending passions; at length suddenly starting, as from a reverie, he rushed out of the apartment without uttering a word.

He presently however in his father's name dispatched a messenger to the Emperor desiring him to deliver up the keys of all the gates of the fortress. Shah Jehan, at first, refused compliance; but, after two days delay, surrendered them: at the same time, bidding him acquaint Aurungzeb that he might now, in full security, visit his imprisoned father and sovereign. Aurungzeb, whose insatiable ambition had rendered him callous to the ties of nature, sent an apology, accompanied with hints relative to the recent duplicity which had marked his father's conduct, but added that when he had annihilated the power of his rival Dara, he would himself come and open to him the gates of his prison. He appointed Etbar Khan governor of the fortress; who shut up the emperor together with Begum Saheb and all his women, causing several gates through which there was a possibility of escape to be walled up. Day and night a vigilant guard was placed over him, that he might neither write, nor speak to any body, nor, without permission, quit his apartment.

While Aurungzeb thus audaciously trampled upon the fallen Emperor, he behaved to Morad with that servile adulation which every person but the prince himself perceived to be affected. The better to delude him, and cover his nefarious purposes, he pretended a vehement desire to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was with difficulty persuaded to delay that meritorious journey, till Morad should be firmly seated on the throne by the conquest of Dara. On all occasions he addressed him as the actual Emperor, and the great Omrahs, too obedient to his commands, addressed him in a similar manner; although there were not wanting some among them who cautioned Morad against placing too firm a reliance on his specious pretensions to superior sanctity, the usual mask of the blackest designs. Blinded by ambition and vanity, Morad rejected every friendly hint of

this kind, and being now fully recovered of his wounds prepared to set out with him in pursuit of Dara. Aurungzeb having appointed his uncle Shah Hest Khan, governor of Agra, and taken out of the royal treasury what sums he wanted, the confederate princes proceeded on their march to Delhi. On their arrival at Muttra a grand banquet was provided by Aurungzeb, to which Morad was pressingly invited; and though earnestly solicited by Shabas, master of his household, and other Omrahs, who had now certain proofs of his brother's designs against his life, to refrain from going, the magnanimous prince again rejected the council of his faithful friends, and repaired about the close of eve to his brother's tent. Morad was a voluptuous prince, and whatever could provoke, or gratify, appetite was provided in abundance. After the entertainment some Shiraz wine, of delicious flavour was introduced, and Morad invited to indulge freely in the sparkling beverage, though the rigid Fakeer refused to pollute his lips with the forbidden draught. Ample portions of the same generous and potent liquor were also allowed to the Omrahs his attendants, who were no better Mussulmen than their master. On pretence of business Aurungzeb left the apartment, and the prince soon sunk into a profound sleep. In this situation his sabre and poniard were taken from him. Every previous precaution had been used for the success of the enterprize. Confidential guards had been appointed, and a band of sturdy ruffians waited without. At this moment of slumbering ambition and disarmed fortitude, entered in haste the MAN in whose breast those qualities abounded, mixed with the basest cruelties, and the blackest ingratitude. He spurned with his foot the inebriated prince, and aloud exclaimed, " Is this a conduct becoming a great Emperor? What will the nation think of those who having dethroned one prince for imbecility, suffer their intellects to be

thus wholly overpowered by wine. Morad, thy throne, thy claim to imperial distinction is for ever forfeited. Take this infamous besotted man away; bind him hand and foot, and throw him into that room, there to sleep out his wine." The prince searched in vain for his sword and poniard; five or six persons immediately rushed in, and in spite of all his outcries and opposition, fettered his hands and feet. An escort and an elephant were ready at hand. He was shut up in a covered amari, or castle, and before morning was far advanced on his way to Agra; thence to be conveyed to Gualior, the fatal receptacle of the unfortunate princes of the house of Timur.* This memorable event took place on the 6th of July, 1658.

A considerable body of men under arms, previously stationed near the tent of Aurungzeb, kept, during these transactions, every thing quiet in that quarter. At a distance, diligent emissaries represented matters in so favourable a point of view, as greatly tended to pacify the rising resentment of the soldiers, not a little aided by the promise of the immediate payment of the arrears due to them. Among the officers in general very large presents were distributed, the plunder of the treasury of Agra; and great promotions were made; so that in a short time all irritations were allayed, and Morad with all his good qualities forgotten. Aurungzeb, now at the head of both his own and his brother's army, commenced his march with great rapidity for Delhi, but hearing that Dara had proceeded to Lahore, and determined not to leave another rival in the field, he continued his pursuit beneath the fervour of a vertical sun, with such eagerness that he often advanced almost alone several leagues before the body of his

* The Persian Author translated by Dow differs in many smaller points from Bernier, but in all the main circumstances they agree very exactly. I have endeavoured to give the blended outline of both writers, corrected by the dates of Fraser.

army, drinking unwholesome water, eating the coarsest food, and sleeping on the bare ground, like the meanest soldier. Dara, dreading to be overtaken by his inveterate enemy, quitted Lahore, and turned his course towards Multan, which circumstance gave Aurungzeb great pleasure, since, if he had marched on to Cabul, he would have there found a potent army, designed to guard the frontiers, and commanded by Mohabet, an ancient enemy of his own, who, probably, would have vigorously espoused the cause of his brother. Relaxing now in his impetuous career, and thinking his presence might be necessary at Agra, he dispatched after him Khan Jehan, his favourite and first-made Omrah, with 8000 horse, and returned leisurely to Delhi. Here contemplating the proud success of his ambitious career, he determined to reap the fruits of his crimes by circling his head with the diadem; but this act being so directly contrary to all his professions as a religious devotee, required some management. His most intimate friends, however, who were well acquainted with the secret wishes of his heart, convened an assembly of nobles, and from motives of public necessity proposed that he should be solicited to wear that crown, to the burthen of which no one else was equal, and the glory of which none could so well maintain. As all were alike interested in the event, the proposal was received with acclamation, and they went in a body to the palace to intreat him to be reconciled to imperial honours. For a long time the crafty hypocrite hesitated, and even appeared offended at the request. But when they urged it upon him as a matter of duty, and that the deity might be served as faithfully amid the splendour of a throne, as in the gloom of a cell, he with apparent reluctance consented. In consequence, without any of the pompous ceremonies usual on such occasions, which he affected to despise, and probably *did* in his heart, his object being *power*, not *grandeur*,

Aurungzeb, the humble Fakeer, on the second of August, 1658,* in a full assembly of the nobility, at the town of Azabad, near Delhi, publicly ascended the imperial throne, and as it is usual, on these occasions, to take some pompous title, he assumed that of AULUM-GEER, or CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD, and by that title he was the same day proclaimed Emperor of Hindostan.

* Fraser says he mounted the throne on the 26th of July of this year; but if the seizure of Morad only took place on the 6th of July, sufficient time is not in that case allowed for the intervening events. In this instance therefore I adopt the date of the Persian historian.

CHAPTER III.

The Account of Aurungzeb's Wars with his Brothers continued.—Defeat and Death of Sultan Dara.—Defeat and Death of Sultan Sujah.—Capture of Soliman Shekoh.—Death of Shah Jehan.—Wars in the Deccan, and with Sevajee.—Desperate Illness and Recovery of Aurungzeb.—War with the Patans beyond the Indus.—War with the Rajapouts, and taking of Cheitore.—Renewed Hostilities with Sevajee and the Mahrattas.—Farther Conquests in the Peninsula.—Death and Character of Aurungzeb.

WHEN the intelligence of Aurungzeb's having mounted the throne reached Agra, the governor filled every quarter of the city with public demonstrations of joy. The roll of the drums, the thunder of the artillery which announced that event reached the ear of the Emperor, who, apprehensive that it proclaimed some victory terminated by the death or capture of Dara, anxiously enquired the cause. When informed of the real circumstance, the old man's eyes flashed with rage and resentment. He stood for some time absorbed in profound astonishment. At length he said to his daughter Jehanara, the new Emperor has prematurely mounted his throne. He should have first added to his other crimes the last, the greatest; the murder of a father! After all, however, it must be acknowledged that the means by which Shah Jehan obtained the empire were not more justifiable than those which he so much blamed in Aurungzeb. He waged against his father an unprovoked rebellion, and ascended the throne while its footsteps were yet reeking with the blood of his nearest relatives.

Dara, supposing his indefatigable brother to be still personally

in pursuit of him, directed his course towards Sindi, and taking possession of the strong fortress of Bhakor (Bicker) augmented its already numerous garrison with a considerable detachment of hardy Patans from his army. Having, also, by the promise of high rewards engaged in his service a numerous body of Portugueze, Dutch, and French cannoneers to manage the artillery of that place, he thought it sufficiently secure to deposit his treasures there, which, as he had every where in his progress collected the revenues due to the crown, were now become very considerable. The prince then crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats, and took possession of Sicar, another strong fortress on the opposite bank, whose garrison he also greatly increased. Khan Jehan, in the mean time, was greatly retarded in his pursuit by the annual rains, but still unabatingly persevered, and crossed the Indus after him. Dara stayed only a few days at Sicar, and then descended along the western shore of the Indus to Tatta. That city also, being warmly pursued, in a few days he evacuated, recrossed the river with his harassed troops, and armed with resolution, undaunted amid all difficulties, immediately commenced the dreadful march across the inhospitable deserts of burning sand that stretch between that country and Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzzurat. At the gates of that city he arrived with an army nearly famished with hunger, and quite exhausted with fatigue. Shanavaz, the governor, was the father-in-law of Aurungzeb as well as of Morad, and received him in that wretched condition with at least apparent respect and hospitality. This visit of Dara to the father of his bitterest enemy is unaccountable, except as the result of urgent necessity; especially when we are informed that the latter made him considerable presents, and permitted him to recruit his army in Guzzurat. In the event, however, he betrayed him, and probably, in secret, acted

all along in concert with Aurungzeb. At Ahmedabad we must for the present leave him, as a new rival has started up in the East, and Sultan Sujah has advanced with a great army as far as Allahabad, on his march to dethrone the imperial usurper at Agra.

This prince had in the rich and fertile province of Bengal, which he had so long governed, and with the applause of the inhabitants, soon recovered the loss which he sustained in his contest with Soliman. If he had opposed, with vigour, the claims, the sanctioned claims of an elder brother to the imperial diadem, with what indignant disdain did he behold the bolder pretensions of a younger branch of his house to the same honours? His hypocritical religious fervour excited his contempt, while his multiplied crimes struck him with horror! With activity and vigour proportioned to the emergency, he immediately raised an army formidable for its numbers, if not perfect in discipline, and set out once more with the plea at least of rescuing an aged father from disgrace and captivity. He knew that his brother's faithless treatment of Morad, not less than his cruel conduct to Shah Jehan, had excited against him numerous though silent enemies, and by appearing publicly in arms against the base betrayer, he hoped to secure their decided support. He was also urged on to this early rupture by the conviction that a storm was brooding, which would sooner or later explode over Bengal: it was better to meet its fury at once, than to let it burst upon him unprepared.

Aurungzeb was fully awake to all the dangers of his situation. In the south, Dara was rapidly increasing his army, and extending his influence. Soliman was at Sirinagur, and, protected by its Rajah, was enlisting under his banners the hardy inhabitants of the northern mountains. The Rajapouts, with Jesswunt at their

head, paid him only external reluctant obedience: in their hearts they detested, and with their swords they burned to exterminate, the whole house of Timur. A decisive proof of this their disposition was given in the ensuing engagement. Undismayed by these surrounding perils the EMPEROR, as we must now denominate him, immediately prepared to take the field. He sent orders to his son, Mahommed, at Multan, to join him with all the forces under his command, and to Emir Jemla, on whose military abilities he placed the utmost reliance, to hasten towards Bengal with the veteran troops from Deccan. After strongly reinforcing the garrison of Agra under Shaista, he began to move leisurely down the Jumna to meet the enemy.

Sujah, in the mean time, had advanced from Allahahad, and was encamped in a strong position at a place called KIDGWA, about thirty miles from that station, and near a large tank, or reservoir of water. There, mistrustful of troops, far inferior in discipline and warlike manœuvre to the imperial bands, and wishing on that account to give them every possible advantage, he intrenched himself, and waited the attack of the army, which he learned from his scouts had commenced its march from Agra. The approach of the emperor, however, was designedly slow, to give time for the expected reinforcements to join him. When that junction had taken place, he pressed on to action with rapidity; his son Mahommed commanding the van, which consisted of 5000 horse. The army of Aurungzeb encamped about a mile and an half from that of his brother, and between them lay an extensive plain very proper for a battle. Sujah, however, having a fine train of artillery which defended the front of his camp, and on which he placed great dependence, came not out of his lines. By day-break on the following morning, the imperial army advanced to the attack, but so strongly was Sujah intrenched it was

found impossible to force the lines, while the artillery, well served, did severe execution on the assailing foe. The attack was repeated several times with no better success; and Aurungzeb, repulsed, discomfited, was plunged in the deepest perplexity.

At this important crisis intelligence was brought him that Rajah Jesswunt, who with a large body of Rajapouts had attended him to the field, and even to the attack, had suddenly retreated, and fallen on the baggage in the rear, which he had seized, and was carrying off. A general alarm and tumult pervaded the field; all were anxious to save or recover their property; and whole squadrons gradually disappeared. The army of Sujah now rushed by thousands from their encampment, and, headed by their prince, attacked the enemy with such vigour as compelled them to recede on every side. The carnage was horrible, and the rout of the imperialists seemed inevitable. Aurungzeb, on this occasion, evinced that intrepid firmness in danger which entitles its possessor to empire. He urged on his elephant, bearing the imperial standard, amid the thickest battalions of the enemy, and, excited by his example, the retreating Moguls rallied around their prince. Sujah, exalted on an enormous elephant, espied him at a distance, and was on fire to meet his brother in combat; but the immense throng of elephants and cavalry between them prevented the concussion. In the mean time the driver of the elephant of Aurungzeb is shot through the heart, and he endeavours to guide the animal himself as well as he is able till another can be found to take the station of the deceased. A storm of arrows rains upon him from every quarter; but being in complete armour he heeds them not, and his nervous arm retorts destruction upon the assailants. The animal at length became unmanageable, and began in spite of every exertion of Aurungzeb to retreat. He was just on the point of descending, and one foot was already out of

the amari, when his faithful Jemla, who near at hand, and bravely doing all that could be effected by mortal valour, exclaimed aloud, "Hold, Sir; what are you doing? you descend from a throne, the instant you alight from that elephant." The Emperor, who only meant to descend for the purpose of mounting another elephant, recollecting himself, immediately ordered the chains which are always ready to bind the elephant, when untractable, to be locked round his feet. He now remained immoveable amidst a host of foes; with an undaunted aspect he stood upright in the amari; every eye was upon him and every arm of the enemy was raised against him; a thousand shot rattled around him, but his armour rendered him impervious to their points.

In this extremity, if we are to credit Bernier, himself and his army were snatched from total destruction by the very same stratagem which had lost Dara the field in the moment of victory. It seems scarcely credible that the same error should be committed by two great generals, with the crown of India at stake, and one might suspect that the accounts were confounded. It will be recollected, however, that he was in India soon after, and being in the household of Aurungzeb, enjoyed the best means of ascertaining the truth. But thus it stands recorded in his generally authentic page.

One of Sujah's chief captains, Allaverdi Khan, bribed it is thought by Aurungzeb, observing the general disorder of the field, rode in haste up to that prince, and told him that his remaining longer on his elephant was useless, and only exposing his person to unnecessary danger. "Come down," said he, "in the name of God: the Moguls are flying on all sides; God has made you sovereign of Hindostan; let us pursue these fugitives; let not even Aurungzeb escape us." Sujah in that distracted moment not more considerate than Dara, commits the same fatal error;

he descends and mounts his horse for pursuit. The troops look around for their leader in vain, are struck with terror, and believing him either to be taken prisoner, or slain, disband in great multitudes. So great and general was the defeat, that it was with the utmost difficulty he escaped with life from the field, whence, with all the troops he could collect, he pressed on to the strong fortress of Allahabad.

Aurungzeb was in no condition to pursue the enemy. That night he lay on the field of battle under arms ; and the next morning commenced his return to Agra. He was extremely anxious to get back to that capital, where a report of his entire discomfiture had been circulated by Rajah Jesswunt, on his return to his own country with the plunder of the imperial camp, which had thrown every thing there into confusion. His presence soon restored order to the distracted city, and as he was informed that Sujah was fortifying himself at Allahabad, as soon as a sufficient force could be prepared, he dispatched Emir Jemla, together with his son Mahommed, to carry on the war in that quarter ; the better to stimulate the exertions of Jemla, appointing him governor for life of that populous and flourishing Soubah. Aurungzeb now wrote a respectful letter to his father, mentioning in general terms his victory, but declined visiting him on account of the pressure of public business. Shah Jehan refused to read the letter, and gave it back to the messenger with the silent disdain of an injured father, and an insulted monarch.

The force and influence which Dara had acquired in Guzzurat, with whom the Maha Rajah Jesswunt, enriched by imperial spoils, and many other neighbouring Rajapout princes had made a common cause, had by this time become so formidable to Aurungzeb as to require the utmost exertions of his genius and great military talents to make an effectual resistance. Against Jesswunt, in

particular, for his repeated perfidies, he meditated a deep and exemplary vengeance. At present, however, he had so many enemies to contend with, that it seemed more adviseable, if practicable, to subdue him by that stratagem in which he was so deep a proficient, than to attempt his reduction in the field. He knew his rooted antipathy to the race of Timur, and that in reality, he was no more attached, by principle, to Dara than to himself; but laboured to foment the discords in the royal family, and studied only to add fuel to that *flame* which, he hoped, would eventually extinguish their dynasty in India. He immediately dispatched letters to that chief of the Rajahs, in which as well by the promise of entire forgiveness of what had passed, as the most splendid offers of future reward, he endeavoured to detach him from the cause of his brother. The offence of Jesswunt was of so deep a die, and the chance of Dara's success so uncertain, that he was not long in hesitating to pursue that line which prudence and interest dictated. What, however, made the deepest impression on his mind, was the promise of the Soubahship of Guzzurat, if he would immediately relinquish the rebel banners, and act only a neutral part in this great contest. In consequence, when Dara, in full march for Agra, arrived on the frontiers of Jesswunt's country, expecting to be joined by that Rajah according to his promise with a powerful army, he received only unmeaning compliments, and cold apologies. Unable to conjecture the meaning of this altered conduct in the Rajah, he sent his son to his court, who was treated with distinction and hospitality, but could obtain no satisfactory explanation. Filled equally with grief and indignation, yet above despondence in any calamity, the prince resolutely persevered in his march towards Agra, and in a few days reached Ajmere, about eight days journey from that capital.

Near Ajmere he encamped; and, in a situation remarkably

favourable for the purpose, threw up intrenchments of a very formidable kind, the work of European engineers! At this place he expected to be joined by many Omrahs, his former friends, and others who might yet feel some compassion for the miserable fate of his imprisoned father. The fond hopes of Dara, in this, as in other cases, were wholly disappointed; and as the army of Aurungzeb was only at a short distance, he prepared with vigour, but with very inadequate forces, for that battle which was for ever to decide his fate. The circumstances of this engagement are variously related. I adhere to Bernier's account, as the most authentic, and free from oriental parade. He informs us that the perfidious Shanavas being still with Dara, and high in his confidence, secretly betrayed all his designs to Aurungzeb, who was thus enabled effectually to circumvent them; in particular, he contrived, when the battle commenced, that the artillery, on which he most depended, should be ineffectual. Judiciously placed on an eminence that commanded the field, his cannon were excellently served, and the roar was tremendous, but they did little execution, for the greater part of the pieces were uncharged with ball. An easy entrance was, in consequence, soon obtained by the imperial squadrons into the very heart of his intrenchments, where, astonished and overwhelmed, the troops of Dara were almost unresistingly cut to pieces. The prince himself mounted his elephant, and at the head of a few select bands endeavoured to rally the flying, and inspirit the dismayed. He was himself in the greatest danger of being taken prisoner, when Rajah Jessing, who still retained some respect for the individuals of the royal family, privately sent him intelligence that he was *betrayed*, and desired him to fly for his life. Before, however, he quitted the fatal field, he sought out the false Shahnavas, and sacrificed that lord to his just revenge; at least in this battle he

perished, and Bernier was told by many in India that it was by the hand of Dara himself.*

The plunder of the immense spoil found in his camp so fully occupied the victorious army, that Dara without interruption, at the head of about 2000 men, retraced his steps over the dreary deserts that stretch from Ajmere to Ahmedabad. But though unmolested by the imperial troops, he had to contend, without tents or baggage, which they were compelled to leave behind, with the sultry blast, and the dusty whirlwind, at the hottest season of the year, and with a still more ferocious enemy, the savage race of Coolies, who inhabit those deserts, and are more keen for blood and plunder than the banditti of Arabia. These robbers night and day hang on the rear of his harassed army and rifle and massacre his straggling soldiers without mercy. At length he reaches Ahmedabad, at which place, a new governor having been appointed by Aurungzeb, the gates are shut against him. About this period of his misfortunes he was met by our author Bernier, then travelling to Ahmedabad, whom he saved from assassination by the barbarous Coolies, and who draws an affecting picture of his situation. At length, with about four or five hundred cavaliers he arrives in the territories of Rajah Cutch, deriving his name from the district which he governed, who at first receives him with compassionate kindness, but being afterwards gained over by the emissaries of Aurungzeb, treats him with such marked coldness as induces him to think his person in danger, and he quits his suspected host to encounter new and still greater perils.

The faithful governor whom he had appointed at Bhakor still held out for him against the Mogul general, who could make no impression either by arms, by bribes, or menaces. With a larger

* Bernier's Mogul Empire, tom. i. p. 141, ubi supra.

army he might have raised the siege, but with his handful of men, the attempt would only be rushing on certain ruin: captivity or death must be his instant doom. He, therefore, turned his eye towards Persia, where the illustrious Shah Abbas would doubtless receive the unfortunate heir of a great empire; and happy would it have been for Dara, if, notwithstanding the horrors of the Carmanian deserts which he would have had to brave, he had tried the generosity of Abbas. His favourite high-spirited Sultana, who had heroically attended him in all his difficulties, and shortly after died the victim of them, dissuaded him from that measure as unworthy of Dara. In this deep perplexity he happened to recollect that in those parts there lived a certain Patan chief named Jihon Khan, whose life he had twice saved, when doomed by Shah Jehan to be trodden under the feet of an elephant for various rebellions. To this man, notwithstanding the intreaties of his family, to whom his infamous character was well known, he determined to fly, in the confident hope that, induced by gratitude, if not by compassion, he would furnish him with troops sufficient to raise the siege of Bhakor, where his treasures were deposited, by means of which new armies might soon be levied among the hardy race of Cabul and Candahar, and the sceptre of India be yet torn from the grasp of an usurper.

The scorching sands and whirlwinds of the desert, and the savage ferocity of a professed robber appeared to Dara more safely to be trusted than an obdurate monster, thirsting for fraternal blood! To the residence of Jihon he obstinately resorted, and that chief received him with every appearance of heart-felt gratitude and respect. In the hospitable domain of Jihon, who even gave up his palace for the accommodation of himself and his attendants, the prince for some time reposed from toil, and a gleam of hope seemed to break in upon the settled gloom of his mind. Aurungzeb,

however, was well informed, by his scouts, of the route which he had pursued, and had taken his measures accordingly. In a few days intelligence arrived that Khan Jehan was advancing rapidly with an army from Multan, and soon after his van was actually in the neighbourhood. His toilsome march must now be renewed, and, taking leave of his host, under whose roof the Sultana had died, he resolved finally to make his escape into Persia. He had scarcely proceeded one coss on his disconsolate journey before he perceived Jihon coming after him at the head of a thousand horse at full speed. The prince, surprised but not mistrustful, rode back to meet him, and was about to address him, when he was suddenly surrounded and disarmed. His attendants, by death and desertion, were by this time reduced to too small a number to make any successful resistance, and the prince was seized and bound without a sabre being lifted in his defence. The prince, resigned to his fate, maintained an indignant silence. The perfidious chief was also silent from conscious guilt. Having enriched himself with the plunder of all that remained valuable to his benefactor, he hurried him away to Khan Jehan, who immediately sent both the prince and his betrayer, under a strong escort to Delhi, where Aurungzeb at this time kept his court.

Though that subtile parricide had already, in his own mind, determined on his fate, he thought proper on this occasion to assemble his nobles; and consult them concerning the destiny of his distinguished captive. Some were for his immediate transportation to Gwalior, others were for death, as a matter of state necessity; but all agreed in the expediency of a public exposure of his person in bonds, as a prince fallen from the imperial height, like that Darius, from whom his name was derived, never to rise again. Accordingly, on a day appointed for the purpose, on a lean elephant meanly apparelled, with his son seated by his

side, he was led in melancholy procession through that great and populous city, amidst an immense concourse of its inhabitants, who with tears bewailed his fate, while the conscious skies bore witness to their secret, but cordial execrations poured forth against his tyrannical brother.

After this cruel exhibition, the unfortunate prince, together with his son, was committed a close prisoner to a strong fort in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The traitor Jihon was rewarded with a title and considerable presents, but on his return home fell a sacrifice to the just indignation of the people. That indignation, indeed, soon became so violent and general, that Aurungzeb, alarmed lest a rescue should be attempted, issued orders for completing the dreadful tragedy by the immediate execution of Dara. The charge of the bloody deed was assigned to an Afghan chief, named Nazir, who was known to bear a rooted hatred to Dara. This ruffian, with three others, entering by night the prince's apartment, quickly dispatched him, and bore the head reeking with blood to Aurungzeb, who anxiously waited its arrival. It was so disfigured with clotted blood that he ordered it to be thrown into a charger of water and cleansed. When, freed from the filth, he gazed for some time on the features, and exclaiming " ah, unfortunate man !" burst into tears. He then ordered it to be taken away from his sight, and buried with the body in the tomb of Homaion. The youthful companion of his sorrows was on the following morning conveyed under a strong guard to Gwalior.

As Dara had in some degree shared imperial honours, this lengthened detail of his sufferings was thought proper ; in the history of Sujah, and of Soliman Shekoh the son of Dara, the only remaining obstacles to Aurungzeb's undisturbed possession of the throne, it is necessary to be more concise.

We left the former of those princes with the remains of his routed army, encamped at Allahabad, and Emir Jemla, now governor of Bengal, with Mahommed, at the head of the imperial troops, in full pursuit of him. Apprized of their near approach, and fearful that his retreat to his capital Rajamal, might be cut off by the enemy's passage of the river, either above or below Allahabad, the prince broke up his camp, and retired to Mongeer, an important station, which commands the pass into Bengal. From this station, however, the superior military skill of Jemla contrived to expel without bloodshed the fugitive prince. By a secret road over the mountains adjoining to Mongeer, Jemla entered the province below that post, and was heard of by Sujah in his rear, when he expected to be attacked by him in the front. Sujah decamped with precipitation, and arrived some days before him in the environs of Rajamal, where he again intrenched himself, being still unwilling, with the enervate soldiers of Bengal, to contend in the open field against the more experienced and hardy veterans of the north. Sujah, during his long residence in Bengal, by high rewards had gained over a considerable body of Portugueze, and other engineers, who defended with such vigour the intrenchments which, of old materials, they had so skillfully thrown up, that for six days together Jemla attacked them without success. On the seventh, the fortifications being reduced to ruins, and the post being no longer tenable, he decamped under cover of the night, and, crossing the Ganges with all his army, took the route of Tanda. The annual rains, setting in about this time, put an end for the present to all farther operations.

The proud spirit of the prince Mahommed, who, by the seizure of Shah Jehan, vaunted to have obtained the empire for his father, ill brooked either the control assumed by Jemla over his actions,

or the stern occasional reproofs of that father himself. He was passionately attached to a daughter of Sujah, to whom, before the rupture of the imperial brothers, he had been betrothed. At this great distance from the capital, and at a moment when Jemla was absent from the camp on affairs of importance, the prince took the opportunity to put in practice the scheme he had long meditated, and with a considerable body of friends went over to Sujah, not without very confident hopes that the whole army, when they heard of his recess, would join his standard. In that respect however he was disappointed, and the confusion and dismay to which his flight gave birth, were soon allayed by the speedy return of Jemla, who though filled with extreme astonishment and regret, acted with that decision and vigour which in so desperate an extremity were required. In the mean time, Sujah with rapture received the royal deserter, consented to his immediate nuptials with his beautiful daughter, which were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and constituted him general in chief of his now recruited army.

When the season for military operations arrived, Jemla, determined if possible to bring the enemy to action, and finish the protracted campaign, crossed the Ganges on a bridge of boats, previously prepared, and marched with all his force against Tanda. Mahommed, in the ardour of a mind accustomed to victory, urged his father-in-law to renounce the system of entrenchment, and prepare to risque every thing in a general engagement. Sujah consented, and the prince still fondly expecting to be joined on the day of battle by the greater part of his father's troops, erected his standard in the front of the army, and marched in the centre of the first line. In this hope, however, he was dreadfully disappointed. A large column of horse bearing down upon him, by Jemla's express order, convinced him, by the

warmth and vigour of their assault, how little, except his own valour, he had to depend upon. It availed him greatly in this arduous contest, but he could not infuse any portion of it into the spiritless troops whom he now led to battle. They were of a very different cast from those at the head of which he had been used to fight. The squadrons too sent against him were picked men, and the attack was such as might strike terror into soldiers more valiant and robust than those produced in the enervating climate of Bengal. They were dispersed, and fled at the first onset; and his repeated efforts to rally them were wholly ineffectual. Nor did the daring fortitude of Sujah at all more avail to keep together the battalions which he personally commanded. They were routed and flying in every direction; and it was with the utmost difficulty those two princes escaped being surrounded, and taken prisoners. They urged their flight together to Dacca; the last town of eminence in Bengal, towards that ocean which seemed now to offer the only asylum to the ruined fortunes of Sujah. The conqueror entered Tanda in triumph, and remained there some time to settle the distracted affairs of the province.

Aurungzeb, in the mean time, though greatly enraged at the defection of his son, concealed his resentment, and made use of all that fraudful stratagem of which he was so complete a master, to induce his return to duty and allegiance. In this respect, by means which it would be tedious to specify, he eventually succeeded, and Mahommed, arriving at Agra full of contrition for his offence, was by his unrelenting father immediately sent prisoner for life to Gualior. His unfortunate father-in-law, perpetually harassed by Jemla, was compelled at length to fly, with a few followers still faithful to him, over barren mountains and trackless deserts, into Arracan, where he was at first well received by the prince of the country, but either intimidated by the

menaces of Aurungzeb, or tempted by the great wealth which his guest had brought with him, after some time he withdrew from him his protection, and either effected or connived at the destruction of himself and all his family. The detail of his varied sufferings as given in eastern writers, is long and affecting, and the circumstances of his death are variously related; but we have already dwelt too long on tales of woe, and must return to contemplate the fate of the last of this ill-starred family, Soliman, the son of Dara, whom we left shut up in the mountains of Sirinagur, meditating the delivery of his country, and vengeance for a murdered father.

Having nothing more to fear from Sujah and his rebellious son, yet not thinking his throne secure while that prince survived, Aurungzeb, first by menaces and then by bribes, endeavoured to prevail upon the Rajah of Sirinagur to deliver up that sole remaining obstacle to his complete felicity. His avarice being thus assailed on the one hand, and his fears wrought upon on the other, the Rajah, to avoid the opprobrium of direct treachery, connived at an invasion of his country by the imperial troops, who carried to that mercenary chief the price set upon the head of the prince. Soliman, secretly informed of the perfidy of his host, fled precipitately from his capital; and traversed the vast deserts of that country of rock and storm, till he reached the borders of Great Thibet. His flight however was unavailing before a foe instructed to pursue him, if necessary, to the bounds of Asia itself: he was seized and conveyed to Delhi, bound in fetters of gold. It was necessary that his person should be identified, as the real son of Dara, lest, at some future period, the empire should be convulsed by the appearance of an impostor. When for this purpose, on an appointed day, he was publicly brought into the Hall of Audience, to hear his destiny pronounced, the whole court was struck with astonishment at the

majesty and gracefulness of his person. The great Omrahs lamented his unhappy fate, and the ladies of the haram, who were permitted to view him from behind the screens, could not refrain from shedding tears. Even the iron heart of Aurungzeb seemed for a moment to relent; yet the cruel order for his perpetual imprisonment was issued, and he was that very night, under a strong guard, sent off to pass the remainder of his life with the other princes, at Gualior.

On the throne thus iniquitously obtained by the murder or incarceration of the whole royal family, Aurungzeb sate during a period of nearly 50 years, of which were I to enter minutely into the transactions, this whole volume, already swelling to a great magnitude, would scarcely contain the details. All I can pretend to in this and the following lives of the Mogul Emperors, is to give the leading facts in each reign, and to refer the reader desirous of more extensive information, to the authorities cited in the preceding pages, or those of an equally authentic kind noticed below.*

The fame of the valour and the wisdom of Aurungzeb was by this time spread widely through Asia, and ambassadors from Tartary, from Persia, from Arabia, and even from Ethiopia arrived successively at Delhi, bearing the rarest and richest productions of their respective countries to be laid at the feet of the new emperor. They were received with unusual pomp, and magnificent presents were in return sent to their respective sovereigns. Jemla was for his great and important services elevated to the rank of Visier of the empire, and his son was appointed Bukshi, or commander in chief. In Deccan during the

* Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire; Eradut Khan's History of Aurungzeb's Successors; the Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem; Scott's Dekkan; the History of Gholam Hussain, and other native accounts translated of recent years by our ingenious countrymen in India.

civil convulsions under Mahommed Mauzim, the second son of Aurungzeb, every thing had remained quiet, and Jesswunt Sing still remained viceroy of Guzzurat, the reward of his perfidy to Sultan Dara. Amidst this profound tranquillity Aurungzeb was seized with a dangerous illness, which he bore with heroic fortitude, and to prevent any contention about the succession, should it prove fatal, he had the precaution to have Mauzim proclaimed heir of the empire by the sounding title of Shah Aulum, or king of the world. Notwithstanding this, as a rumour of his death for some time prevailed, several armies were put in motion in different parts of the empire; some to release Shah Jehan, and others in the cause of different individuals of the royal family. Aurungzeb, however, after a desperate struggle at length recovered; and the profound policy by which his life was regulated induced him for the present to refrain from noticing those rebellious movements, though the authors of them at a proper time were not forgotten.

Among those, on more close investigation, was unfortunately numbered the prince himself, who had manifested strong symptoms of a desire to be invested with the imperial regalia at an earlier period than his father and nature designed. In the breast of so jealous a parent as Aurungzeb, in consequence, the affection for Mauzim rapidly declined, and his youngest son, Akber, succeeded to that partial fondness which Mauzim had lost. In short, he resolved in his mind that Akber should be his successor; and as Dara had left a daughter who resided with Shah Jehan at Agra, he sent to solicit her in marriage for his son, with a request that his father would send him some of the crown jewels and the regalia which the old emperor still resolutely detained. A refusal from both was returned. The princess declared she would die a thousand deaths rather than marry the

son of the murderer of her father; and Shah Jehan declared that if he troubled him again respecting the jewels, the hammers were ready that should pound them to dust. At a later period, however, and perhaps on a more submissive application, he sent him a present of jewels and part of the imperial regalia to the value of about 250,000*l*. sterling. The severe illness of Aurungzeb was attended with great debility, increased by his meagre diet, as a Fakeer, from which he never varied, and his physicians recommending the soft and salubrious air of Cashmire for his complete restoration, about the close of the year 1664, he commenced his march, (for the journey of an Indian emperor is always at the head of an army,) for that terrestrial paradise, accompanied by his favourite sister Roxanara Begum. She had ever as faithfully attached herself to him and his fortunes as her sister Jehanara had to Dara and his, and Aurungzeb sensible of what he owed to her penetration and talents for intrigue, when resident at the court of her father, ever treated her in the most affectionate and grateful manner.

The empire remaining in profound peace, Aurungzeb continued to enjoy his delightful retreat at Cashmire during the greater part of the year 1665; but the public business was by no means obstructed by his absence from the capital. Vigour and dispatch marked all his measures. The great Omrahs attended the Presence daily, as at Delhi; and petitions were heard, and causes decided, as usual, by the emperor, sitting on his throne. The officers of every department of the state were constantly employed, and messengers mounted on the fleetest horses were in readiness, at every post, to bear the imperial mandates, to the remotest corners of the empire. Stern in his manners, inflexible in his justice, and with every passion but ambition completely subdued in his own breast, Aurungzeb

made few allowances for the passions and frailties of others. The distant governors trembled at his frown ; and the least deviation from his orders was punished with degradation, or with chains.

About this time perished, at Gualior, Mahommed, the son of Dara, who, together with Morad, was thought to have been dispatched by means of the *poust*, which Bernier describes as a sort of slow poison, made of an infusion of poppies in water, of which the princes confined in that state-prison are compelled to drink each morning, fasting, a copious draught. By this stupifying potion they soon become emaciated, gradually lose their strength and their intellects, and at last, die insensibly. Not long after, that is, in February 1666, Shah Jehan, after an imprisonment of seven years, expired at the Castle of Agra. The severe confinement which he had undergone, together with the concomitant galling reflections on his altered state, had long plunged him into a profound melancholy, which all the fond attentions of his beloved daughter Jehanara availed not to dissipate. This atrabilious disease, combined with the massacre of so many of his family, by the monster who had usurped his throne, at length totally overwhelmed the faculties, and probably ruptured the heart of the once high-minded and magnificent Shah Jehan.

On receiving intelligence of this long-wished for event, Aurungzeb, only recently returned from Cashmire to Delhi, immediately proceeded to Agra, but refrained from entering the castle till he had written a letter to his sister, expressing affected grief for the event, and requesting her permission to visit the castle. Jehanara received her brother with great magnificence, and on his entrance presented him with a large golden bason which contained all the jewels of their deceased father. All due honours were paid to the royal remains, which were solemnly interred in the famous marble mausoleum erected by himself for his beautiful and

favourite wife Taje Mahel. Jehanara was henceforth received, at least apparently, into high favour with her brother, and accompanied him back to Delhi; but died shortly after, and Tavernier, who staid later in India than Bernier, whose narrative concludes in 1666, informs us that every body suspected she was taken off by poison.*

In a preceding portion of this volume,† when giving a summary history of the Mahratta nation, I had occasion to notice the early transactions of Aurungzeb, with the famous Sevajee, the founder of that singular nation; that able and intrepid chieftain, who though at once contending with three potent sovereigns, with Aurungzeb, on the one hand, and the kings of Visiapour and Golconda on the other, had contrived in a few years to found a kingdom extending 340 miles from north to south, and 200 from east to west, in the finest climate of India. The detail of his victories and defeats in this important struggle for empire, and while fighting with those monarchs, would make a large though perhaps not a very entertaining volume, as it must principally consist of accounts of the siege and capture of forts, for, crafty as Aurungzeb himself, he always avoided engagements on the plain, and clung to the hills and rocks among which his daring and congenial spirit was nurtured. On this account, and because the transactions of the Mahratta nation have already prematurely engaged, and will, hereafter, occupy many pages of this work, I shall enter less at large than might be expected into the particulars of their early history. Let it suffice in this place generally to state, that the Mogal Viceroys, numerous and brave as they were, successively detached against this extraordinary man from the neighbouring Soubahs of Guzzurat and the Deccan, though

* Tavernier's Indian Travels, p. 114.

† See chapter iv. of the last book, at page 322.

sometimes crowned with partial victory, were utterly unsuccessful in their attempts wholly to subjugate him, and Aurungzeb in person, at a later period of his protracted reign, found all his high military talents, and deep political intrigues baffled by the more subtle Sevajee. When death, at length, released him of his rival, he could not conceal his joy at that event, but paid a just tribute to his memory by exclaiming, "That man was indeed a great general, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has been always increasing."*

At this time, Rajah Jessing, the former general, being dead, the brave Dellere Khan was at the head of the army of the Deccan, acting alone under the orders of Sultan Mauzim, the governor, and serving as a check upon that ambition which his father, through all his subterfuges, perceived to be the predominant passion of his mind. The king of Visiapour, though so often vanquished, was constantly seeking every opportunity of shaking off the Mogul yoke, and never paid, except when compelled, the stipulated tribute to the throne of Delhi. The situation of his country, amid high and almost inaccessible mountains, abounding in difficult passes, overgrown with lofty woods, and full of fortresses, many of which were in those days deemed impregnable, encouraged his frequent attempts at rebellion, and often screened him from punishment when the Mogul armies were engaged in crushing rebellion on the northern and eastern frontier. The king of Golconda, his firm and constant ally, was in the same predicament, and found money, while the former found men and arms to carry on the war. A few years of peace always recruited

* Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire. p. 95. ubi supra.

the deficiency of riches, and the waste of population induced by the barbarous devastations of these fierce invaders. This will account to the reader for the frequent mention of the alternate revolt and reduction of these refractory tributaries; nor can they be said to be finally subjugated till Aurungzeb, as we shall find, in 1686, marching into the south with the whole power of the empire, put a final period to their dynasties. Attacked by the Mogul generals on the one side, and by Sevajee on the other, who had plundered from him the whole Concan, or western regions of Visiapour, Adil Shah was compelled once more to submit, and pay up his arrears with valuable offerings; as were many other refractory Omrahs and Rajahs bordering on Guzzurat and the Deccan; and Dellere is said this year to have remitted, in jewels and money, nearly two millions sterling to the royal treasury.*

Faithful to the mandate of the Emperor, to watch and report the motions of his ambitious son, that loyal general was shortly afterwards, under false pretences, driven by Mauzim from the Deccan; but was received with open arms by the Emperor, who well knew both his worth, and the weight of his obligations to him. Having not wholly neglected himself while replenishing the treasury of his master, he was affluent, and to his affluence the grateful Aurungzeb added the highest honours of nobility. On the submission also of his son who, in his recent conduct, appeared to have acted rather from avowed hatred to Dellere, than from any determined spirit of disaffection to his father, he was reconciled to him, and continued him in the government of Deccan.

That Deccan, of which so much has been recently said, was, as we have seen, the theatre of Aurungzeb's first exercises in

* Dow, vol. iii. p. 388.

the science of war, the country whence he had led the imperial armies into Visiapour and Golconda, and to occasional conquest amid the mountainous recesses of Sevajee. He had long meditated the conquest of the whole peninsula, and had fully resolved that the sea alone should be the boundary of his dominions in that quarter. An apprehended rupture with the king of Persia, and the hostile movements of the numerous and hardy tribes of Patans who inhabit the mountains beyond the Indus, kept him for the present constantly at Delhi. The origin of the quarrel with Shah Abbas was twofold. Candahar, the perpetual source of contention between the two empires was one; and insults offered to his ambassador at the court of Ispahan constituted the other. With respect to the latter cause of offence, it arose from the mere inadvertence of one of his secretaries, who, in the letter which accompanied the credentials of the ambassador, while he had ostentatiously displayed his own sovereign's assumed title of AULUM-GEER, OR CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD, had addressed the king of Persia by a title far inferior to that of the great Shah-in-Shah, or king of kings, at which the soul of the haughty Abbas took fire. "What," exclaimed that prince, "does THE CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD dare to rank me among his vassals? Haste back to that vile murderer of his family, and be to him the herald of my contempt, my detestation, and my defiance." At the same time he ordered the beard of that lord to be shaved off, (the greatest indignity that can be offered in that country) and dismissed. An apology for the error of the scribe was submitted to by Aurungzeb, but the invective and the defiance were returned. He had long resolved to retake Candahar, and the most vigorous preparations had been made accordingly. Sultan Mauzim was immediately ordered with 20,000 horse to march from Deccan, to the frontiers of Persia, and he himself prepared to

take the field at the head of the whole army of the north. On the other hand Shah Abbas, who would listen to no apologies, as possibly thinking none sincere, had commenced his march for Chorasan at the head of 80,000 horse, and an immense train of artillery, and every thing seemed to forebode a most obstinate and sanguinary contest.

At this crisis of affairs Aurungzeb was alarmed by an imagined conspiracy among the Persian nobles of his court, who were very numerous, wealthy, and powerful, and certainly had not much relish for a Persian war. He was on the point of proceeding to a general massacre of that class of his subjects, and the sword was already brandished over their heads. Fortunately the intercepted letter which gave birth to the suspicion, a letter written to the Visier himself, a *Persian*, by the hand of the Persian monarch, was demonstrated in due time to be one of those state stratagems which Aurungzeb himself had so often used with the same delusive intent to his suspected sons and generals, and a dreadful execution which might have shaken his throne to the foundation was prevented. Aurungzeb had already taken the field, and was far advanced on his march towards Lahore, when intelligence arrived that Abbas, who, though in mind active and vigorous, had been for some time declining in bodily health, had suddenly expired in his camp. This intelligence was followed, after a few days, by an express message from the uncle of that prince, who had taken the command of the army, formally announcing the death of his nephew, leaving solely to Aurungzeb the choice of PEACE, or WAR. Aurungzeb, whose ardour for the Persian war was perhaps a little cooled by what had recently occurred, after due reflection replied, " that he had prepared for war only to repel invasion, and avenge insult; that his own dominions were already sufficiently ample; and that, with the

life of Shah Abbas, his offence was extinguished. If the regent consented, the sword might be sheathed." The proposal was accepted, and the armies of the two powers returned to the capitals of their respective empires. Aurungzeb, however, with his usual foresight, greatly strengthened the garrisons on his western frontiers, and left a considerable force to overawe the discontented Afghan or Patan tribes.

These Patans are the descendants of that valiant race who once conquered Hindostan, and gave a dynasty of kings to Delhi. They are, in all probability, the *Aborigines* of the northern mountainous regions, Gazna, Cabul, and Candahar, which they still inhabit. They hold the Moguls, who under Timur and Baber expelled them from India, in the greatest detestation. Their chiefs are valiant and robust, and have for ages sold their mercenary services to the best bidder. The expectation of a war between Persia and India had put many of their predatory bands on the Indian frontier in motion, and they continued in arms, when the differences that had subsisted between the two empires were adjusted. At length, headed by one Mahommed, who boasted his descent from Alexander the Great and the queen of Transoxiana, they rushed down from the sources of the Attock and Nilab in a body of thirty thousand men, and like the torrents that roll from their native Caucasus bore down all before them. The fertile plains of the Panjab were entirely devastated by these merciless barbarians, who vaunted that they would march to Delhi and dethrone the descendant of Timur.

It was beneath the dignity of an Aurungzeb to advance in person against rebels commanded even by a representative of the king of Macedon. But the squadrons of the imperial army were in readiness, and the march was instantly commenced. Before their arrival, however, Camil the Mogul governor of

Panjab had collected a force sufficient, at least, to check the progress of the insurgents. He drew up his disciplined battalions on the eastern banks of the Nilab; which river Mahommed crossed, at the ferry of Haran, at the head of ten thousand of his best troops, and rushed upon his antagonist with the most daring impetuosity, but with little military skill. The imperial troops bore the rude assault of barbarous valour with calm intrepidity, but repelled it with tenfold effect. It was repeated, and repelled with increased success; the rebel bands being broken by the charge, and thrown into great confusion. Still, however, they disdained to fly, but returning again and again to the attack, with Mahommed at their head, who fought like no fictitious Alexander, made a dreadful slaughter of the imperial troops. Disciplined fortitude, however, at length prevailed. Their strength was exhausted, they were routed, and driven headlong into the river, in whose rapid current the greater part of them were drowned. In the mean time the governor of Cabul with the forces of that Soubah had advanced, and, attacking the enemy in the rear, a complete victory was obtained over the barbarous hordes.

Notwithstanding this signal defeat, when returned to their native mountains, whither they were pursued by the imperial legions that now arrived in great force from Delhi, under the conduct of Mahommed Amin, these resolute banditti again rallied in increasing multitudes, and the banners of no less than three hundred chieftains, the heads of separate clans, dispersed among those mountains, were seen to wave in the air, and bid defiance to invasion. The imperialists, however, with undaunted resolution, clambered up the steep ascents, and stormed the fortresses situated on the most rugged acclivities. Driven back from their strong holds into the subjacent valleys, the insurgents formed again under their intrepid leader, and another general

action, more severe and sanguinary than the last, took place, owing to the increased numbers and desperation of the foe. So immense were their numbers, and so determined their resistance, that the imperialists themselves were at one time on the point of giving way, when a report, not founded in error, that the prince Mahommed was slain, being spread among the Patans, their impetuous courage began to abate. Perceiving this, the Moguls rushed forward, and, charging them with redoubled vigour, drove them a second time from the field, and by a prodigious carnage avenged upon them the deaths of their numerous countrymen, who lay slaughtered around them. Prisoners were made in immense multitudes; the whole of that part of the country which they inhabited was ravaged with fire and sword; and every thing levelled with the ground, but the rocks to which the miserable remainder fled for shelter from the swords of their destroyers.

Such is the account given by the Persian writer in all probability for the reasons alleged in the note below,* extremely exaggerated in favour of the Moguls, for according to Mr. Orme's authorities, Aurungzeb himself was afterwards, in 1673, at the head

* Dow, vol. iii. p. 391. At this period (1669) terminates Mirza Casim's Persian History of Aurungzeb, translated by Dow. Aurungzeb forbad his life to be written, except under his own inspection, and hence the ALLUMGEERNAMA, the work above alluded to, containing the first ten years of his life only, is, as Mr. Orme justly stigmatizes it, a shameless apology for the deposal and imprisonment of his father, and the destruction of his three brothers, with *six* of their sons. Corrected however, throughout by Bernier's impartial history of those events, I trust these pages are not infected by the gross adulation of the ALLUMGEERNAMA. Orme himself collected many historical facts concerning him which are given in his Historical Fragments, and many respecting his wars in Deccan are detailed in Scott's History of that country. To those writers, and the traveller Fryer, we shall principally be indebted for the facts recorded in the succeeding pages of the life of Aurungzeb.

of his whole army compelled to take the field against these discomfited Patans, on an occasion that seemed to threaten the very foundations of his throne. The destruction of Sultan Sujah and all his family in Arracan through the treachery of the prince, has been already stated from authentic documents. The fact of his death however was at the time very much disputed in Hindostan, and he was asserted by many who believed it true, to have made his escape from Arracan, to be still living, and resident in Persia. Whatever was the real fact, the Patan chiefs now produced, as a competitor for the imperial diadem, a person in all respects greatly resembling Sujah, and who they declared was that identical prince, marching towards Delhi to assert his rights, and revenge the murder of his family. The whole nation is affirmed by Mr. Orme to be able to bring into the field 150,000 fighting men, and, if united, from their personal valour and strength, could never have been conquered by the Moguls. A very large proportion of this number, inflamed with the remembrance of ancient wrongs, and the recent massacre, accompanied the fictitious Sujah on his daring expedition. The successes obtained over detached parties, in the preceding campaign, had filled the governor of Peishore with confident hopes of victory, and he crossed the Indus with all his army, intending to force their strong holds in the mountains; but this more numerous and formidable army of Patans inclosed his army among the defiles, and destroyed the whole with their commander. They now marched on unopposed towards Delhi, and publicly proclaimed their adopted champion, Emperor of Hindostan.

Aurungzeb, justly alarmed at the rapid advance of so powerful an enemy, supporting a pretender to his throne, immediately marched out of Delhi, displayed the standard of the empire, and

summoned around it all his banners. To that standard all who dreaded a return of the sanguinary scenes that had recently convulsed the empire quickly resorted, and at length the whole concentrated army, to an amount almost incalculable, arrived at the banks of the Indus towards the close of the year 1674. The vanguard of this mighty host which first crossed the river, was unable to withstand the impetuous attack of the Patan army, and was defeated. The victors with that peculiar inhumanity which distinguishes their nation, put the prisoners, taken on this occasion, to death. That barbarous conduct fired the whole imperial army with indignation, and when their numerous and formidable columns had all passed the stream, that indignation impelled them to the assault with such resistless fury as quickly decided the fortune of the day. Than the contest of that day, though of short duration, no battle more sanguinary had of late years been fought; but the Patans had no leader competent to cope with an Aurungzeb, exerting the full vigour of his talents, and fighting for the crown that trembled on his head. After a desperate struggle for victory, the enemy, broken and dispersed in every direction, again retreated to their strong holds in the mountains, along the whole line of the Paropamisan range, whence issuing in large bodies by night, they made frequent assaults on the enemy's camp, plundering their baggage and cutting off their supplies, by which desultory mode of attack the war was protracted for fifteen months. Numbers, however, in the end prevailed, for the Mogul army was sufficient to *people* the country they attacked; their principal fortresses were taken, their bravest generals slain. The fictitious Emperor at the head of a few chosen followers fled over the mountains into Persia; and the real one, Aurungzeb, having established a chain of posts,

and leaving a sufficient force to defend the conquered country, under the command of a general especially selected, returned in triumph to Delhi, after an absence of two years and three months from that capital.*

After a short repose from the toils of the field, a new campaign of a very different nature, or rather a kind of religious crusade was undertaken by Aurungzeb. Not content with exterminating the Afghan savages of the mountains, he now began with a fury equally implacable to make war upon the superstitions of the Hindoos. Acting in a manner widely different from the indulgent Akber, and his immediate predecessors, in his rage to convert the Hindoos to Mahommedism, the frantic project formed by this sanguinary bigot! he everywhere persecuted the priests, tore down the images, and demolished or violated the temples. At Muttra and at Benares in particular, the two most venerated places of Hindoo devotion, he pulled down the ancient temples, and on their ruins erected mosques of the same height and dimensions: he even proceeded to an atrocity beyond this—indeed beyond all precedent in the annals of sacrilegious barbarity. According to Thevenot there was at Ahmedabad a pagoda of singular beauty, adorned with many statues and other symbols of Hindoo worship. Not content with defacing those offensive sculptures, Aurungzeb well knowing the reverence of the Hindoos for the Cow, (with them a sacred animal,) as well as their abhorrence of shedding blood, caused one of those animals to be introduced within its walls, and ordered its throat to be cut in the very sanctuary.† Goaded to vengeance by these unheard of profanations, as well as by the heavy exactions universally imposed upon them throughout the empire—upon *them*, while his

* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 67, ubi supra.

† Thevenot's Indian Travels, part iii. p. 8.

Mahommedan subjects were but slightly assessed—the whole body of Rajapouts, with the three great Rajahs of Chitore, of Abmir, and of Joudpour, at their head, rushed to arms, breathing war and vengeance. These potent native sovereigns, whose dominions were situated in the very centre of Hindostan, were able, when united, to bring into the field little less than 200,000 fighting men, and against these Aurungzeb, having first summoned to his aid the troops in the distant provinces, marched from Delhi towards the close of the year 1678, at the head of two armies, one commanded by himself in person, the other by his sons, Azem and Akber. He himself, with his division, entered the Rana's country with intent to invest the great and ancient city of Chitore, which had been taken and plundered by Akber a century before,* but had again erected its venerable head among surrounding ruins, and been decorated with many new and sumptuous buildings. In this arduous attempt, having advanced too far, and without proper intelligence, among the defiles of that mountainous region, he got hemmed in with all his army, insuperable precipices obstructing his progress in front, while behind him great trees, felled by the Rajapouts who harassed his rear, blocked up his retreat. In another quarter too Udeperri, the favourite Circassian wife of Aurungzeb, who had accompanied him in this dangerous war, with her whole retinue and escort, was inclosed. By the generosity of the Rana, for which he was afterwards but ill repaid, by the plunder and destruction of his noble capital, both were liberated when wholly in his power; and the Hindoo only requested, in return, that the emperor would refrain from destroying the sacred animals of their religion that might still be left in the plains. Aurungzeb, however, imputing his forbearance to the fear of future vengeance, continued the war with increased acrimony,

* See of this vol. p. 9.

burning and plundering wherever he came; and, in his merciless bigotry, seemed determined to extirpate both the Hindoos and their gods.

In this merciless career of blood, however, he was at length compelled to pause, for, having got a second time into a similar dilemma from which he with the utmost difficulty extricated himself, he then determined no longer personally to expose himself to difficulties beyond his age and constitution, but committing the war to his sons took up his residence with his whole court at Ajmere, whence he could with ease direct their operations against the objects of his vengeance. They continued the campaign in the true spirit of their father, each in a different part of the country, but neither, at the end of the year 1679, had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains.*

In the spring of the following year died the renowned Sevajee, that perpetual thorn in the side of Aurungzeb, with whom either in person or by his lieutenants, he had been at war during his whole life, and to curb whom he had been obliged to keep a regular army constantly in the field. He was succeeded by his son Sambajee, equally invulnerable in the field, and in death itself invincible! The spring of the same year, also, saw the imperial standard exalted on the ramparts of the vast and ruined city of Chitore, which the troops of Azem had taken by surprize, and who, in return for the preservation of the life of his father and the Sultana, again consigned her palaces to plunder, and her temples, and idols to the devouring flames. The city that in western India had continued the sanctuary of the Hindoo religion and government for above a thousand years was indeed taken and despoiled, but the Rana and the Rajapouts were unsubdued. The former had retreated to Joudpour, and the latter in immense

* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 86.

bodies still kept the field, hardy as their rocks, and immoveable as their mountains. At this instant Aurungzeb was doomed to feel a portion of those pangs which his conduct had inflicted on Shah Jehan. His favourite son, Akber, raised the standard of rebellion; and was immediately joined by 30,000 Rajapouts. He proceeded farther; he sent his general, a resolute Patan, to assassinate his father, at midnight, in his camp. The villain had nearly accomplished his purpose, for he had reached the tent wherein Aurungzeb reposed, when he was discovered, and cut to pieces by the guard. The other sons, Sultan Mauzim and Azem, whom Akber equally detested with his father, as alike obstacles to his mounting the throne, immediately hastened to the aid of the Emperor; who had already contrived, by one of those deep-laid stratagems which he so frequently put in practice, to detach from him the great body of the Rajapout army, in consequence of which he retired towards Guzzurat. Sultan Mauzim had orders, with the army under his command, to follow the fugitive prince, whithersoever he fled, and not to quit the pursuit, till he was taken. Akber, however, with 500 faithful attendants, eluded the pursuit, and contrived to reach the dominions of Sambajee, by whom he was kindly received, and with whom, being afterwards reinforced by vast numbers of deserters from the other armies, he united his forces to annoy his father. Thus united, they became indeed formidable, and Sambajee publicly announced his intention of marching with 50,000 horse to Brampore, and there proclaiming him Emperor of the Moguls.

This bold declaration, added to the undaunted character of the chief who made it, inspired Aurungzeb with alarms similar to those which he had experienced on the march towards Delhi of the Patans with the fictitious Sujah at their head. The war with the Rajapouts and idolatry was now become of inferior

consideration, and he readily consented to proposals for an accommodation with the chiefs of that nation. This was effected without the *capitation* tax, which he had laid on the Hindoo devotees being either rescinded, or insisted upon; but not without the surrender of many invaluable districts conquered from the Rana, and the Rajah of Joudpour, by Shah Jehan, and his successor. The three grand imperial armies being now at liberty, commenced their march, and arrived at their places of destination nearly at the same time. Sultan Azem's at Ahmednagar, Mauzim's at Aurungabad, and Aurungzeb's himself at that very capital, Brampore, where his rebellious son was threatened to be proclaimed. The concentrated force of these armies was for nearly three years with various success directed on the land-side against Sambajee, while the Mogul fleets, under the Siddees, furiously but ineffectually attacked his coast. Akber, however, perceiving the utter inability of his protector to place him on the throne of the Moguls, prudently withdrew from the operations of the field, and shortly after retired into Persia, where he married the sister of the reigning monarch, and whence neither the threats nor the promises of Aurungzeb could ever draw him.

During these contests with Sambajee, in 1683 the king of Visiapore died, and Aurungzeb immediately sent Sultan Azem with a great army to seize upon that kingdom, which, together with Golconda and the whole peninsula, he resolved before his return northward should be incorporated with the empire. Though greatly reduced in the extent of his dominions by the inroads of the Moguls and Sambajee, the prince of that country was still formidable; for both MYSORE, *then divided among several Rajahs*, of whom the chief and most considerable was he of Seringapatam, and many other countries to the south and west, were tributaries to that monarch, and the king of Golconda

convinced that the fall of Visiapore would infallibly bring on his own, was ever ready with an overflowing treasury to supply his pecuniary necessities. Azem, in consequence, before the end of June 1684, was, according to Mr. Orme's authorities,* defeated in two pitched battles, by Ballal Khan, the protector of the kingdom during the young king's minority, in the last of which he was dangerously wounded; and his military operations in that quarter were for the present suspended. Great disturbances in the mean time, had arisen in the neighbourhood of Agra and Guzzurat, which were infested by bands of robbers, owing to the Emperor's long residence in the Deccan; and the Rajapouts were again in motion, burning with unsatiated revenge for the unatoned grievances they had endured. No consideration, however, could induce Aurungzeb to drop the project of conquering the remainder of Deccan. He sent detachments sufficient to exterminate the banditti, and keep in check the rebels; but he himself, collecting all his forces, in the following year, marched into Visiapore at the head of an army three times larger than that country could produce, and encamped at no great distance from the capital. Mighty as was his force, yet according to the usual plan of this wonderful man, of preferring, where practicable, stratagem to compulsion, he was lavish of his promises and his treasures among the chief officers of both the government and army of Visiapore, to procure their defection; and by this means in a short time his confidence of ultimate success was so strong, that he detached Sultan Mauzim with a large proportion of the army to attack the king of Golconda, of whose secretly acting in concert with Visiapore and Sambajee he had received authentic intelligence

The reigning sovereign of Golconda, a weak and voluptuous

* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 141.

prince, was entirely governed by two insolent and avaricious Brahmins, hated and despised by the principal nobles, who were Mahommedans, and the particular objects of detestation to Ibrahim Khan, the Captain General. Acquainted with these circumstances, and formed of the same subtle cast of mind with his father, though more generous in his disposition, Sultan Mauzim tried the same experiment on this chief, and many of the discontented Omrahs as Aurungzeb had tried in Visiapore, and speedily procured their defection. Rustum Roy, his general, who succeeded Ibrahim, was neither of such personal valour, nor so expert in arms, as his predecessor, and retreated towards the capital, Hyderabad, of which Mauzim took unresisted possession. The pusillanimous king had long before shut himself up in the fortress of Golconda, which Mauzim immediately invested, and dreading to add a crown to his own reputation, which his father had once attempted, but failed to seize, listened to the overtures of the king, who to preserve his diadem, proffered the humblest submission, with a great quantity of gold, and the most precious diamonds of his mines. Although this was not a *conquest*, but a *compromise;* yet on the terms being referred to Aurungzeb, who was at this time fully occupied in Visiapore, he permitted the prince to conclude them.

By the gradual but certain operation of magnificent largesses, distributed by Aurungzeb among the chiefs of Visiapore, the king of that country found his army so reduced in number, that, selecting that portion of it on which he could place the firmest dependence, he retired into his capital, but not thinking himself safe within its walls, which, however, were capable of resistance, and contained a still stronger citadel, he retreated to a neighbouring fort, situated on an inexpugnable rock, and left his more experienced generals to defend the city. After two or three

vigorous assaults that city surrendered, about the middle of June 1686, and Secunder, the unfortunate young monarch himself, being severely pressed, and seeing no chance of escape, capitulated for the preservation of his life, and the possession of his women and children. He appeared before Aurungzeb in *silver chains*, and humbled himself to the dust in the presence of his haughty victor.

Notwithstanding the terms granted by Aurungzeb to the King of Golconda, terms intended, on the part of the former, at the time, not to be adhered to, he now commenced the march for that capital, against the repeated remonstrances of Sultan Mauzim, who declared aloud that the ambition of the Emperor was about to sacrifice the honour of his son pledged to that monarch. His opposition was so strenuous, that his father put both himself and his two elder sons under arrest, while by a circuitous route, as if on his return to Delhi, he proceeded to the accomplishment of his treacherous project. At Calberga, a fortified city in the direct line of his march, exists one of the most celebrated mosques in all the Deccan, containing the shrine of a Mahommedan saint of renowned sanctity. Aurungzeb requested the King of Golconda's permission to offer up his devotions at this shrine. Permission was immediately given, and a present of 500,000 gold mohurs was at the same time forwarded by the abject monarch. Unappeased by this magnificent offering, the imperial hypocrite, after paying his devotions, advanced from Calberga with all his banners against Golconda. The fortresses in their way were rapidly taken; Rustum Roy, who again commanded the army of Golconda, could make no effectual opposition; and the Mogul army, advancing to its walls, invested that strong fortress in the month of January, 1687. Aurungzeb himself conducted the siege, and fixed his own quarters in the city of Hyderabad.

The walls and ramparts inclosing Golconda are six miles in circumference. Above them is another circuit, narrower, but much stronger; and fashioned in some parts out of the native rock. With immense labour the besiegers raised and carried on a lofty mound or terrace of earth, sufficient for the display of several batteries, until the assailants and defendants were brought to fight on the same level. A vigorous sally of the besieged, in April, enabled them to gain possession of the mound, and they maintained it until they had ruined the batteries, with all the artillery, and part of the mound itself. The rains setting in, shortly after, prevented further operations, and the arrival of Sultan Azem, in August, with fresh troops and artillery, gave new spirits and vigour to the besiegers, while the garrison, who had no provisions against a long siege, nor expected any succours, were struck with proportionate dismay. At length, after bribes properly distributed among the principal commanding officers, on the 27th of September, a general attack was made by night, and the garrison, exhausted by famine and fatigue, after a slight resistance, were overpowered, and for the most part cut in pieces. The unfortunate young king himself, who had taken shelter in the meanest office of his palace, was dragged out of his lurking place before the conqueror, who treated him with marked indignity, and Aurungzeb is even said to have afterwards inflicted the scourge, to extort a discovery of treasures supposed to be concealed.*

* Orme, p. 154; Havart's Golconda, p. 232; Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 74, under the year 1690, which is three years later than the date of Mr. Orme's authorities. but the latter being taken from the Company's annals at Madras are, I think, decisive. A letter from two officers at Golconda to the governor of Madras, dated the 15th of October, 1687, says, "*We are informed this day that the Mogul took Golconda eighteen days since*; and that he has given the Carnatic government to Mahommed

Thus, finally, and for ever, were the once potent kingdoms of Visiapore and Golconda, that had resisted for two centuries all the power of the Delhi monarchs, torn from their ancient Mahommedan sovereigns, and added to the vast empire of the Mogul. To subjugate the other yet unconquered portion of the peninsula was the arduous effort of the remainder of the prolonged life of this indefatigable man ; who, in spite of increasing age and infirmities, for he was now in his 73d year, continued till his death almost constantly in the field. This is principally to be attributed to the rapidly increasing power and number of the Mahratta nation, now burning with implacable revenge on account of his barbarity towards Sambajee, who about this period was betrayed into his hands, and whose melancholy end has been before related.* The Carnatic, of old dependent on Golconda, the Mysore, tributary to Visiapore, and the Rajahs of Tanjore, Tritchinopoly, and other smaller kingdoms, were quickly reduced ; but the Mahrattas under Sahojee, the son of Sambajee, obstinately disputed with the imperial army every foot of ground, and often by daring attacks on their rear, and by cutting off their supplies, reduced them to the greatest straits in a country devastated by perpetual war. We are also informed in the History of Deccan of another reason for the long protraction of the war in that region. It is there stated that the officers and great Omrahs were in general remiss in their military efforts, and purposely prolonged the war in the south, for the sake of the immense plunder to be obtained in those rich and yet unconquered regions ; that if they had performed their duty at the head of such powerful armies as they commanded, the

Ibrahim, who is coming down to possess himself of it." See the notes to Historical Fragments, p. 297.

† See page 325 preceding.

Mahratta power must have been crushed by them with ease, but they feared lest when the Emperor should have finally reduced the peninsula, his restless and indomitable passion for war would induce him to carry his arms to Candahar and Balk, which expeditions were disagreeable to the nobility, who were far from wishing to encounter the hardships of a northern campaign, among a people brave, robust, disciplined to war, and totally destitute of gems and gold; those splendid incentives to a southern one.* From this severe censure must be excluded those great and intrepid generals, Zoolfeccar Khan, and Ghazi-o'deen Khan, names inharmonious perhaps to an European ear, but causing the heart of the valiant in Asia to bound with transport—the latter, the father of the great Nizam-al-Muluck, conspicuous in the van of every battle; the former, general in chief during this extended period, of whom it is recorded that, in the small space of six months, he had no less than nineteen actions with the enemy, and pursued them from place to place, above 3000 coss (6000 miles) in marches and counter-marches.† Into the particulars of these events, however, of neither prominent interest nor magnitude sufficient to engage the attention of the general historian, which occurred between this period and the death of Aurungzeb, it is not necessary for us to enter. Imperiously urged to brevity by the pressure of grand and interesting events, yet unrecorded, we hasten to the termination of a reign in which the chain of important facts, worthy of distinguished notice, closes with the conquest of Golconda.

The great object, upon which so many years of his life had been employed, the reduction of the peninsula being accomplished, exhausted with age and worn, as he himself affectingly says, to skin and bone, Aurungzeb retired, a few weeks previous

* Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 97. † Ibid, p. 109.

to his death, into winter quarters at Ahmednagur. There, finding his dissolution rapidly approaching, at the advanced age of 90, some glimpses of remorse appear to have broken in upon a mind long rendered callous by crimes and blood. There are two letters written by him, a short time before that awful event took place, to his sons Azem and Kambuksh, which display evident symptoms of its perturbed state. They are too important to be omitted, and are inserted below: they are, I presume, verbal translations, but ambition and cruelty may derive from the perusal of them a most impressive lesson. They are the dying declaration of an Aurungzeb!!!*

* *To* AZIM SHAH.

HEALTH to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. *The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire.* My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling, (conscience,) but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. *The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone.* My son, (Kaum Buksh,) though gone towards Visiapore, is still near: and thou, my son, art yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shah Aulum, is far distant; and my grandson, (Azeem Ooshaun,) by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are, like myself, full of affliction; restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. *I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished.* Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensibly incumbent. Give my last benedictions to my grandson, (Bedar Bukht,) whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The

On Friday the 21st of February, 1707, after performing his morning devotions, in company with his attendants, he exclaimed,

foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!

To the Prince KAMBUKSH.

MY son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprizing Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. *Wherever I look, I see nothing but the Divinity!* My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion. The breath which rose, is gone, and left not even hope behind it. *I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishment I may be seized.* Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful, and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azem Shah is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. *The agonies of death come upon me fast.* Bahadur Shah is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindostan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzzurat. Hyaut al Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekhoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. *I am going.* Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself; that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. *No one has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing.**

* See Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 9.

"Oh! that my death may happen on a Friday, for blessed is he who dieth on that day!" Soon after he had occasion to retire. Upon his return towards his bed, he had begun his ablutions, and had made one sprinkling, when suddenly his spirit fled into the boundless expanse of space. His hands remained clasped, and in tremulous motion for some time after he had ceased to breathe.——*

Thus, at an age to which few of the human race attain, the effect of abstinence and activity, expired the merciless destroyer of his family, and scourge of the persecuted Hindoos. For his atrocious conduct to his father, his brothers, and their children, it is impossible to form any apology; his persecution of the Hindoos may be accounted for, though not excused, in the intolerant principles of the Mahommedan faith, of which, whether conscientiously or hypocritically, he through life acted as a rigid devotee. If hypocritically, we cannot but admire the unshaken fortitude with which, during so prolonged a life, he submitted to privations of every kind while presiding in the most luxurious court, and wielding the richest sceptre, of Asia; if solely guided by the dictates of conscience, we are astonished that in other important matters its solemn dictates should have been so entirely disregarded. His diet consisted for the most parts of herbs and pulse; no fermented liquor ever passed his lips; in the pleasures of his seraglio he was, at least, more temperate than his predecessor; keeping, indeed, according to the custom of the Asiatics, a number of women, but rather for ostentation than use. He allowed himself but little time for sleep or meals, and that portion of his active day that was not devoted to the hearing of petitions and other public business in the Hall of Audience, was passed in a perpetual routine of prayer, ablution, and reading

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 10.

the Koran. Except on public festivals the vest he wore seldom exceeded the value of eight rupees; nor were his sash and tiara loaded with jewels. In camp he was the most indefatigable man of his whole army; rising early, retiring late to rest, and in his younger days he generally slept on the bare ground, wrapt up in the skin of a tiger.

Adverting to his more public character, we find Aurungzeb as a sovereign, though deeply stained with blood, yet otherwise endowed with many excellent qualities. He was accomplished in literature beyond most princes of the house of Timur. He was a complete master of the Persian and Arabic languages, and he wrote with fluency that of his ancestors, the Moguls. He patronized and corresponded with learned men throughout his dominions; and wrote with his own hand many of the government dispatches, which were remarkable for their brevity and precision. He erected many schools and universities in different quarters of his empire; stored them with books in every branch of learning; appointed over them the most able masters; and endowed them with competent salaries from the funds of the empire.

By nature of an austere and unsocial disposition, and superstitious by habit, if not from principle, he discouraged gaming and intrigues among the nobles of his court; and the long train of dancers, singers, actors, and buffoons in which his father Shah Jehan took so much delight were banished from his palace, as destructive of morals, and degrading to majesty. His inflexible administration of justice has been already noticed. The highest rank could not arrest, nor even the wealth of Golconda avert, its two-edged sword, when lifted high to strike the guilty head; and the princes, his sons, were no more exempt from punishment than the meanest of his subjects. He seemed to think himself the

only person privileged to commit crimes with impunity, and brave the united vengeance of earth and heaven.

From long experience he was thoroughly versed in the detail of the affairs of his vast empire; from his early youth in full confidence of attaining the diadem, he had formed notes and memoranda, and kept a register of every important transaction, to which he constantly referred. Of the governors of his numerous provinces he was intimately acquainted with the disposition and talents, whether warlike or pacific, and of their conduct in those governments. Of the principal officers of his army, though that army consisted of nearly half a million, he was well acquainted with the respective merits; and of his revenues, amounting to 32 millions sterling, he knew all the particulars of the expenditure. Enormous as they were, they were not idly dissipated, or avariciously hoarded; but seem to have been scrupulously applied to the exigencies of the state. In proof of this it may be urged that at the decease of this master of so many millions, in his private treasury were found no more than 57,382 rupees, or about 7000l. sterling; and this puissant monarch could afford to leave only 125l. to be distributed, in largesses, to the poor who attended his funeral.

With respect to the person of Aurungzeb, the traveller Gemelli, who saw him in 1695, when nearly 80 years old, at his camp in Visiapore, and was admitted to an audience of him, describes him as being of stature rather below the middle size, of a slender make, having an aquiline nose, an olive complexion, like all the other descendants of Timur, and a white beard. He walked, leaning on a staff, formed like a crosier; for age had in some degree bowed his back; but had not dimmed the lustre of his eye. There were in his manners great complacency and affability, and a benignity reigned in his features which we too well know was foreign to his actions, and his heart.

Aurungzeb left three sons, the eldest of whom, Mahommed Mauzim, was, at the time of his father's death, at his government of Cabul. The loyalty of this prince, we have seen in a former page, was not without reason suspected by his father, who had in consequence imprisoned him for six years, but at the expiration of that term had released and pardoned him. Azem, the second surviving son, was with his father in Deccan, and was evidently the favourite. Kambuksh, the youngest, was resident in the newly conquered government of Visiapore. Aurungzeb also left a *short will*,* which, both for its moral and its historical importance, is inserted below, and which, while it demonstrates

* AURUNGZEB'S LAST WILL.

I came empty-handed into the world, and empty-handed I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate children shall chance to rule the empire, let him not molest Mahommed Kambuksh, should he rest contented with the two new Soubahs.*

There cannot be a better Vizier than Emir-al-Omra.

Let all the King's servants be true and faithful to Mahommed Azem Shah.

Whoever shall chance to have the empire, let him not turn out or molest those born or bred up in my house.

If the division I formerly made proves agreeable to my children, it will prevent a great deal of confusion and bloodshed.

There are two imperial seats, Agra and Delhi; whoever settles in Agra may have the province thereof, Deccan, Malva, and Guzzurat.

And who resides at Delhi may have Cabul and the other provinces.

I came naked into the world, and naked I go out of it. Let no ensigns or royal pomp accompany my funeral; let Hamid-o'din-Khan, who is faithful and trusty, convey my corpse to the place of Shah Zen-al-din, and make a tomb for it, in the same manner as is done for Derveishes;† let not my fortunate children give themselves any concern about a monument.

There is in my private treasury 57,382 rupees;‡ let 1000 rupees§ be distributed among the poor at my funeral.||

* The two new Soubahs are Visiapore aud Hyderabad, so called, as being lately conquered by Aurungzeb.

† The tombs for Derveishes are made low and plain, without any manner of ornament.

‡ 7172*l.* 15*s.* § 125*l.* || Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 37.

his wishes in regard to their future destiny, manifestly expresses his apprehension that a civil war would take place between them. He appears, however, in this instance, to have been deserted by his usual foresight and sagacity; for by not resolutely appointing either Mauzim or Azem his successor in the empire, he seems himself to have lighted the fatal brand whose flames consumed his progeny.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Printed by W. Bulmer and Co.
Cleveland-row, St. James's.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA;

BRINGING THAT

HISTORY DOWN TO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1788,

WHEN THE

IMPERIAL MOGUL DYNASTY,

BY THE BLINDING AND DETHRONEMENT

OF

SHAH AULUM,

VIRTUALLY BECAME EXTINCT.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S;
AND SOLD BY J. WHITE, FLEET-STREET.
1810.

PREFACE.

I HAVE at length the honour of presenting to the public the concluding pages of the History of Hindostan, brought down to the year of our Lord 1788, when the late Shah Aulum was blinded and dethroned, and the glory of the Mogul Dynasty, a race of princes who had swayed its imperial sceptre during a period of nearly 300 years, became utterly extinguished! This portion of its history will be found by no means the least interesting; and I have only to lament that it makes its appearance before the public so late, and in this supplemental form. It was impossible, consistently with other occupations, earlier to complete the arduous work, and the form is that which necessity dictated. This concluding portion being of so slender a bulk, it was thought proper to carry on the pages from the former volume, in order that, by those who please, it may be bound up with it. The work, however, is distinct and complete in itself; containing the final section of the History, from the death of Aurungzeb to the subversion of the Mogul empire.

In this latter period of the Indian history, it was necessary to have recourse to an infinite variety of works, published both in Europe and Asia, of which the most important are occasionally pointed out in the notes; but it was deemed useless to burthen

the page with multiplied references on subjects so recent. It may be proper, however, to inform the reader, that the basis of what is here submitted to his candid consideration is a work written in Persian, by an author mentioned in the letter to me from Sir W. Jones, inserted below, GHOLAM HOSSAIN KHAN, a native nobleman of Bahar, and the title of it is SEIR MUTAKHAREEN, or a View of Modern Times.*

* This letter was an answer to one which I had sent him, containing proposals for a General History of India; but upon a more limited scale than that upon which I was afterwards encouraged to undertake it.

Chrishna-Nagar, 10th October, 1790.

Dear Sir,

It is not possible for me to forget the pleasure which I have received from your conversation, and the opinion which I always entertained of your parts and industry. The arduous undertaking, of which I have just perused the plan, fully justifies my opinion; but I am so oppressed with a heavy arrear of business, that I cannot write at large on the subject of it. I will desire my agent in London to subscribe for me, and will do all I can to promote the subscription here. Such is the expense of printing at Calcutta, that it would cost thirty pounds sterling to reprint the pamphlet; but the proposals shall be reprinted, and carefully circulated. I am confideut that you might learn Persian in six months, (if you have not learned it already,) so well at least as to read the original text of FERISHTA, whose work, with submission, is very *highly esteemed* by all learned Indians and Indian scholars. To an historian I must express every truth, even though friendship might induce me to conceal it; * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. Let me, at the same time, exhort you not wholly to rely on *my* authority; for, though I have diligently avoided errors, yet I have made many: for instance, *Por*, a word which I found for *Porus* in the Shah Nameh, is, I now find, pronounced *Pur*, or *Poor*, by the native Persians; and I have reason to believe, from Sanscrit authorities, that the true name of that prince was PAURAVA. If you read Persian, Mr. Boughton Rouse will, I dare say, lend you the Modern History of India, by GHOLAM HOSSAIN. Farewell, my Dear Sir, and believe me to be, with great regard,

Your ever faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

It must ever be a subject of deep regret to me, that I did not on the receipt of that letter resolutely sit down, and make myself master of the Persian language, at least so far (to use the President's words) as to translate Ferishta. But at the time of life at which I received that advice it is rather irksome to return to the Grammar, and Persian books, and MSS. were not quite so common as, happily for Eastern literature, they are at present. I had, also, at that period, the honour of being known to some distinguished Persian scholars, who, on my solicitation, would at any time have translated for me any difficult passages in Ferishta, or Hossain. Both those authors, however, had been already translated; sufficiently well for all the purposes of general history; and the reader will be pleased constantly to bear in mind that it is the grand *outline*, the *leading incidents* only of the Indian History which I have attempted to pourtray and record in a regular and connected manner; not with a view to inform Indian scholars, but to gratify individuals, unlearned in the lore of Brahma, to whom such a connected history was a *desideratum*. Colonel Dow's translation of the former is not destitute of elegance; but, unfortunately, that o fHossain by Mustapha, a Frenchman, converted to Mahommedism, and settled in Bengal, is in that respect greatly deficient. Facts, however, were my object; I cared little about the vehicle in which they were conveyed; and from the specimen of those parts of the original author with which Colonel Scott has obliged the public, however defective the language, and, sometimes, even the grammar of Mustapha may prove, the facts themselves, in general, seem to be narrated with fidelity.

This work of Gholam Hossain* commences at the death of

* The Persian original is in two folio volumes; the English version in three quarto volumes, price TEN GUINEAS! Calcutta printed, 1788.

Aurungzeb, with which event my second volume concluded, and carries us down through *seven* reigns of Mogul emperors, the seven last emperors; if indeed, after the calamitous visitation of Nadir Shah, the term *emperor* may with any propriety be used. The names of those emperors are Bahadur, Jehandur, Ferokhseer, Mahommed Shah, Ahmed Shah, Aulumgeer, and Shah Aulum; for Hossain seems not to have numbered among the legitimate sovereigns of Hindostan the two young and unfortunate princes, for a few months exalted to the imperial musnud, after the death of Ferokhseer, by the rebel Seyds.

The same work, also, contains what I am given to understand from very respectable authority is a tolerably impartial account of English transactions in India. That circumstance, however, was not of very material importance to this history, for though I have brought the Mogul annals down nearly to the close of the 18th century, I found myself compelled by the forcible arguments adduced in page 639 following, to decline bringing the military transactions of the English in Coromandel lower down in time than the expulsion of the French from Pondicherry in 1761; and those of Bengal, posterior to the important period of the appointment of the Company to the Duanny, in 1765. Of so extensive, various, and complicated a nature are those details it was found by the lowest computation, as there truly stated, that they could not be comprised in less than two large additional volumes, and the leading facts are already before the public in a variety of very esteemed publications, for the most part composed by the Company's civil or military officers on the spot.

After all I must be allowed to observe, that, however important these events of a century or two back may appear, and are in fact to us, as Britons, they are still but of inferior

moment, of subordinate interest, when compared with the great line and majestic march of its genuine history, which is principally concerned, in recording the struggles for empire, through a series of ages of the two great powers, HINDOO and MAHOMMEDAN. We have seen and traced those mighty struggles from the first invasion of India, by the generals of the Caliph Valid in the eighth century, nearly three hundred years before Ferishta's history of the Gaznavide sovereigns commences, and have brought them regularly down to the last dreadful battle of Paniput, illumining and expanding, as we proceeded, the narration of Ferishta, by the information derived from Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, Al Makin, Mirkhond, and the native historians of Gengis, of Timur, of Nadir Shah, and Abdallah.

The more ancient of these valuable Persian and Arabian authors had already been presented to the public, with elegant Latin versions, by Pocock, Erpenius, Reiske, Gagnier, and other learned orientalists of the last century; were procured by me with much difficulty; at great expense; and perused with that attention, which was necessary to prepare me to write on the subject of an Asiatic history. For India, in fact, constitutes so large a portion of Asia, and has been for so many ages the object of plunder to the most celebrated warriors of the East, that its history on the large scale, as well ancient as modern, naturally embraces a very considerable proportion of that of the continent on which it stands. The adventurous author therefore, who engages in that history, must be provided with materials proportionate to the magnitude and extent of his subject.

Whoever will please to consult my list of books expressly collected for the purpose, and inserted in the first Volume of Indian Antiquities, (edited so far back as 1792) will find these

authors, besides an infinity of others scarcely less rare or costly, with the dates of their respective editions, as here enumerated.

Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani, Auctore J. S. Bayer,	Petropoli, 1738.
Abulfedæ Annales Muslemici, Arab. et Lat. 5 tom.	Hafniæ, 1789.
Abulfaragii Hist. Dynast. Arab. et Lat. Pocockii, quarto,	Oxon. 1663.
Abulfaragii Specimen Hist. Arab. Opera Pocockii, quarto,	Oxon. 1659.
Al Makin's Hist. Saracenica, Studio Erpenii, quarto,	Lugd. Bat. 1625.
Ulug Beg's Epochæ Celebriores et Chorasmia,	Oxford, 1650.
Abulgazi Bahadur Khan's Hist. Genealog. des Tartars, octavo,	Leyden, 1726.
Maffeii Historia Indica, folio,	Amsterdam, 1589.
Abulfedæ Vita Mohammedis, Studio Johannis Gagnier, folio,	Oxon. 1723.
Historia Priorum Regum Persarum, Mirkhond.	Viennæ, 1782.
Sherefeddin's Life of Timur Bec, by M. Petit le Croix, 2 vols. octavo,	Lond. 1723.
M. Petit le Croix Hist. of Gengis Khan, octavo,	Lond. 1722.
Mirkhond's History of Persia, octavo,	Lond. 1715.
Dr. White's Institutes of Timur, Persian and English, quarto,	Oxon. 1783.
Ahmed Arabsaidæ (Ahmed Arabshah) Vitæ, et Rerum Gestarum Timuri, Hist. Arabicè et Latinè, Opera S. N. Manger, 3 vols. quarto,	Leovardiæ, 1767

A short account of each of these works, and their authors, is given in the prefatory chapter of the second book of this history,* under date A.D. 600, previously to my commencing the history of the Mahommedan invasions.

It is not from ostentation that I have ventured to mention these facts, and appealed to these early and incontrovertible testimonies of my zeal and diligence, but to vindicate myself from the charge brought against me by certain Reviewers, of having undertaken to write a history without any knowledge of the subject. Of however little value my continued labours, at once injurious to my health, and ruinous to my circumstances, may appear in certain quarters, my exertions at this period of the history so forcibly struck Dr. White, the Arabick professor

* See Modern History, Vol. I. p. 168.

at Oxford, that in a letter addressed to me soon after the publication of my first Volume in 1804, he condescended to encourage me to proceed, in terms almost too flattering to be repeated. His very friendly letter concluded with these words, " Your Modern History of Hindostan is, in my opinion, a performance of unrivalled merit. It is at once, most classically elegant, most truly judicious, and most highly interesting."

Thus much for Mussulman and other writers, from the age of Mahommed downwards. I agree in opinion with the Reviewers, above alluded to, that the Modern History of India properly begins at the period of their earliest invasion of that country, and the term Classical History of India, which I had applied to the period terminating with the death of Alexander, should have been continued down to the birth of the Arabian impostor. In this division of the work I stand before a higher tribunal than the Judicature of Bengal, and with confidence, because I am not conscious of having neglected to take the advantage of any light that could be thrown on the history of India by classical writers from Herodotus to Cosmas, or of having omitted to compare their accounts with whatever has been yet published from Sanscrit sources of information in Europe. The cause of this portion of the work appearing of such limited extent and inferior importance, notwithstanding it embraces several centuries, arises from this circumstance, that, in composing it, I adhered closely to *historical fact*, although, by intermingling, as has usually been done by preceding anthors on India, elaborate descriptions of the arts, the sciences, the civil and religions institutions of the Indians, with the substance of the history, I might have swelled this particular portion of the work to an immense bulk. I had, however, previously in

a manner exhausted that subject, and thrown the whole mass of information derived from that source into the volumes of Indian Antiquities. This was done at a very early period of the undertaking by the advice of a Person of very distinguished rank in life and literature, and whose own Lectures on Modern History, which I attended at Oxford, would, if published, reflect upon him the highest honour. It was the decided opinion of this accomplished judge of historical composition, that I should avoid incumbering the page with matter not immediately relevant to the history; but clear my way by throwing every thing of that kind, arranged under their proper heads, into previous *dissertations*, which readers might consult at their pleasure. "If you do not this," added he, "you may depend upon it your book will lose half its interest, and will probably be condemned to moulder on the shelves of your bookseller." This advice gave birth in my mind to the first idea of composing the Indian Antiquities, and if the public have been at all gratified by that publication, they are indebted for that gratification to the present Right Honourable and learned Judge of the Admiralty Court. This advice was obligingly accompanied by a list of subscribers to the intended publication of the very first rank in literature, among whom were Mr. Windham and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Shortly after, the gentleman mentioned in Sir William Jones's letter, Mr. Boughton Rouse, brought me another splendid list of names, with the great Edmund Burke at their head, with the addition of some friendly hints from Mr. Burke, upon which I also improved.*

* Mr. Burke, among other things, objected to the title of my book, which at first ran thus, "The History of Hindostan, Sanscreet and Classical, FROM THE BIRTH OF BRAHMA." I explained my meaning to him afterwards in a personal con-

On this interesting subject of the highly flattering encouragement, afforded to this work at its commencement, as I am not likely very soon to appear again as an historian, before the public, I must beg permission to be a little more diffuse.

The anarchical and turbulent times in which these volumes successively made their appearance must ever be remembered, *nor is the danger perhaps yet entirely over*. They were deemed important towards checking the progress of Gallic scepticism, which had erected on the debateable ground of India, and its presumed unfathomable antiquity, its loftiest standard of defiance; and had they not been checked, that ambitious nation would, by this time, probably have planted standards there of a more permanent, they could not of a more fatal, kind. Animated by the genuine spirit of patriotism, several of the greatest and best men of the age stood forward to befriend my infant undertaking. Among these it would be the basest ingratitude to omit mentioning a *third* list, which rapidly followed, the spontaneous generosity of the honourable and ever to be lamented Mr. Elliot, brother-in-law of Mr. PITT, with the respected name of that great statesman, Mr. Thelluson, Mr. Thornton, and some others; a *fourth*, still more numerous, of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, at that time Speaker of the House of Commons; the munificent goodness of Earls Spencer, Carysfort, and several other noblemen; and the continued friendly offices of the Editors of the British Critic. Nor will the pride of virtuous and gratified ambition permit me to be silent in regard to the

ference, that the Hindoos had various systems of the cosmogony, but that the present was the "Lotos Creation," that is to say, our system commenced at the epoch when Brahma burst from the egg recumbent upon the Lotos that floated on the primordial waters. He was still dissatisfied, and said, "it would appear *affected*." I instantly, therefore, expunged the obnoxious words.

honourable public testimonies in my favour of the learned, but *still* unknown author of the Pursuits of Literature; of that excellent scholar and prelate the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in his Elements of Christian Theology; and that still more substantial proof of desert, the LETTER sent by the late venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, and that most eminent and able judge of classical excellence, the late Earl of Rosslyn, to the East India Directors, in the most express terms recommending my undertaking to the patronage of the Court.

As this was the only instance ever known of such an application in favour of an individual to a great Commercial Company by two such distinguished characters, the one at the head of the Church, and the other of the Law of this country, my hopes were naturally raised to a high pitch; and though by the result not fully gratified, they were not wholly disappointed! I beg respectfully to state, that I still encourage hopes, from the justice and liberality of the Company, that the Letter in question, which still stands on their books, may finally obtain for my advancing years, some more ample remuneration than it was thought proper at that time to grant, (200*l.*) towards the completion of a work which, with the maps and engravings that illustrate it, has cost many thousands. Nearly twenty years of the best portion of life have been consumed in the composition of this work, and nearly the whole of a not very extensive income has been devoted to its completion, during a series of years in which, unfortunately for me, all the materials of printing have gradually advanced to treble their value at the period of its commencement.

But retrospects are unavailing; it is now completed, and on the comprehensive plan upon which I proposed to execute it, consisting of, 1. THE ANCIENT INDIA, in two volumes, quarto,

with eighteen illustrative engravings. 2. THE MODERN INDIA, also in two quarto volumes, together with this Supplement, and a coloured map of India, by Arrowsmith, according to its latest divisions. And lastly, though first published, THE INDIAN ANTIQUITIES, in seven volumes, octavo, with thirty engravings on quarto plates. This latter work, I must again observe, is an essential appendage to the Ancient India; the contents of those volumes must be considered as illustrations of that work,* and it ought properly to have appeared in a quarto form, to bind up uniformly with the volumes with which they are so inseparably connected.

That a work of this magnitude and extent, and in its early portions so abstruse and intricate, should have been accomplished by an individual, not only unassisted, but pertinaciously obstructed, amidst increasing difficulty and unmerited obloquy, will, by all considerate persons, be thought of as it deserves. However neglected by the present age, when party rage and jealous competition shall be extinguished in the grave, posterity will do justice to my page; and to posterity I appeal with the confidence of a man who has, at least *endeavoured* to merit the applause of his country.

* It may be agreeable to some of the encouragers of this work, to know that an effort of that kind was, some time ago, made; but from the enormous expence attending it, the project was relinquished, when one large volume, elegantly printed by Bulmer, and comprehending nearly three of the octavo volumes, was completed. The whole now remains in that imperfect state, in Mr. Faulder's possession.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA.

Retrospective moral View of Events in the preceding Reign.—Dreadful Battle between the Sultans Mauzim and Azem.—Mauzim victorious, Azem killed—the former ascends the Throne by the name of BAHADUR SHAH.—*The new Emperor marches into Deccan, where his younger Brother, Sultan* KAMBUKSH, *had taken up arms to oppose him.—A Battle ensues, and* KAMBUKSH *is slain.—Origin and History of the* SEIKS.—*The Emperor marches against them; is taken suddenly ill, and dies after a short Reign of six years.—Succeeded by* JEHANDER SHAH, *a weak effeminate Prince, deposed by the* SEYDS.—FURRUKSEER, *who granted their* FIRMAUN *to the English East India Company, deposed and murdered by the same Omrahs.*—RAFFEIH AL DIRJAT *shares the same melancholy Fate.*—RAFFEIH AL DOWLAT, *an Infant, escapes a violent, by a natural, Death.*—MAHOMMED SHAH *vanquishes the* SEYDS, *and restores the imperial Authority.*

THE very singular fact of Aurungzeb having been treated at various periods of his reign with the same marked disobedience as a father, and the same disloyalty, as a sovereign, by four out of his five sons, which Shah Jehan had experienced from himself, is a circumstance that exhibits a memorable proof of the just dispensations of divine Providence. Mahommed, engaged in open rebellion, perished at Gualior. Mauzim, repeatedly im-

plicated in rebellious projects, was imprisoned for six years in Deccan, and had just obtained his liberty when Gemelli visited Aurungzeb's camp in 1695. Fear probably dictated his being sent to Cabul, and kept at as great a distance as possible from the Presence. Akber, the beloved Akber, still more keenly wounded the feelings of his father, by joining the forces of Sambajee, his bitterest enemy! He fled to Ispahan and *died* there in the year preceding the death of his father.* Azem had plotted with his relative the King of Visiapore, previous to the final conquest of that kingdom; but being restored to favour, had ever after maintained unshaken loyalty and affection. Kambuksh, too, the youngest, was deeply infected with the ambition of his brothers, but being yet young, had committed no open act of disloyalty against his father. The preceding pages display to us a dreadful picture of crimes and consequent punishment; and hold up an awful lesson to filial ingratitude and disobedience.

The same indomitable spirit of ambition that led his father to spurn at a divided empire, induced Sultan Azem immediately to commence his march for Agra and Delhi, where he hoped to seize the imperial treasures; nor would he listen to the very generous overtures made him by his elder brother towards an accommodation. A long and severe imprisonment had taught the latter, during his father's life time, the useful doctrine of disguising his sentiments; and one of his own nobles, Eradut Khan, declares it to have been universally reported, under the sanction of the prince himself, that rather than harass the kingdom by new contentions for imperial honours, he would retire into Persia. The jealous Emperor's death, having freed him from restraint, Mauzim also, without delay began his march from Cabul for Delhi and Agra; and by the strenuous exertions

* This fact is asserted in Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 122.

of his wise and faithful minister, Monauím Khan, in whose praises our author is lavish, every means of expeditious advance being rapidly prepared, the treasures both of Delhi and Agra, that had been collecting since the time of Akber, were fortunately secured to him who, as the elder son, seemed to have the greatest claim to them, " treasures that might enable him to support, if he chose, all the troops to be levied in the empire."*

The rival armies met at the river Chambul, which Mauzim had placed in his rear, and seldom in India have two such mighty hosts appeared in arms against each other. That of Mauzim consisted of 170,000 horse and 150,000 foot, 3000 elephants, and 3000 pieces of cannon;† and that of Azem was little inferior; but it will be recollected that the two princes shared between them the collective forces of the empire, and with the followers and attendants their armies together must have amounted to a million. The battle was fought on the 9th of June 1707, and maintained with an obstinacy equal to the importance of the contest. In fact, the princes fought for the sovereignty of an empire, at that time in extent and wealth unrivalled; their attendants for their ALL. Most of the great Omrahs who had served under Aurungzeb displayed their standards in the line of Mahommed Azem, and the greater part of them fell, together with the two elder sons of Azem. Nevertheless, Azem stood his ground until he was left with only 6000 horse, which were surrounded by ten times the number, when, to avoid the disaster of captivity, and the remembrance of this fatal day, he stabbed himself to the

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 42.

† These numbers may appear improbable, but they are stated to have been of this vast amount both by Orme and Fraser. (Orme's Fragments, p. 307. Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 39.) That of the elephants is least credible, as scarcely half of the number ever appeared at one time in the field.

heart with his poniard. No victory could be more decisive, and Mauzim immediately mounted the throne, and was proclaimed Emperor by the assumed name of Bahadûr Shah, which he had taken before he left Cabul.

Vengeance, however, still cried from the ground on account of the accumulated murders of Aurungzeb, and another victim was yet demanded from his family to satisfy omnipotent justice. It has been already stated, that a few days before his death he had dispatched Kambuksh " his son, nearest to his heart," being his youngest, and by his favourite Circassian wife, to Visiapore, and his will enjoins that he shall not be molested, if he rested content with that Soubah and Golconda ; a third portion certainly, and not the least abundant in riches, of his immense empire. Kambuksh, however, inflamed with even more ardour than his brother Azem for independence, immediately on his arrival at his government, ordered himself to be proclaimed Emperor in the *Kootba,* or public prayers, and coins to be struck in his own name, the decided token of royal distinction. Hurried away by ambition and all the headstrong passions of youth, his conduct is represented by our historian as almost bordering on insanity; on the slightest suspicion devoting to tortures and even to death the most beautiful women of his haram, his most tried friends, and his most faithful servants.* Notwithstanding this intemperate conduct of Kambuksh, as he was the beloved son of Aurungzeb, and invested by that prince himself with the southern governments, the most powerful nobles of Deccan, whether Mussulmans or Hindoos, at first enlisted under his banners ; but his perseverance in these atrocious measures soon lost him their support, and the greater part of them retired in disgust to their own districts, where they fortified themselves in the best manner

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 31.

they were able till this contest for the throne should be decided.

Taking advantage of the distracted state of public affairs about this time, also, many of the Rajapouts began to manifest symptoms of disaffection. Indignation at the unrelenting severity with which both their religion and themselves had been treated by Aurungzeb still burned in their bosoms, and they panted to retaliate on the race of Timur the series of injuries under which they had groaned for so many ages. Powerfully impelled by these circumstances, the new Emperor commenced his march for Deccan at the head of an army superior in number by 100,000 men to that which had accompanied his father thither; all the princes of the empire and a vast concourse of nobility attending in his train. Kambuksh had left Visiapore, and encamped at Hyderabad, and Bahadur, anxious to reclaim his brother without having recourse to arms would advance no farther than Aurungabad, whence he wrote to him letters, couched in the most importunate and affectionate terms, requesting that, if possible, their differences might be adjusted, without the shedding of any more fraternal blood. In addition to the two provinces he offered to confer upon him the Nizamut of the Deccan, with unlimited authority in the south, the revenues of all which united, he observed, were equal to half of the revenues of the empire itself. He concluded by declaring that if he assented to this generous proposal he would, after paying a visit to the hallowed tomb of their father, return with all his forces to Hindostan.*

Callous to all the kindness, and deaf to all the remonstrances of his brother, Kambuksh continued his preparations for war with increased activity and vigonr. Independently of the natural

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 34.

impetuosity of his disposition, which disposed him for war rather than peace, he was induced by some religious impostors who had found their way into his court, to believe that destiny had decreed him the empire; and that, in urging his claims, though millions opposed him in battle, he would be invincible. His enthusiastic confidence in the venal predictions of these hypocritical fakeers urged him on to the field, and though deserted by all the Omrahs of ancient family and military renown, who were disgusted with his folly, his tyranny, and his insane reveries, the rash prince, with scarcely twenty thousand men, resolved to risque a general engagement, opposed to an army of ten times that amount. Bahadur, finding every effort towards reconciliation ineffectual, had now advanced within twelve coss of Hyderabad, but still anxious to avoid coming to extremities, employed his faithful Vizier Monauim Khan, by large bribes, and the assurance of the Emperor's forgiveness and favour, to detach from him the few chiefs who yet lingered in his train. His principal generals, Rustum Dill Khan, Syef Khan, and even his foster-brother, Meer Mulling, had resolved to come over, and embrace the protection thus offered; but Kambuksh having gained intelligence of their intended flight, had them all seized and put to death on the same day and hour, and confiscated their effects. Scarcely ten thousand troops now remained with him, and those of the worst Deccan horse, mutinous for pay, and more zealous to plunder their master, than attack the enemy: at the head of this rabble he marched out of Hyderabad, and encamped on a plain three coss from it, in sight of the imperial army.

With difficulty the amiable Emperor restrained his myriads from that assault which must in an instant have overwhelmed his unfortunate brother; but Zoolfeccar, who had not been used to this kind of warfare, and who had long cherished an enmity

against the misguided prince, determined to put an end to it by surrounding and seizing him. With these intentions, but without imparting them to the Emperor, he asked and obtained permission to reconnoitre the enemy, and took care to have with him a detachment sufficiently strong to effect his purpose without the risque of a battle. Kambuksh, however, on the approach of this force, although treble the amount of that under his command, immediately prepared for action, but was almost instantly deserted by his cowardly bands, who took to flight in every direction. A few personal attendants alone remained with the infatuated prince, and from the centre of these, seated on his elephant, with his bow and arrows he dealt destruction on the surrounding foe. Irritated by his obstinate and frantic defence, the assailants discharged several arrows at him, till at length he sunk down on his seat through loss of blood, was taken prisoner, and carried to the imperial tents, where, pale and bleeding, he was placed on a bed adjoining the royal apartments. An affecting scene now took place. The Emperor with benignity and compassion in his looks, and attended by his sons, entered and endeavoured to soothe and console him by every expression of affectionate concern. He remained for a long time sullen, and silent; and though the physicians and surgeons of the household attended, he obstinately refused to have his wounds dressed, though earnestly solicited both by his majesty and his sons. They were mortal, however, and no aid could have availed him. To a variety of questions, put to him with much tender solicitude by his nephews, he returned answers neither kind, nor conciliating. He seemed to think their presence and their queries an intrusion on his dying moments. At length, turning to the Emperor, he said, " there are in a casket upon my elephant some valuable jewels of our

father and my own, of which I beg your majesty's acceptance." After this, he grew faint, and languished in silence till nine at night, when he expired without a groan.

Thus perished the youngest and favourite son of Aurungzeb, the victim of that ambition, and probably also of that *supersti-tion*, which he inherited from his father. Aurungzeb in the letter to him before cited evidently alludes to his headstrong turbulent disposition, which he in vain endeavoured to restrain. In other respects he is said to have been a very accomplished prince. He had an excellent memory, was familiar with the authors, and elegantly wrote the dialects, of Asia. But his passions at times were so boisterous as to disorder his understanding, and he fell a victim to their ungovernable fury.

Having thus successfully concluded the war with his brother, and having paid his devoirs at the tomb of Aurungzeb, at Hyderabad, Bahadur resolved to turn his arms against the Rajapouts, who from the long absence of the imperial troops were in a state bordering on rebellion. The two chiefs of that unconquerable nation had recently strengthened their alliance by an intermarriage ; the Rajah Jey Sing having espoused the daughter of Ajeet Sing ; and every circumstance seemed to fore-bode the renewal of those hostilities that devastated India in the reign of Aurungzeb. Just on the eve of this dreadful flame breaking out circumstances arose that imperiously demanded the Emperor's presence in a very distant quarter of the empire, and it became necessary to postpone for a time the vengeance about to be poured on the determined enemies of the house of Timur. Intelligence about this time arrived that the SEIKS had risen in the north in great force, and were ravaging without con-troul the whole country from the Indus to the Jumna. Of this SECT and NATION, which about this period first began to be

formidable, the following summary account from an authentic source may be acceptable to the reader.

The Seiks are a tribe of Hindoos, who profess to worship one Invisible Being, omnipotent, omnipresent, and whom they consider as degraded by any similitude or images. In truth, both in theory and practice, they are pure theists. They are descended from one Naneek of the Kattry or war-cast, who flourished in the province of Lahore towards the close of the 15th century, and who from his eminent piety, and superior talents, was reverenced as a sort of prophet among them. Their Gooroos, or chiefs, of which they enumerate a long succession, seem also to have been invested with a character both sacred and military, as was anciently the case among many eastern people ; at once priests and soldiers. Like the present Hindoos, they are perfectly tolerant in matters of faith ; though unlike them the Seiks admit of proselytes, which is doubtless one reason of their rapid increase as a people ; since proselytes are made without any other ceremony than an oath, binding them to civil and religious obedience. They abhor, however, the multiplicity of idols displayed in their temples, even though attempted to be apologized for under the mild denomination *of the attributes of the deity personified.* The sacred volumes that contain their theological doctrines are written partly in Sanscreet, and partly in a character invented by Naneek himself.*

For a long period, equally inoffensive in their tenets and blameless in their manners, they remained undisturbed by the Mahommedan governors of Lahore and Multan, where they principally abounded ; but their numbers vastly increasing, especially during the latter period of the reign of Aurungzeb, and

* See Mr. Wilkins's account of the Seiks in Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 289. Calcutta edition.

with their *numbers* their *power*, during the long absence in Deccan of the imperial army; in short, a religious sect becoming gradually converted into a nation of warriors, hardy from their climate, mounted on fleet horses, and panting for independence, it was absolutely necessary to adopt the most instantaneous and vigorous measures for their reduction. Under their present Gooroo or chief, they had extended their ravages on both banks of the Jumna, and the inhabitants of Delhi itself were struck with consternation. Filled with implacable hatred against the Mahommedans, and with detestation of their religious principles, they every where insulted and plundered them; levelling their mosques, and burning their palaces. The governor of Sirhind at the head of the provincial troops had marched against the marauders, but had been defeated and killed. Their wide devastations and cruel excesses, the result of both political and religious rancour, were only to be checked by the Emperor in person, and therefore, for the present, compromising matters in the best manner possible with the Rajapout chiefs, and having conferred on Zoolfeccar the vice-royalty of Deccan, who governed it by deputy, he hastened northward with all his forces. Passing by Agra and Delhi, without entering either of those capitals, he in a short time arrived at Sirhind, where the rebels were collected in great force. On the approach, however, of the imperial army they retired to Daber, the original residence of their chief, where they fortified themselves as strongly as possible. Daber is situated on the summit of a rocky mountain, and round it, at different heights, the greatest part of the rebel army had encamped, secure as they thought amidst its rugged precipices and frightful cavities that seemed to forbid the approach of an enemy. The Emperor stationed his army around the foot of the mountain, and resolved to lie inactive for some

time before the enemy, in the hope of rendering them confident, and tempting them to risque an engagement. The ardour of the Mogul troops frustrated his intention, for the Vizier having obtained permission with a considerable detachment to reconnoitre the enemy's position, although positively forbidden to make an assault, yet being extremely galled by the fire from the cannon of the fort, as well as by the discharge of rockets and musquetry, both general and soldiers became to the last degree irritated, rushed on impetuously to the attack, clambered up the most difficult heights, penetrated the deepest defiles, and drove the astonished enemy before them with the greatest rapidity under the very walls of the fort. Here, firmly concentrated, the rebel bands made a desperate resistance, and night coming on only suspended, but did not terminate, the contest. It was renewed with the earliest dawn; and the remainder of the army having now, by exertions equally laborious, joined their valiant comrades, a dreadful and general slaughter commenced, no mercy being shewn to wretches who had evinced none. They were cut off to a man. The fort was afterwards taken by storm, and all within it also put to death; but the wily Gooroo, who knew the intricate windings of the hills among which Daber is situated, disguised like a Yogee, had made his escape in the night, and fled by a secret path to the snowy mountains. The Vizier who had vowed to bring him dead or alive, to the Emperor, as some atonement for his disobedience of orders, was so mortified by the disappointment as well as by the cold reception of his sovereign, after deeds of valour that deserved so warm an one, that he shortly after fell ill, and is supposed to have died of a broken heart.*

The terrible example thus made of so large a portion of their

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 64.

nation seems not to have had the effect of reducing the Seiks to entire obedience, since, though the resolution of Bahadar to extirpate the Rajapouts remained still unshaken, and he had not yet visited either of his capitals Agra or Delhi, we find him residing at Lahore, most probably to overawe them, and settle the affairs of the northern provinces, in general, till the time of his death, which took place suddenly, and not without suspicion of poison, in 1712. From the vigour with which his reign commenced, from his acknowledged abilities, and the general excellence of his character, if that reign had been prolonged, Bahadur would probably have fixed the empire upon a solid basis, and rendered its glory permanent; but now a dreadful scene of destruction is to take place, and royal blood to flow in still deeper currents. Imperial fratricide, blood-stained Fakeer! look up from thy tomb of affected humility, and view the long train of disasters which thy crimes have entailed on thy miserable descendants!

Bahadur left four sons, fired with all the ambition of their family, to contest the vacant throne; their names and characters are thus designated by their historian, Eradut Khan. Jehaundar Shah, the eldest, was a weak man, the votary of pleasure, who gave himself no concern about state affairs. Azem Ooshawn, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners, and of much experience. He had been a favourite of Aurungzeb, who in his deep political craft had opposed him to his father, Shah Aulum, and had given him the rich governments of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, where he had amassed immense wealth, and whence he had now arrived at the head of a formidable army to dispute the empire with his three brothers, leagued against him. Raffeih Ooshawn, the companion and favourite of his father, was a man of abilities, but greatly addicted to pleasure. He paid no attention

to public affairs nor even to those of his own household. Jehaun Shah, the youngest, was a consummate statesman, on whom, both before and after his father's accession, a considerable share of the public business had devolved, and seemed most worthy to wield the imperial sceptre.* Such were the personages who were about to enter on the field of sanguinary warfare for the crown of Hindostan. The account of Eradut Khan, who was an eye-witness, is exceedingly curious; according to him, the contest commenced in the following manner.

While Bahadur lay expiring, the princes and ladies of the court made continual lamentations round his bed. It happened one day, that, as Jehaundar and Azem Ooshawn were sitting near it, the latter, perceiving under a corner of the pillow a dagger of very exquisite workmanship, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned, and the water of the blade. Upon his drawing it from the scabbard, Jehaundar, jealous of his brother, was seized with a panic; he started up, and retired with such precipitation, that he struck the turban from his head against the door of the tent, forgot his slippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being assisted to rise and adjust his dress by his servants, who were astonished at his strange actions and appearance, he rode off to his tents with the utmost possible speed. His report of his intended assassination, though none was meant, by Azem, roused and united all his brothers in arms. They hastened to the field, determined to conquer, or perish. In fact, the riches and power of Azem Ooshawn had long raised against him the enmity and jealousy of his brethren, who had, for their general safety, formed a compact to support each other. The ameer al omra had formerly been disgusted with some conduct of Azem Ooshawn,

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 45.

from which time he had courted alternately Raffeh and Jehaun Shah. On this occasion, he swore to assist the three brothers in effecting the destruction of Azem Ooshawn, and make an equal division of the empire and royal treasures among them.*

This ameer al omrah was Zoolfecar Khan, whom we have seen fighting under the banners of his protector Aurungzeb, leading his armies to victory, and now his grand-children to slaughter in furious contest, which, instead of inflaming, he ought to have repressed; a contest in which *three* out of the *four* are doomed to perish. The particulars are given at length in Eradut Khan, but are too long to be detailed here: they are summarily as follows. Azem Ooshawn being in the possession of the imperial treasures, as well as those which he had brought from Bengal, hoped to secure the throne by bribery. Instead, therefore, of coming to immediate action with his brothers, he intrenched himself in his camp, and suffered them at the outset by his inaction to gain very important advantages over him. He is at length compelled to engage them, is deserted by his troops, and sinks down covered with wounds, upon his elephant, in which situation the elephant, frantic from the anguish of its own wounds, hurries him off the field, and both are supposed to have perished in the rapid stream of the Rauvi, which washes Lahore. Jehaun Shah, by whose skill and bravery, principally, aided by Zoolfecar, the battle was gained, now calls upon Zoolfecar to perform his plighted promise of equitably dividing the empire and the treasures, declaring himself ready to submit to his decision. Faithless to that promise, Zoolfecar had privately resolved to seat Jehaundar on the throne without a rival, " as he was a weak prince, fond of his pleasures, averse from business, and consequently best suited

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 64.

to the purpose of a minister ambitious of uncontrolled power." With this view, he, on various pretences, delays making a division of the treasure, and at length openly avows his intentions in favour of Jehaundar. A second battle ensues, in which Jehaun Shah is killed by a musket shot while fighting against a host of foes headed by the traitor Zoolfecar. His son, a prince finely accomplished, who sat behind him on the same elephant, descended and fought with his scymeter, till he could stand no longer, and then sunk down, weltering in his blood!

There now remained no other rivals for the empire than Jehaundar, and Raffeh Ooshawn. As Zoolfecar, during the life of the late Emperor, had been under the greatest obligations to the latter, he made no doubt of himself being the decided object of his choice for the vacant throne. Zoolfecar, however, remained firm to the interest of Jehaundar; a third battle was fought, in which Raffeh Ooshawn met in the field with the same shameful desertion and ingratitude, which had been fatal to his brothers, and he died with their lion-like courage. "The unhappy prince," says our historian, "surrounded by his enemies on all sides, regarding the honour and reputation of the family of Timur, notwithstanding his delicacy and seeming effeminate softness, threw himself from his elephant, and, drawing the SABRE OF GLORY FROM THE SCABBARD OF HONOUR, fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants. But what could he effect, fighting singly against so many? He was soon hewed down with repeated wounds, and resigned his breath to him who gave it. Jehaundar Shah now sounded the march of victory and unrivalled empire. He permitted the mangled bodies of his martyred and more worthy brothers to be kept three days on the field of battle, exposed to public view. They were afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and interred without ceremony or pomp, in

the mausoleum of the emperor Humaioon, the general receptacle of the murdered princes of the imperial family. The mausolea which they had erected for themselves, near the tombs of their favourite saints, of marble, jasper, and other rich stones, were bestowed on the minions of Lall Koor, a public dancer, and mistress to the weak Jehaundar Shah."*

JEHAUNDAR SHAH.

The perfidious Zoolfecar having now exalted his imperial puppet beyond the power of a rival, assumed the chief administration of affairs, and acted in the most cruel and tyrannical manner; degrading and putting to death the ancient nobility, and plundering the opulent without mercy. Nurtured in the school of war, accustomed to deeds of daring ferocity, when so long opposed to the Mahrattas in the mountains of Gaut, and the dauntless bands of Rajapouts, combating for life and religion in the deserts of Ajmere, he brought into the cabinet all the turbulent ambition of the soldier, and ruled only by the sword. His principal aim seemed to be to heap up immense masses of wealth, not to bestow in generous munificence on the friendless and destitute, but to glut the eye, and fill the grasp of insatiable avarice; for even his sycophant dependents suffered the pressure of poverty, and though he conferred titles on many, he allowed jaghires to none. All orders and descriptions of men, the rich whom he had robbed, and the poor whom he had trampled, Hindoos and Mussulmans, alike sent up their prayers to heaven for the downfall of Zoolfecar.

With respect to Jehaundar himself, he was a disgrace to the name of monarch, and to the house of Timur. With intellects little superior to those of an ideot, indolent in his habits, and effeminate in his person; so that his treasury was kept full,

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 79.

which was artfully contrived by the extortions of Zoolfecar, and was one end of them; so that his table was supplied with the choicest dainties, and his haram well stored with Circassian women, he was indifferent to the concerns of government. "He made," as Eradut Khan indignantly exclaims, "the vast empire of Hindostan an offering to the foolish whims of a public courtezan. The relations, friends and minions of the mistress, usurped absolute authority in the state; and high offices, great titles, and unreasonable grants from the imperial domains, were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. Two crores of rupees, that is, two millions sterling, annually, were settled for the household expences of the mistress only, exclusive of her clothes and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchased, agreeably to caprice, sometimes jewels, gold, silks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the most trifling articles. A woman named Zohera, keeper of a green-stall, one of Lall Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a suitable jaghire, and her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they used to promote the interests of the courtiers, for large bribes: nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and sacrificing decency to present advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whose gates were more crowded with equipages in general than those of the imperial palace. The ridiculous jaunts of the emperor and his mistress at last grew to such a height, that on a certain night, after spending the day in debauchery, and visiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the house of one of her acquaintance who sold spirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large sum, and *the grant of a village*, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace,

and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women; but the emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the machine, carried it to the stables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the Emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at the distance of nearly two miles from the palace."*

Compared with the high and dignified deportment on the Mogul throne, of the more virtuous sovereigns of the race of Timur, how infinitely degrading was this conduct in one of that illustrious line! There can scarcely exist a doubt but that Zoolfecar, who must have despised this silly pageant of his usurped authority, only suffered him to fill that throne until he could by heaping up sufficient wealth raise an army to secure it for himself. His own conduct, however, though in a different line, was equally disgusting, and a powerful party of discontented Omrahs were acting in secret to undermine both the silly monarch and his guilty minister. At the head of this party were two nobles, brothers, of uncommon wealth and influence, called Seyd Abdollah Khan, and Seyd Hossain Khan. They had both been firmly attached to, and had faithfully served, the late Emperor, whose son, Azem Ooshawn had rewarded them, the former with the government of Allahabad, and the latter with the province of Bahar. On his death and the consequent troubles they had both raised, with the imperial revenues, considerable bodies of troops, as well for their own safety as that of the countries they governed: at least, such

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 82.

was their pretence. Their known attachment, however, to Azem Ooshawn, and his father rendering their motives for arming suspected, Jehaundar Shah had appointed another governor to Allahabad, whom Abdollah had opposed, defeated, and driven back. One only son survived to Ooshawn, named Furrukseer, who resided in Bengal, and to him the eyes of the dissatisfied omrahs of Delhi were turned. The chiefs above-mentioned, whose resentment the court by subsequent favours had in vain endeavoured to appease, heartily joined in the projected revolution, and united their forces to raise Furrukseer to that throne which his father had lost. The standard of rebellion being thus raised in Bengal, multitudes daily flocked to it, and the prince, accompanied by the Seyds, moved towards Agra amidst the acclamations of an indignant people, who were filled with equal detestation at an ideot king, and a sanguinary minister.

At the height of his abused authority, and in the midst of his debaucheries, a report being suddenly propagated at Delhi that Furrukseer was in full march for the capital, with intent to revenge his father's death, and seize the throne, the whole court was struck with consternation. The great power and wealth of the Seyds too were well known, and firmauns containing additional grants and mighty promises were dispatched without delay, to secure their loyalty, or if engaged in the rebel cause, to detach them from it. Their choice, however, was irrevocably fixed. A body of the imperial troops being put in motion, the ameer al omrah fearing to leave the whole power in the hands of his enemies, refused to take the command of them; and at length, in the distracted councils of the moment, it was resolved to place at the head of them, AIZ AD DIEN, eldest son of Jehaundar Shah, quite a youth, under the tutelage of Dowran Khan, and other officers, not much more experienced than himself. On the

army's arrival at Agra it received considerable reinforcements, but not of the most formidable description of soldiers; and the march was continued to Kidgwa, where the great battle before described between Aurungzeb and Sultan Sujah was fought. At this spot Furrukseer and the two Seyds had previously arrived with an army consisting of about 70,000 horse and foot, mostly adventurers, and hoping to benefit themselves by a revolution.

Abdollah Khan, accompanied by some other officers, going out early the next morning to reconnoitre the enemy's position, was attacked by a party of royalists, which brought on a partial action, and afterwards a cannonade on both sides, which lasted till evening; and at midnight the young prince and his general, Dowran, magnanimously fled in a woman's covered pallankin, nor stopped till they arrived at Agra. In the morning, when the army found themselves deserted by their chief, the greater part enlisted under the banners of Furrukseer; and the rest disbanded. On receiving intelligence of this disaster, Jehaundar took the field in person, and moved towards Agra, where a large army was soon collected by a lavish expenditure of the royal treasures that had been accumulating there from the time of Shah Jehan. Formidable by their numbers, and not deficient in valour and discipline, for many of them were veteran soldiers, and had fought under Aurungzeb, if attachment to the royal cause had not been wanting, they probably would have triumphed over the insurgents: but the great Omrahs had for the most part been disgusted by the absurd and tyrannical conduct of the court, and, when the two armies at length met on the banks of the Jumna, the contest was neither long nor arduous. Zoolfecar, indeed, at the head of a few determined battalions, displayed his usual courage as a man, and his abilities as a commander; but the great body of the army was soon broken by the resolute and repeated charges of the Seyds,

and Furrukseer in person, who pierced through to their artillery, near which Jehaundar had taken his station, but which was deserted as they approached. The terrified Emperor immediately sought safety in flight, and disappearing from his elephant, the route became general and complete. Amidst this scene of dismay and confusion, the ameer-al-omrah bravely stood his ground till darkness covered the field; he then slowly retired to Shaw Gunge, near the city, where he remained till midnight, dispatching messengers on all sides in search of the Emperor, in the hope, if he could be found, of rallying the troops, and renewing the attack the next morning. Jehaundar however was not to be found, and Zoolfecar, with the remainder of the army, marched towards Delhi. Thither, also, Furrukseer with his victorious army, immediately directed his progress, and was, by his two protectors, elevated to the throne of Timur. The wretched Jehaundar was afterwards taken, having in vain disguised himself by shaving off his beard and whiskers, and was strangled in prison. Thus every one of the four brothers, who had contended for the empire, fell in his turn the victim of that insatiable ambition which had been the occasion of so profusely shedding the blood of the race of Timur; and, in the end, Zoolfecar himself, the fomenter of their disputes, miserably perished by the same fatal bow-string. As a public example, at once, of imperial imbecility, and of great abilities prostituted to the basest purposes, their bodies were afterwards tied together, and with their heads downwards, slung across an elephant, in which condition they were exposed to public view, when the new Emperor made his triumphal entry into Delhi.*

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, page final.

FURRUKSEER.

Furrukseer, often written Feroksere, grandson of Bahadur, and great grandson of Aurungzeb, being firmly seated on the throne, appointed Abdollah Seyd his Vizier, and raised his brother Hossain to the rank of Ameer al Omrah. For a long time these powerful nobles, as well on account of their distinguished stations in the realm, as of the weight of obligation by which Furrukseer was bound to them, were suffered to have the sole administration of public affairs. Like their predecessors however in power, in every age and country, they grossly abused this delegated authority, and Furrukseer too soon found himself fettered by even more oppressive bonds than Jehaundar himself. Although not of brilliant abilities, he possessed a mind far more vigorous than the dethroned monarch, and by separating the brothers, he hoped to weaken their power and influence in the state. As, therefore, during the desolating wars that had recently taken place between the sons and the grandsons of Aurungzeb, the Rajapouts, and in particular, the Maharajah himself, Ajeet Sing, sovereign of Marwar, had been guilty of the most daring acts of rebellion, levelling the mosques, and re-erecting the temples of the Hindoo deities, destroyed by Aurungzeb, it was proposed that Seyd Hossain, the brother most experienced in arms, should march against the insurgents at the head of the imperial troops. The project was seen through by the sagacious Seyds, for they well knew that a secret combination of courtiers, headed by one Meer Jumla, a worthless minion, in high favour with the Emperor, was formed against them; but a full confidence in the strength of their own party, added to the pressing necessity which existed, that some exertion should be made to crush the Rajapout rebellion, induced Hossain to consent

to the acceptance of the command. By a policy equally despicable and ruinous, encouragement was secretly given, from court to Ajeet to persevere in his resistance to the imperial army, sent to subdue him, in order that Hossain might be detained as long as possible in that region; but Hossain, who received frequent letters from his brother, with intelligence of the proceedings of the opposite faction at Delhi, informing him that they were about to imprison them, and intreating his speedy return, carried on the war with such decisive spirit and vigour against the enemy, as quickly compelled them to sue for quarter. The terms of peace were the immediate payment of a large peshcush, the daughter of Ajeet, to be given in marriage to the Emperor, and his son to be sent to court as an hostage for his future good behaviour. After concluding this treaty, he returned with the utmost expedition to Delhi,

On his arrival at court, the ameer al omrah found every thing in confusion; the Emperor's confidential minister, Meer Jumla, disposing at his pleasure of all places and emoluments, and Abdollah Seyd, vizier only in name. Accused to their sovereign of direct disloyalty, he had resolved to seize on both their persons; but the knowledge of the intended arrest coming to their ears, they found means to render unavailing the plots laid to ensnare them, and now determined to act a more decisive part. They declined all attendance at court, on the plea that their lives were in danger from the intrigues of the favourite; they even levied troops and fortified themselves in their palaces, while Furrukseer and the courtly cabal held daily councils what were the best measures to be taken, pacific or hostile, with men of such vast resources, extensive connections, and daring ambition. It was found impossible for Meer Jumla and themselves to hold exalted stations under the same imperial roof, as great public measures

could not be for ever subject to the caprice of an individual. In this dreadful situation all public business was suspended; every body saw that a great storm was ready to burst; but nobody could resolve who were to be the victims. At length the court faction deemed it expedient to give way; the mother of the Emperor, who had guaranteed the treaty between her sons and the Seyds, when they first took up arms in his favour, interfered to prevent a rupture that must again convulse the empire, and it was finally agreed that Meer Jumla should be promoted to the government of Bahar, to which he should immediately retire, while Hossain was promoted to the richer soubahdary of Deccan, which he obtained permission for the present to govern by deputy.

Harmony being thus restored at court, by the removal of the obnoxious favourite, the most splendid preparations commenced for celebrating the nuptials of Furrukseer, with the daughter of the Maharajah, an union which it was hoped would prove a public benefit, by blending in one, the interests of the two great contending powers, whose sanguinary conflicts, for four centuries, had entailed so many disasters on India. Nothing, even in the days of the magnificent Shah Jehan, ever exceeded the pomp of those nuptials, for a love of splendour and ostentation was the characteristic of that vain prince, who was not stained with any deep crimes, but wanted fortitude and judgment. He was only unfortunate in having his hands fettered by those who placed him on the throne; and from whose tyrannical usurped power, he was for ever, but in vain, struggling to get released. Somewhat previously to this period, (A. D. 1715), arrived at Delhi, the ambassadors sent from Calcutta by our East India Company, as mentioned in a former page, and they are said to have been materially indebted for their success to the medical abilities of Mr. Hamilton, surgeon to the embassy, who by an operation,

skilfully performed, restored the Emperor to health, when given over by his own physicians, for which, among other rewards, (and much greater were intended) he was presented with models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold.*

Hossain at length commenced his journey for the Deccan; but when he had his final audience, he resolutely told the Emperor, that if any sinister designs were put in practice against his brother, the Vizier, he would in twenty days be with his army at the gates of Delhi. To make way for him, that old and favourite general of Aurungzeb, the NIZAM, had been removed, and for the temporary loss of his government, he meditated against the Seyds a deep, though concealed revenge. When arrived at Brampore, on the frontiers of that soubah, his authority was resisted by Daood Khan, an Afghan, the deputy appointed to govern during his absence, and secretly instigated, it was thought, by the Emperor, to oppose and cut him off. For this purpose he had received into his pay a body of Mahrattas, commanded by one of the principal chiefs of that nation, and encamping under the walls of Brampore, with confidence awaited the attack of the royalists. The engagement was obstinate and bloody; and at one time, even doubtful on the side of Hossain; but as the Afghan chief rushed forward with his elephant, to end the conflict by a personal combat with his antagonist, at that instant a matchlock ball entered his breast, and he fell dead upon his elephant. The Mahrattas, who, with their usual perfidy, had stood neuter at some distance, till it could be perceived which army was likely to prove triumphant, now pressed forward to join the victor, and share the plunder, which was very considerable. A part of it, with the intelligence of Daood's defeat, was transmitted to the Emperor, who received it in a manner that decisively

* Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 139, ubi supra.

proved to the Vizier his deep regret that, instead of the Afghan, the imperial general had not perished.

Towards the close of this year, the Seiks, who during the late public disturbances, had multiplied considerably, and become very formidable, again appeared in arms. The governors of Lahore and Sirhind * were successively sent against them, but the former was defeated with great slaughter, and the latter basely assassinated in his tent by a Seik, sent for the purpose by Bunda, their chief, the same who had escaped by night when the fortress of Daber was invested by Bahadur. The governor of Cashmere now took the field, at the head of an army quadrupled in number, and was successfull. They were exterminated without mercy, and Bunda himself being taken, and refusing to turn Mahommedan, first had his infant child butchered before his face, and its palpitating heart forced (horrible atrocity!) into the wretched father's mouth; and was himself afterwards put to death, by having his flesh torn from his bones with red hot pincers, and other exquisite tortures; all which he bore with undaunted firmness. It may here be remarked, that from the rooted hatred borne by this sect towards the Mahommedans, their stern oppressors, the wars between them have ever been carried on with the most unrelenting barbarity.

About this time, the banished favourite, Meer Jumla, arrived at Delhi, from his exile in Bahar, not, it was thought, without a secret invitation from the Emperor. His imprudent conduct had greatly embarrassed the affairs of that province, and the outrages committed by his officers on the inhabitants, had nearly occa-

* "The Seiks now possess the provinces of Lahore, Panjab, and Multan, with great part of Delhi, and bands of them have more than once made inroads into the Nabob Vizier's dominions, but have been as often easily repelled by the approach of a British army." Note by Captain Scott, 1794.

sioned a general insurrection. This event seemed to forbode the immediate downfall of the Vizier, who, filled with just apprehension, summoned and armed his dependents in all the neighbouring districts.

The Emperor, also having neglected to discharge the arrears due to a body of twenty thousand cavalry, which he had ordered to be raised in a crisis of difficulty, that body, on being dismissed, mutinied, and between them and the Vizier's armed followers, the agitated city was thrown into the utmost confusion. When the ferment was at its highest, Furrukseer, ever precipitate, and equally irresolute in his plans, prudently gave way; he consented to satisfy the disbanded troops, and allayed the suspicions of the Vizier, by sending the favourite once more into banishment at Lahore.

Thus did every exertion of the unfortunate Emperor, ultimately, only tend to bind him faster in those chains, with which the Seyds had manacled their devoted victim. Numerous were the other projects, to which he resorted to emancipate himself, but they are unworthy to be recorded in the dignified page of serious history, which seizes only on the great features and striking characters of each reign, and leaves minor characters and incidents to perish in deserved oblivion. The Mahrattas, now rising into great power and consequence, are eminently entitled to that distinguished notice, and to them and the affairs of Deccan we return.

The reader has already seen Aurungzeb engaged in active hostility against them during all the latter period of his life. Sahojee, or, as he is sometimes denominated, the Sou-rajah, the reigning sovereign, continuing to act with the same vigour and caution as his ancestors, had, during the dissensions that raged between the sons and grandsons of Aurungzeb, widely extended

his power, and added vastly to his domains in Viziapore, and the neighbouring Soubahs; harassing, as usual, on their march, the armies of the Mogul governors, and every where, on the old pretence of being *lords of the soil*, rigidly exacting the CHOUT, or fourth part of the revenues. The Ameer al Omrah, filled with indignation at their continual depredations on the imperial domains, determined to curb the insolence of that people. Being informed that they had erected a chain of forts on the high road between Surat and Brampore, from which they issued in large bodies, and compelled merchants and travellers to pay a *fourth* part of their property, or, in case of resistance, plundered them of the whole; he dispatched an army of four thousand horse, and as many foot, to expel the robbers, and raze the forts. The force thus detached was utterly inadequate to the undertaking; and the commander being outgeneraled, and drawn into ambush, they were defeated, and the whole detachment either killed, or taken prisoners. An army, far more powerful, under approved commanders, was afterwards sent against them; but with these troops the wary Mahratta chief was reluctant to contend in the open field, and retreated to Sattarah; at that time the capital of the Mahratta state, in the strong fortress of which Sahojee himself resided. Still, however, his predatory bands continued their depredations; on their fleet horses, scouring uncontrolled the open country, and plundering and burning wherever they came, but ever cautiously avoiding a general engagement.

It was now resolved to lay siege in form to Sattarah, and crush the evil at its source; but, at this instant, letters were received at Aurungabad, informing Hossain of the dissentions raging at Delhi, and moreover, that the Emperor had sent private orders to Sahojee, and all the persons of authority in Deccan, to oppose and distress his own governor there. Enraged to the last

degree at this intelligence, he immediately recalled the troops marching to invest Sattarah, and instead of farther irritating the Mahrattas, he resolved to make friends of that powerful confederacy, and bind them to his own interest, and that of his brother. He offered them terms degrading to the imperial dignity, and suffered them to have a resident at Aurungabad, to receive the *choute*, with the addition of what is called *deesmukkee*, or ten rupees in each hundred collected; a right not satisfactorily explained. The emperor, whose perfidy was thus retorted upon his own head, dared not refuse to ratify the treaty; but with increased assiduity laboured to undermine that power which he could not openly control. This admission of the exorbitant claims of the Mahrattas, in the governor of Deccan, was to the last degree impolitic, and laid the imperial crown of Timur at their feet. After this period, how rapidly their power and consequence increased in India, how bold their aggressions, and how shameless their extortions, the future pages of this history will too frequently demonstrate.

Before we come to the close of this reign of disaster and imbecility, another description of people must also be noticed, who were now becoming formidable by their numbers, and their outrages, I mean the Jats, or Jauts, who made their first appearance during Aurungzeb's prolonged wars in the south, as an intrepid band of robbers, and as such, received chastisement from that prince, who, on being informed of their depredations, sent from Deccan a strong detachment to reduce them. They are said to be descended from the ancient tribe of the Jits, who possessed the banks of the Indus, as far back as the reign of Mahmud of Gazna. They seem to have been the Getes, upon whom Timur, in his invasion of India made war, and were probably not unconnected with the Getæ of classical historians.

3 Y

Their ferocious, predatory habits, seem to justify their presumed descent from those barbarians. It should not be omitted, however, that the word JATE, in Hindoo, signifies a husbandman, from which some have derived their name, however different their practice. Under a succession of daring chiefs, they gradually extended themselves along the banks of the Jumna river, and in the vicinity of Agra, and about this time broke into open rebellion. Rajah Jey Sing was sent by Furrukseer at the head of a considerable force to bring them to obedience; but taking refuge among their strong fortresses, they resisted all his efforts to subdue them for nearly a year, when, by bribes sent to the Vizier, who wished to secure their assistance, in any crisis of difficulty, together with a large pescush paid into the royal treasury, they obtained the recall of the troops under Jey Sing, who was greatly disgusted at having victory thus ravished from his grasp.

That crisis was rapidly approaching; the deposition of the Emperor was determined upon by the enraged brothers. In vain had Furrukseer summoned around him, from various and distant quarters, all the great vassals of the empire, in full confidence that they would support him against their usurpation. The artful Vizier held out alluring bribes to their ambition; and his brother was in full march from Deccan, with an army devoted to his interests, and ready, by one decisive blow, to crush every opponent. That army consisted of thirty thousand horse, ten thousand of which were Mahrattas. They poured, in a resistless torrent, into the capital, occupied the great squares, and filled all the avenues of the palace. Furrukseer, in a paroxysm of terror, fled into his haram, the doors of which, with barbarous violence were burst open, and the pusillanimous monarch was dragged from the midst of the shrieking females, who composed his family, not indeed to immediate death, but to confinement in a

dark chamber, over one of the gates of the palace, where he was blinded with a hot iron. Attempting, however, soon after, to make his escape from his gloomy prison, he was assassinated, according to Fraser, on the 16th of February, 1719, after an inglorious, distracted reign of about seven years.*

The triumphant brothers now reigned without control, dividing among themselves and their adherents, the imperial treasures, jewels, elephants and horses; and Abdollah Seyd, who, to unbounded ambition, added unbridled lust, seized for his own use several ladies of the royal haram. Their principal agent in these and other atrocious transactions, was a venal and unprincipled wretch, named Ruttun Chund, their Dewan, or steward, who had long exercised a supreme control over the revenues of the empire, which he had farmed out to wretches, venal and extortionate as himself. Under him every thing had its allotted price; in that empire honours and titles were brought to a public mart, and all distinction between virtue and vice seemed to be annihilated. Although *they* may be truly said to have *reigned*, yet a nominal sovereign of the blood of Timur, an imperial pageant, was deemed necessary to their security, and therefore proceeding to the castle of SELIMGUR, in which the royal princes were confined, they took out of its solitary chambers,

RAFFEH AL DIRJAT,

the son of Raffeh Ooshawn above mentioned, and placed him on the vacant throne. He was quite a youth, and had neither voice nor will of his own, while all the great offices of state, and the most lucrative governments were filled with the friends, and dependants of the Seyds. The Vizier took possession of the palace, whence the eunuchs and other domestics, grown old in

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 45.

the service of the royal family, were ejected, to make room for the creatures of the new dynasty. They were cautious, however, of offending the more powerful among the old nobility. Sirbullind Khan, an omrah of great weight and influence, and at that time on his way to Cabul, at the head of a considerable army, was confirmed in his recent appointment to the government of that province, and adorned with new honours. To conciliate Nizam al Muluck, formidable both for his great military and political knowledge, the soubahdary of Malva was conferred upon him, whence he soon *appointed himself* to his former government of the Deccan, for we find him established there in great power, and the object of dread to the tottering brothers, in the first year of the reign of Mahommed Shah. He will soon become an important actor in the scenes, the eventful and sanguinary scenes, without parallel in the history of nations, about to pass in rapid succession, before the view of the reader.

The aim of the Seyds, in exalting to the throne so juvenile a prince, was, doubtless, that they might enjoy uncontrolled, during a long minority, the imperial power. But in this expectation they were grievously disappointed, for, after a nominal reign of about four months, the young emperor died of a consumption. Fraser says he was murdered by them; but as there appears no adequate cause to have excited them to such wanton barbarity, they may reasonably be presumed guiltless of that crime. They now raised to the same painful pre-eminence his younger brother,

RAFFEH AL DOWLAT;

But his reign was still shorter, for in less than three months he also died, it is said, a natural death, though there are writers of respectability, who, arguing possibly from the atrocious character,

and the wavering politics of the Seyds, assert that both of these unfortunate princes perished by the hand of assassination. A son of that Jehaun Shah noticed before as so distinguished by valour and abilities, a youth of about seventeen, yet remained in the prison-palace of Selimgur, and India saw a ray of transient glory illumine her horizon, when Sultan Rooshun Akber, under the assumed title of

MAHOMMED SHAH,

assumed that throne for which his father died contending. When the last pageant emperor died, the brothers were with the army at Agra, the governor of which city had rebelled, but being vigorously pressed, and despairing of pardon from his pursuers he put himself to death, and immediately the citadel surrendered at discretion. The mother of Mahommed, a woman of deep policy and sound judgment, attended her son to Agra, and devoted her attention to acquire confidence of the brothers, while the emperor himself was in all things scrupulously subservient to their will. This subserviency, however, in both mother and son was the result of the deepest hypocrisy, and they privately meditated plans for the overthrow of the haughty disposers of the throne, and destroyers of the race of Timur.

Shortly after the governor of Allahabad, who had been insulted by the brothers, raised the standard of independence, and the royal army began its march towards that quarter. A negotiation, however, commenced; the Seyds thought it prudent to relax a little from the stern severity of their despotism, and matters were amicably adjusted. The army now prepared to march against a more formidable rebel to their authority, the Nizam, who bade them defiance, and had collected a considerable army of mussulman and Mahratta troops to support his opposition. The

Emperor is said secretly to have encouraged his rebellion, and to have sent him a firmaun constituting him Soubah of Deccan in the place of Hossain. He was likewise encouraged to persevere by many of the discontented nobles at court who were grown weary of the insolence and tyranny of the usurpers, whom they hoped to crush, if they could be separated. The iniquitous Dewan saw into the projected scheme to ruin his protectors, and strongly advised the ameer al omrah not to proceed with the army to Deccan, but to make peace with the Nizam by a voluntary resignation to him of the government of that province. At this latter idea the pride of Hossain revolted, though he was easily persuaded to send an army commanded by another general against his antagonist. That general, however, and a second who followed him at the head of a still larger army, were successively and totally defeated by the experienced veteran who had so often led to victory the armies of Aurungzeb, and, at length, after great debate and irresolution between the brothers, in which their dread of the result was evident to the young sovereign and the whole court, it was determined that Abdollah, the Visier, should return to Delhi, and Hossain with the emperor march with the army to Deccan.

This plan of operations exactly coinciding with the wishes of those who had combined for their destruction, no time was lost in preparing for the expedition. In October 1720, according to Fraser, the imperial army left Agra, and having marched nine measured coss the first day, the emperor called a *divan* that night, and, after a short stay, withdrew. The conspirators, Mahommed Ameen Khan, an omrah high in favour with the emperor, Hyder Kuli Khan, the general of the artillery, and Dowran Khan, with several others, had fixed on that very evening for the assassination of the ameer al omrah, and as he was returning from the

audience in his pallankin, one of them on whom it had fallen (for it was decided by casting lots) to strike the fatal blow, approached it with a petition, at the same time crying aloud for vengeance on Mahommed Ameen Khan. At these words, which conveyed no unwelcome sounds to the ears of his bitterest enemy, he ordered the guards to stop, and while he was perusing the petition, the noble assassin struck his dagger into his breast, and immediately fell beneath a thousand swords plunged into his own. His followers, who were numerous, immediately flew to arms to revenge his death, but proper arrangements having been previously made, and the artillery being commanded by Hyder Kuli, the contest was soon decided; and the emancipated emperor, having publicly appointed the Nizam to the soubahdary of all Deccan, exultingly returned to Agra. Mahommed Ameen was appointed Visier, Dowran ameer al omrah, and on all who had assisted in the overthrow of the fallen Hossain were bestowed the most distinguished honours and rewards.*

When the fatal intelligence of a brother slain, and what might be truly called an empire lost, arrived at Delhi, it excited in Abdollah the mingled sensations of exquisite grief and high resentment. Resentment, however, prevailing, he immediately burst open the royal treasury, and robbed the peacock throne of its finest jewels,† in order to purchase the assistance of all who could bring a horse or arms, and by this means was enabled in a short time to raise a promiscuous army of 80,000 men; of whom not a few, after receiving their pay, deserted his standard. Many

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 55. Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 177.

† Fraser says, " he broke to pieces the famous *peacock throne*, which cost Shah Jehan nine crores," or as many millions sterling; but that imperial pageant we know afterwards became the plunder of Nadir Shah. I have, therefore, mitigated the outrage to a partial depredation of its jewels.

great omrahs, however, who owed their honours and fortunes to the Seyds, with their followers remained faithful to his cause, and to give it still more weight and consequence, he took out of his imprisonment Sultan IBRAHIM, the infant son of Raffeh Ooshawn, caused him publickly to be proclaimed emperor, and placing him at the head of the forces, marched out of Delhi to meet and combat the imperial army. That army was already rapidly advancing towards the capital ; and both received in their progress great multitudes of auxiliary troops, Afghans, Jauts, and other adventurers, ever ready, in hopes of plunder, to join in the contests of the princes of India. Not to enter into military details disgusting by their uniformity, the important battle that was to fix the crown on the head of Mahommed Shah, or rend the sceptre for ever from his grasp, took place, according to Fraser, on the 2d of November, 1720, at Sirkad, twelve coss from Muttra. It was long, obstinate, and bloody, but in the end Abdollah's forces were defeated, and himself desperately wounded, and taken prisoner. The victorious Emperor on this occasion exerted a benignity that did honour to his heart. Abdollah being brought before him, after being severely reproved, was dismissed with no other punishment than that confinement which the monarch's security rendered necessary, had the palace of Asoph al Dowlat assigned him for his residence, and a princely establishment settled upon him, which, however, he did not long enjoy, as he died a few months afterwards of his wounds. The same clemency was also shown to the young Sultan, who was only remanded to his former apartments in the castle of Selimgur. In short, no sovereign ever enjoyed victory with more moderation, nor re-ascended a contested throne under more happy auspices than Mahommed Shah. The vigour and decision with which he had acted awed to obedience the refractory governors

in the distant provinces ; tranquillity was again restored to the distracted empire ; and the most confident hopes were entertained that his reign would be not less glorious than those of the most distinguished sovereigns of the house of Timur.

CHAPTER V.

Great Change in the Conduct of MAHOMMED, *who becomes indolent, and enervated.—The* NIZAM *invited to Delhi, and made Vizier, but soon retires in disgust to Deccan, and there meditates Independence.—He incites the Mahrattas to invade Agra and Delhi.—They are defeated, but renew their Irruptions in greater Numbers.—The Emperor at length purchases their Retreat by submitting to pay the* CHOUTE *for those Provinces, from which Period the Fall of the Mogul Monarchy may be dated.—Distractions at Court.—Character of* SADIT KHAN.—*He conspires with the Nizam, and they invite* NADIR SHAH *to invade India.—That Invasion described.—Consequent Ruin of the Empire.—Death of the Nizam.—Death of Mahommed.*

THE Oriental historian describes the triumphal entry of Mahommed into his capital, after the destruction of the Seyds, to have been one of the most splendid and magnificent pomps ever seen. He himself was mounted on an elephant of uncommon magnitude and beauty, most sumptuously adorned with housings of gold brocade, and sparkling with precious stones. This was preceded and attended with several other led elephants and horses adorned with equal magnificence; while the travelling thrones and other carriages of the Emperor, glittering with gold and enamel, dazzled the eyes of the beholders. The troops of the household and the nobility were all newly clothed for the occasion, and the great omrahs vied with each other in the magnificence of their appearance. Gold and silver coins were scattered in profusion among the populace, whose acclamations of joy at

the restoration of the imperial authority rent the heavens. On his entering the palace he was met by his mother and the princesses bearing golden basons, filled with jewels, which they waved in triumph around his head; and the principal nobility presented *nuzzurs* (gifts) of the most costly kind. Of a reign thus happily and splendidly begun, it is painful to the historian to relate the unfortunate incidents that marked its progress, and its calamitous termination.

Those powerful enemies, those creators and destroyers of sovereigns, being crushed, and no public foe remaining to be subdued, Mahommed soon relaxed from the vigour that distinguished his early councils, and resigned himself to those seducing pleasures that had proved so fatal to many of his predecessors. He was in the prime of youth with every incentive of pleasure around him, and all the means of gratifying the passions predominant at that season were within his reach. His favourite minister Dowran Khan, the prince of the omrahs, though not without abilities and great military talents, was, also, not less devoted to dissipation than his master; and the new Visier, Kammer o'deen Khan, all young like the monarch, was of the same dissolute description. The sword was returned to the scabbard, as if danger had ceased to exist; days, months, and even years rolled on in circles of ever-varying delight; virtue was without honour, and valour without its reward.

In the mean time, those ancient enemies of the empire, the Rajapouts, took advantage of the supine indolence in which the court was plunged, and spread desolation through Ajmere, and the central provinces; while the Mahrattas, defeating and expelling the Mogul governors, without control extended their growing empire over Guzzurat, and the whole western coast. The Nizam, having collected a powerful army in Deccan, pre-

served that region and the peninsula from their ravages, but it was not for the Emperor that he preserved it. He had long aspired at independence, and was now taking the most effectual means of securing that extensive portion of the empire for himself and his posterity. A sensible writer* has well observed, that it would have been a fortunate circumstance for the Mogul emperors had they never attempted to make conquests in Deccan, as its great distance from the capital, as well as its innumerable local advantages, held out a perpetual temptation to the viceroy to make himself independent; and that probably, if the Deccan had been originally left to itself, the posterity of Timur might have still swayed the sceptre of Hindostan. The vast armies necessary for its subjugation in the first instance, and the reduction of its rebellious governors in the second, were an eternal drain upon the capital, and left the northern provinces of Lahore and Cabul without an adequate army for the defence of those frontier provinces through which Mahmud, Timur, and, as we shall soon see, a still more dreadful conqueror, Nadir, made their destructive irruptions.

Immersed in shameless debauchery, no active vigorous exertions were taken by Mahommed and his ministers to check the torrent of insubordination that threatened to subvert the empire. Palliatives were alone used to check the advances of the two former, the chief of the Rajapouts, Ajeet Sing, being confirmed in the government of Ajmere, from which it had been attempted to remove him, and the choute being allowed to the Mahrattas by the Mogul governor of Guzzurat. With respect to the Nizam, every effort was made to inveigle him to court, and the high station of Vizier was promised him; but for a long time the crafty viceroy resisted every solicitation. At length,

* Major Rennell.

however, being still more closely pressed, by letters from the emperor himself, and having settled matters on a firm basis in Deccan, he resorted thither at the head of a well-disciplined army of 10,000 men, as his guard, on whose fidelity in any emergency he knew he might place an entire dependence. Thus attended he met with a most gracious reception from the emperor, was appointed Absolute Agent, a rank higher than Vizier, and honoured with the title of Asof Jah.*

The Nizam, educated in the rigid school of Aurungzeb, and attached to his maxims both in politics and war, immediately urged upon the Emperor the necessity that existed for restoring the affairs of government to their ancient order and discipline; for a total reformation of manners; and a strict observance of the wise but severe laws enacted by that great man. Mahommed, who had recently married a daughter of the late emperor, Furrukseer, and at intervals was capable of serious reflection, listened to the hoary monitor, then in his eightieth year, with attention and respect, but his profligate courtiers ridiculed his projects of reform, which agreed not with the dissoluteness of their manners, and endeavoured to divert the Emperor's mind from attending to his grave admonitions by renewed dissipations. On the other hand, the veteran warrior, finding no efforts made to put those admonitions into practice, and disdaining to be the associate of men, who passed their whole time with abandoned women and low buffoons, solicited permission to march with his army into Guzzurat, and restore order in that distracted province. That permission was easily obtained, and the courtiers viewed with

* Asof Jah, says Mr. Fraser, is a title commonly given to Viziers. It signifies, in place and rank as Asof, whom, they say, was Solomon's Vizier. At the same time that they honour their Viziers with this title, they flatter their own vanity, by comparing themselves to Solomon.

joy the departure of a man of power too strong to be opposed, and of manners too inflexibly rigid to be seduced. The rebellion that had been secretly cherished by himself in Guzzurat was soon allayed by his presence in that province, to be excited again whensoever it suited the determined purposes of his ambition. The Mahrattas, indeed, were now become the necessary engines of that ambition, and shortly after his return to Deccan, without leave, he again solicited them to avert the vengeance that was fulminated against him from Delhi. He entered into an agreement with Rajah Sahoo, that a large body of that nation should immediately march northwards, and, ravaging all before them, penetrate even to the vicinity of Agra and Delhi. He hoped by this bold measure to rouze from their dream of indolence the luxurious emperor, and his besotted ministers, and that they might see and feel the absolute necessity of defending themselves and protecting the throne before they ventured to march an imperial army into Deccan.

In consequence, the Mahrattas, under the command of their most celebrated general, Bajerow, in 1730 commenced that fatal invasion, which with one tremendous sweep laid for ever low the humbled majesty of the empire. Their first attack was on Malva and Guzzurat, where the Mogul governor for some time made a vigorous resistance, but timely succours not being sent from Delhi, they were finally defeated, the country was extensively devastated, and has ever since remained in the hands of the conquerors. Bahadur, the viceroy of Malva, who died bravely fighting at the head of the provincial troops, wrote several remonstrative letters to the ministers, and told them in the most positive terms, that if properly supported, while he lived he would prevent the Mahrattas from pursuing their conquests further northward; but that if he fell, and they passed the frontiers of

Malva, they would infallibly over-run the whole empire. Bahadur was not supported, fell at his post, and, on his death, the prophecy was too amply verified. It seems to have been the aim of the Visier to subdue the enemies of the empire, not by arms, but by intrigue and bribery, a glaring proof of which was soon exhibited in the regular appointment by a firmaun of Bajerow to the soubahdary of Malva, thus rivetting the power which a more enlarged policy should have resisted to the last gasp of the expiring empire. But, observes the Oriental historian, the subtle fox cannot overcome the lion; and it was not by imprudent concession that such men as Bajerow and the Nizam were to be checked in the career of their insatiable ambition.

Notwithstanding, therefore, these ill-judged attempts at pacification we find the Mahrattas, in 1732, rapidly advancing their hostile legions towards Agra, and plundering even the districts appropriated to the support of the royal household. Thus insulted, and even braved, it became impossible for the imperial army to remain any longer inactive. It took the field in great force under the command of Muzzuffir, the Visier's brother, and every effort was made to bring on a general action with them; but the cautious Mahrattas declined, as usual, engaging him in the field. They contented themselves with perpetually harassing his line of march, and cutting off its supplies. The army, however, continued its progress without any opportunity of displaying its prowess, except in occasional skirmishes, till it reached Malva, where it met with the same mode of desultory attack which it had experienced in its march, and after a residence of some months at Sironje in that province, returned without having rendered any substantial service to the empire. The negative success that had attended the expedition was magnified by the Visier beyond victory; Muzziffir entered Delhi in triumph; and

was presented with a rich tassel of jewels for the turban; an honour, seldom conferred, but on the most distinguished conquerors.

Repulse only inflamed the hostile fury of those marauders, and incited them to new aggressions. In 1734, they renewed their devastations in the neighbourhood of Gualior, and in the suburbs of Agra, when the ameer al omra and the visier took the field to oppose them. But the campaign again terminated without any signal success over an enemy that always fled at their approach, and still eluded every attempt to bring them to close action, while their excursive legions, spreading in all directions, plundered the country without mercy, and treated the inhabitants with the greatest cruelty. The following year a considerable body of them crossed the Jumna with intent to plunder the rich province of Oude, of which Sadit Khan, a general of great experience, of tried valour, and having under his command a body of troops of superior courage and discipline, was the governor. Sadit immediately marched against them, by his superior skill brought them to action, and after an obstinate engagement defeated them, took two of their principal officers, and killed 5000 of them.* In attempting to repass the Jumna vast numbers were drowned, and the general, Mullar Row with difficulty reached the camp of Bajerow near Gualior. Bajerow, not at all discouraged by this misfortune, prepared to act against the Moguls with increased vigour; while Sadit, flushed with his recent triumph, and burning for military glory resolved to follow up the blow, and, if possible, drive those barbarous invaders beyond the bounds of Hindostan Proper.

Intelligence being brought to Delhi of this signal defeat of the Mahrattas, the Vizier, and the prince of omrahs thinking

* Fraser, p. 66.

the present a proper opportunity to strike a decisive blow, immediately put the imperial army in motion, and marched towards Agra. Sadit was already far advanced in his march towards Gualior, when he received orders from the imperial commanders to halt till he could join them with his forces, in order, that united, they might act with more effect against the common enemy. Those orders that chief very reluctantly obeyed, because he was well acquainted with the rapid motions of the foe with whom they had to contend, and the importance of expedition. What that sagacious commander had conjectured actually took place. Bajerow, knowing the capital was almost deserted of troops, at the head of his choicest and best mounted cavalry pushed forward with the rapidity of lightning to Feridabad, ten coss from Delhi, which place they plundered; and arrived in the suburbs of Delhi, before any tidings of his movement had reached that capital. The emperor, dissolved in pleasure, and the nobles and citizens utterly unprepared for resistance, were thrown into the utmost consternation. Paleness sate on every face, and despair reigned in every heart. Never before for ages had an armed enemy, not of the royal blood, or combating in defence of it, dared to approach so near the august abode of the race of Timur. For three successive days they continued plundering the wretched inhabitants, and laying in ruins whatever was valuable and sacred in the environs of that great city. On the fourth day, when they were on the point of entering the metropolis, arrived Sadit Khan, with the Vizier and ameer al omrah at the head of the imperial army, when the enemy was attacked, defeated and put to flight. They were pursued by the two latter as far as Alaverdi Khan's serai, about seven coss from Delhi, where being joined by others of their tribe, they made a resolute stand, and the two ministers, rather than hazard

a second battle, consented to an inglorious compromise of their own honour and that of the empire, by agreeing to pay the Chout for Delhi and Agra, on condition of their immediately evacuating those provinces. Having thus obtained their object by an immense accumulation of plunder, and by laying the imperial throne itself under contribution, the Mahrattas retreated to Malva, and the Mogul army returned to Delhi, whence the brave Sadit Khan, disgusted at the base compact entered into with the determined enemies of the empire, abruptly, and without taking leave of the emperor, who by Dowran's persuasion had confirmed it, departed for his province. This fatal compact, which gave the death-blow to the empire, took place towards the close of the year 1735.*

In the mean time the Nizam continued extending his conquests, and his influence in Deccan, and though in the receipt of a vast annual revenue, under the pretended necessity of keeping up a great standing army to over-awe the Mahrattas, remitted nothing to court. Nor were the accustomed revenues received from the rich provinces of Malva, Narwah, Biana, and Ajmere, which had been so ravaged by the Mahrattas that no taxes could be levied on the unfortunate inhabitants. In this perplexed situation of public affairs, and as the chief cause of that perplexity was known to arise from the discontent of the Nizam, new efforts were made by the emperor to pacify that omrah and allure him once more to court. The emperor was probably sincere in his wishes in the present emergency to have the benefit of the advice of so great a statesman ; but his ministers could only desire his presence at Delhi, the sooner accomplish his destruction ; and however incredible it may seem that so crafty a politician, as

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 66. Scott's Deccan, p. 201. Dow's Decline of the Mogul Empire, vol. iii. p. 316.

the viceroy of the Deccan, should again trust himself in the hands of those who considered him as the greatest obstacle to their projects, and plans, those efforts were successful. That event, according to Fraser, who was at that time in India, and might have obtained his information from an authentic quarter, was accomplished through the means of Mihr Parver, the emperor's grandmother, who had great influence over that omrah, and at his urgent request wrote to him letters, full of kindness, and assuring him that he should have the entire management of affairs at Delhi, provided he came without delay. He complied with her request, but met with no better treatment than before. The omrahs, not only disregarded him, but took all opportunities of affronting him, especially Dowran and his creatures, who, when he came to pay his respects at court, used to ridicule him, saying in a scoffing manner, *Observe how the* Deccan *monkey dances.* This usage having wrought him up to the highest pitch of inflamed resentment, he was resolved to revenge himself by distressing the empire, and destroying Dowran and his creatures. He imparted his design to the Vizier Kammir o'deen Khan, imagining he would join with him. But notwithstanding the alliance between them, (Nizam's son being married to the Vizier's daughter, and the Vizier's son to Nizam's daughter) he could not engage him to join in any plot detrimental to the public interest; on the contrary, he used his endeavours to dissuade him from the project, by representing to him the infamy of sacrificing his country to private resentment. When Nizam perceived he would not come into his measures, he applied himself to Sadit Khan, the Soubahdar of Oude, who then had a great body of men at his command, was an officer of experience, and had lately raised his reputation by his action with the Mahrattas; and, what was still more to his purpose, had,

since that time, stood ill-affected towards the emperor and his favourite. These omrahs having entered into an agreement, it was resolved that Nadir Shah, ruler of Persia, who was then besieging Candahar, should be the instrument of distressing the emperor, and of removing Dowran from his counsels for ever.* Such is Fraser's concise statement of this important combination, by which a great though declining empire was utterly subverted, and an ancient dynasty plunged in irretrievable ruin. In describing the calamity itself, it will be necessary to go into a more extensive detail; for the annals of Asia record no event more momentous in its consequences than the invasion of India by NADIR SHAH.

That conqueror, but newly seated on the usurped throne of Persia, on account of insults offered to his embassador, and of the protection afforded by the Mogul governor on the frontiers to the rebellious Afghans, his subjects, already harboured a secret resentment against the court of Delhi, but till the invitation received from those disaffected omrahs does not seem to have meditated any irruption of the extent and magnitude that afterwards took place. The splendour of the exploit, and the immensity of the plunder, by which the myriads who composed his army might be supported without oppressing Persia with new burthens, urged him to undertake an expedition by which his ambition and his avarice might at once be gratified. Having at length planted his victorious standards on the heights of Candahar, Nadir set out for Cabul, according to the before-mentioned author, at the head of 80,000 horse, composed of various nations and tribes, but all inured to hardships, and from their infancy trained to war. Nasser Khan, the governor of that soubah, having in vain solicited auxiliary troops from Delhi, retreated nearer the capital to Peishore,

* Fraser, p. 69.

in hopes of making a more successful stand; but Sherzih Khan, the more resolute governor of the castle of Cabul, refused to surrender the keys, and defended both the city and castle for six weeks with the most undaunted bravery. During this period he wrote repeated letters to court for assistance; but none arriving, both city and castle were at length taken by storm, and he and his son were put to death. Nadir Shah found there treasure, jewels, arms, &c. to a vast amount, which had been laid up in vaults ever since the reign of Sultan Baber.*

According to Sir W. Jones's summary but luminous account of this invasion, of which we shall now have the benefit, the Persian army lay encamped in the plains of Cabul till the middle of June, 1738, in which interval Nadir sent an expostulatory letter to the Mogul, containing a succinct narrative of the affront he had received, of his resolution to chastise the insolence of the Afghans, and of the obstruction made to his progress by the governor of Cabul; he declared, that he had strictly forbidden the least act of violence by his soldiers, and that he desired nothing so much as the continuance of their mutual friendship. This letter was entrusted to an envoy, who set out for Delhi attended by several chiefs of Cabul, who were enjoined to confirm the truth of his assertions: but, when they reached Gelalabad, the governor of that place put the Persian envoy to death, and compelled the chiefs of Cabul to return. Nadir Shah could no longer brook such a succession of injuries, but marched with great rapidity towards Gelalabad, 70 miles below Cabul, and, on the 28th of July, encamped at Kendemac, a place remarkable for the serenity of its air, and the beauties of its situation. From this place he detached a body of Persians against Gelalabad, who entered the city without opposition on the 10th of August: but

* Fraser, p. 132.

the governor Mir Abbas, conscious of his crime, and fearing the punishment due to it, retreated to a fortress situated on a mountain of very difficult access. The Persians attacked his intrenchments, and took the fort by assault: Mir Abbas was killed, together with the Indians that attended him, and his family were sent in chains to the royal camp.

Soon after, the Persian army marched to the east of Gelalabad, and halted in the station of Rikab, where Nadir received intelligence of a formidable army, that was preparing to oppose him. Nasser Khan, governor of Cabul, had assembled on that spot a considerable body of Afghans and Indians, and was resolved to dispute with the Persian invaders the passage of Peishor, which was also defended by a strong castle. Upon this information, Nadir left the artillery with the prince Nafralla, and advanced with great celerity towards Peishore; the next day, after a rapid march, he reached the army of Nasser, who were so astonished at the incredible haste of the Persians, that their courage and resolution wholly forsook them: their ranks were broken in an instant, and those only escaped the sword, who had recourse to a precipitate flight. Nasser, and several Indian chiefs, were taken prisoners; and their camp was entirely pillaged: the captives were kept under close confinement, and the plunder was distributed among the Persian soldiers. After this victory the fortress of Peishore was easily taken, and the king staid several days in the adjacent plains, in order to refresh his troops, and to wait for the arrival of the prince Nafralla.

That prince having at length arrived, Nadir resumed his march, and with the skill and firmness of a great general whom no difficulties could retard, and no dangers dismay, safely conducted the army over the five branches of the river Indus, which at that season were swelled with the rains, and flowed with the

most rapid current. A numerous army was assembled on the opposite banks, under the command of Zekaria, governor of Lahore: but whether they were alarmed at the swift progress and formidable appearance of the Persians, or confounded at their surprising passage over the Indus, they retreated with a mixture of terror and astonishment. As Nadir continued to advance towards the city of Lahore, Zekaria sent an officer of rank, with a considerable present, to implore his clemency, and to promise the strictest submission. This messenger met with a favourable reception, and Zekaria, having received many marks of distinction, was confirmed in his government of Lahore. At the same time Nasser was admitted into favour, having been bribed, according to Fraser, by the conspirators, and returned, by the permission of the conqueror, to the capital of his province.

In the mean time the Mogul was preparing to obstruct the progress of these victorious invaders; he had marched twenty-five leagues from the metropolis of his empire, and lay encamped on the plains of Karnal, with an army of thirty thousand Indians, and two thousand armed elephants: the rest of his very numerous forces were making all possible haste to join him, and were commanded by the most illustrious princes of India. It was not long before Nadir's emissaries gave him a full account of Mahommed's situation; upon which he left Lahore, and arrived at Serhind on the 8th of January, 1739, whence he dispatched six thousand Persians to examine the Indian camp, while he continued in full march towards it, with the rest of the army. On the 10th he reached Ambala, about thirty miles from Karnal; and, in the same night, the detachment fell upon the Mogul's camp, and, having slain or taken prisoners a great number of the guards, retreated to Azimabad, where they were joined on the 14th by the royal forces. Nadir was informed by the Indian

prisoners, that the plain of Karnal was defended on the eastern and western sides by a broad river, and a very thick forest, that the intrenchments of Mahommed were guarded by three hundred pieces of artillery, and that he was waiting for the vast armies of the Vizier, his commander in chief, and his other ministers. The next morning the Persians continued their march, and pitched their tents six miles from the Mogul's camp; towards which Nadir made an excursion, and returned after an exact survey of it. He then advanced to the east of Karnal, and, arriving at a large plain about a league from the Indians, he encamped in a very advantageous situation. In the evening he had intelligence, that Sadit, an Indian prince of very high rank, was hastening to join Mahommed, with thirty thousand men. It was too late to intercept this reinforcement, which reached Karnal at midnight: but a troop of Persians who had been sent for that purpose, attacked the rear of the Indians, and plundered the baggage of Sadit. This loss exasperated that general to the highest degree, and drove him to the fatal resolution of advancing early the next morning against Nadir Shah, without considering the disadvantage of acting offensively against an invading enemy, who might otherwise have been reduced to great extremities in a country so little known to him, or compelled to fight upon very unequal terms: but Mahommed and the Indian princes, who had been softened by a life of luxury and indolence, deceived by the vast number of their forces, and wholly void of experience in military affairs, determined to venture on a battle, and hastened to the support of Sadit, with a vain confidence of victory. They were soon joined by Khan Dowran, commander in chief, Nizam al Muluck, prince of Deccan, Kammir o'deen, the Grand Vizier, and many other able generals, at the head of very numerous armies, divided into three bodies, which extended to an amazing length on the field

of battle. Nadir Shah was so far from being disheartened at the sight of this formidable armament, that he is said to have been animated beyond his usual degree of courage: he knew, that an army of soft and enervated Indians were little able to oppose the hardy troops, whom he had trained to arms by the most excellent discipline, and allured to engage with more ardour than ever, by the hopes of sharing the spoils of so rich a kingdom; he perceived the folly of his adversaries, in bringing to the field such enormous pieces of ordnance, which they were unable to conduct with skill, and in depending upon the number of their elephants, which could not fail to distress and impede them in a general action.*

These considerations gave him such an assurance of success, that he ordered Nafralla to stay behind with the greatest part of the artillery, and rushed with a wild impetuosity upon the Indians. The shock was equally violent on both sides, but the two armies were conducted with a very different spirit; for while the Persians were able, with very little impediment, to seize every advantage that presented itself, their enemies were quickly thrown into confusion, and would have made but a short resistance, if so unwieldy a body could even have retreated with speed. After a scene of havock and disorder for five hours, the

* The above, it will be recollected, is the Persian account of this invasion, written by an historian in the train of Nadir, therefore probably not without prejudice in favour of his hero, and certainly not acquainted with the secret springs of the actions of Nadir Shah, and of the Indian Omrahs. Authentic documents collected by our countrymen at Delhi, place things in a very different point of view, and evidently demonstrate a collusion between the principal agents in this dark affair. Sadit, in thus prematurely attacking the Persians, undoubtedly acted *treacherously*, with a view to throw himself into their hands; for no general, consummately skilled in the art of war like himself, would have acted in this manner, and thus early and precipitately bring on a general engagement.

prince Sadit, who had been the first to take the field, was the first to leave it; and his troops by their sudden flight imparted a general terror to Mahommed, and his ministers, who retired in haste to their camp at Karnal, and depended for their safety on the strength of their intrenchments. The rout of the Indian army soon became universal; the two nephews of Sadit, who were mounted upon the same elephant, were taken prisoners; Khandowran received a wound, of which he died the next day; and ten princes of eminent rank, with an hundred nobles and officers of distinction, and thirty thousand of their soldiers were slain in the action; great numbers of Indians were made captives, and all their elephants, horses, and instruments of war fell into the hands of the conquerors.

After this victory, Nadir Shah advanced to the camp of Mahommed, which he found so strongly fortified, that he could not attack it with advantage, but thought it more prudent to enclose it on all sides, and to distress the Indians, who were almost destitute of provisions, by a continual blockade: on the third day after this, the ministers of Mahommed, finding it impossible either to exist in that confinement, or to escape from it, prevailed with him to preserve his life at the expence of his kingdom, and by resigning his diadem, to calm the resentment of the conqueror. The great Mogul perceived the necessity of this expedient, and left his entrenchments, attended only by the prince of Deccan, the grand Vizier, and his other nobles. When Nadir was informed of his approach in this submissive manner, he sent the prince Nafralla to meet him, and himself received him at the door of his tent, where he took him by the hand with great mildness, and placed him by his side on the throne. Mahommed resigned his crown in form, and was treated, on that day and the next, as a guest in the Persian camp, where he received every

demonstration of respect. On the 1st of February, Nadir advanced towards Delhi; and on the 7th he encamped in the gardens of Shallimar; where Mahommed obtained leave to enter the city, in order to prepare his palace for the reception of his vanquisher. Nadir followed him on the 9th; and was conducted to a magnificent edifice, built by the Mogul Shah Jehan, which, upon this occasion, was decorated with every ornament that the treasury of Mahommed could supply. That unfortunate monarch, finding himself reduced to the condition of a private nobleman, prepared to attend his conqueror with the lowest marks of submission: but Nadir Shah soon raised him from the state of dejection into which he was sunk, by declaring that he would reinstate him on the throne of his ancestors, and that he would repair the late breach in their friendship, by maintaining a perpetual alliance with the Indian empire, and by giving him a sure support upon every exigence: but that he would stay some time at Delhi, to refresh his army after their long expedition. The Mogul was so penetrated with this unexpected act of generosity, that he expressed his gratitude in the strongest manner, and having stripped his treasury of the most valuable jewels and curiosities that were deposited in it, he brought them as a present to Nadir Shah. These treasures consisted of rich vases adorned with gems, vast heaqs of gold and silver in coin and ingots, with a great variety of sumptuous furniture, thrones, and diadems: amongst the rest was the famous throne in the form of a peacock, in which the pearls and precious stones were disposed in such a manner as to imitate the colours of that beautiful bird, and which was said to be worth two millions and a half sterling.*

Such is the substance of Sir W. Jones's account of Nadir's

* Sir W. Jones's History of Nadir Shah, section V. on the Indian invasion, p. 85, 86, et seq. oct. edit. 1773.

Indian irruption, founded, as before observed, on the authority of a Persian manuscript, translated by himself for the king of Denmark, at an early period of life. He allows that the writer, who attended Nadir in most of his expeditions, might be somewhat partial in his narration, but he contends for the general correctness of the facts recorded, and, except in its silence as to the circumstance of the conspiracy, and Nadir's boundless rapacity, it accords pretty accurately with those of Fraser and others. Coming from such a source I thought it too curious to be omitted; but the accounts of the suffering Indians themselves must also be heard, and the picture is in most parts charged with colours of a much more dark and sanguinary hue.

According to native authors, consulted by our countrymen, the Mogul fortified camp at Karnal extended seven coss in circumference; and the army itself, an army, according to Mr. Orme, famished by its own numbers,* amounted to nearly half a million, with a train of a thousand pieces of artillery, linked together by massy chains.† The number of the elephants is, however, doubtless greatly over-rated at 2000. The enormous wealth obtained by Nadir at Delhi was by no means a voluntary gift, as the Persian author affirms, for by far the greatest part was extorted by blood and stripes from the miserable inhabitants, and in its total value amounted, not, as he seems to intimate, to *thirty* millions, but, as we shall hereafter see, to above *sixty* millions sterling. The substance of what less partial writers have related, as occurring after the battle, or rather skirmish of a few hours, that laid the crown of India at the feet of Nadir, is as follows.

After the various ceremonial visits paid by the humbled emperor to his conqueror, who, according to Fraser, was by no

* Orme, vol. i. p. 39. † Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 201.

means so polite or condescending as the Persian relates, but severely reproached him for his obstinacy, his treatment of his embassadors, and his degrading the throne of Timur by paying the *choute* to the infidel Mahratta race; after these visits, and repeated conferences holden with the Nizam * and Sadit respecting the immense sum to be paid for the ransom of the emperor and his capital, amounting, under the softer name of peishcush, to twenty-five millions sterling, the two armies began their march for Delhi in the most guarded and cautious manner possible. It commenced on the 2d of March. Nadir Shah marched first at the head of 20,000 chosen horse: in a line with Nadir, at the distance of a coss proceeded his haram, guarded by 4000 horse. Mahommed Shah, accompanied by 40 or 50 only of his attendants, but with a *guard of honour* of 10,000 *Kezzlebash* horse (resolute soldiers of Persia resembling the Janizaries of Turkey) and 2000 harquebussiers followed Nadir at a distance of one coss. The Nizam, Vizier, and other great officers, with their attendants, followed half a coss distant from each other, and separated by Kezzlebash horse to prevent their junction. The extent of ground which they covered in their march was five coss in length and three in breadth, and the same method was observed on every day's march. On the 7th of March the grand cavalcade arrived at the gardens of Shallimar, described before, and on the

* The Nizam's reception is thus described in letters from Delhi: "On the 17th of February Nizam al Muluck, with Azim Allah Khan, and a guard of horsemen, went out, and a small tent being pitched between the two camps, Nadir Shah's Vizier came, and from thence conducted him to his master, who embraced him sitting, and made him stand honourably, close by himself; he gave him a cup of sherbet, and made him eat at the Vizier's house. The conference was continued all that day, and the 18th, at the close of which he received a rich dress on being made captain general and ameer al omrah in the room of the deceased Dowran Khan." Fraser, p. 161.

8th Mahommed, accompanied by 4000 Kezzlebash horse, by Nadir's permission, entered the castle. The conqueror delayed his triumphal entry till the following day, when it took place with all the caution imaginable, and at the head of 20,000 horse; the rest of the army encamped without the walls of the city.

On Saturday the 10th of March the sun entered Aries — that sun which had often witnessed the unequalled pomp, the unrivalled glory of the house of Timur, now beheld the usurper of the throne of the Sefi's, sitting on the imperial musnud of India, and receiving *extorted* offerings of inestimable value from her degraded emperor, and her prostrate nobility. These presents, together with the treasures found in the subterraneous vaults of the palace, hoarded up since the reign of the magnificent Shah Jehan, and sealed with the seal of the empire, and the *peacock* throne, with nine others of inferior lustre and value, amounted by the lowest computation, to thirty-five millions sterling. Of gold and silver plate, which he melted down and coined, the amount exceeded five millions; of utensils set with jewels, and of jewels unset, five millions more. In the richest brocades and stuffs of Indian manufacture he received the value of two millions; in horse and elephant caparisons, adornedwith gold and gems, three millions; in all, fifty millions sterling! A more general and complete depredation was never committed by any imperial robber in ancient or modern times.

Enormous, however, as was this amount, that robber was by no means satisfied with it; but gave orders for levying a peishcush of eight millions more upon the merchants and inhabitants of the opulent city of Delhi. In raising this additional sum the most severe cruelties were exercised, and many of them died under the extreme tortures inflicted upon them, by those appointed to collect it. Many also of the higher order of nobles, who were

supposed to have not made offerings proportionate to their immense fortunes, were called upon for additional sacrifices. The two traitors, Sadit and the Nizam, who by their inviting Nadir to invade Hindostan, had brought such incalculable evils upon their country, were amerced in very large sums; Sadit a million, and the Nizam a million and a half. The former having been spoken to by Nadir, in terms of great severity, respecting the collection of the peishcush money, being in a languid state of health, was so affected, that on the following morning he died, though it was generally reported, that, agonizing with remorse, he had accelerated his fate by swallowing poison. Persons the most venerable for age and virtue were not spared, and some were assessed double what they were able to pay. The severity of these exactions irritated the populace to madness; tumultuous insurrection in many places was the result; and resistance was made, wheresoever it could be made with effect. To these calamities, succeeded the more dreadful one of famine, occasioned by the increased multitudes of men and horses that inundated the province of Delhi. An attempt of the Persian commander of Delhi, to regulate the price of wheat at the public granaries, caused the spark, which was already kindled, to burst forth into a flame, which was only to be quenched by the blood of 100,000 of its inhabitants. Fraser states the first commotion to have taken place about noon; that it was considerably increased towards evening; that after sunset, some persons having reported that Nadir was taken prisoner, and others that he was poisoned, the mob and tumult exceeded all bounds; and all the idle and disaffected of that great city, joining from all quarters, with such implements of destruction as they could most readily procure, rushed in a torrent towards the castle, devoting to death every foreigner they met, and breathing vengeance against the invaders

of their country. Of the external guard a considerable portion were instantly sacrificed to their fury, and the remainder sought safety in flight.*

On the first tidings of these commotions, Nadir, firm and collected in every difficulty, had dispatched couriers on fleet horses to his general in chief, Thamas Khan, who with the rest of the army, was encamped without the walls, with orders to commence his march, with 30,000 horse, immediately for the capital; and the vanguard of that army shortly after arriving, soon routed with immense slaughter, the infuriated populace that surrounded and threatened to storm the citadel. In a few hours after, the whole of this formidable body entered the city; and Nadir, thus re-inforced, at midnight marched out of the castle at their head, to crush the insurrection. Inflamed with high resentment against the faithless Delhians, but ignorant of the full extent and magnitude of the evil, he intrepidly led them on towards the great mosque of Roshin al Dowlat, which stands in the center of the city, and there took his station. All was raging tumult and distraction around him, but he remained firm and unmoved, acting solely on the defensive, and waiting for the break of dawn, to let loose his vengeance on the devoted city. The morning, big with the fate of Delhi, at length arose; and discovered to him heaps of his Persian soldiers weltering in their blood. An awful, momentary pause ensued; and during that pause, a pistol was discharged at him, from a neighbouring terrace, the ball of which missed himself, but killed an officer standing close at his side. He immediately ordered a general massacre to commence from that very spot. His squadrons of horse, instantly pouring through the streets, put every one, without distinction, aged and young, women and children, to death. His foot soldiers at the same

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 184.

time, mounting the walls and terraces, consigned to the same fate every soul they found upon them. The love of spoil, and the thirst of blood, equally operating on those barbarians,—all the bazars of the jewellers, and the houses of the rich citizens in that quarter, were first plundered, and then set on fire. Fearful of the violation of their women, many of the higher rank of Indians collected together their females and their treasures; and, then setting fire to their apartments, consumed them with themselves in one general conflagration. From the same dread, thousands of women plunged headlong into tanks and wells. In every imaginable form of horror,

> DEATH stalked at large
> Through all the streets of that vast capital,
> And seem'd to REIGN UPON THE THRONE OF DELHI.*

During this dreadful carnage the king of Persia continued in the mosque of Roshin al Dowlat. His countenance is said to have been dark and terrible, and that, during the paroxysm of his rage, none but slaves dared to approach him. At length the unfortunate emperor of India, attended by the principal omrahs, with sorrowing looks, and eyes fixed on the ground, ventured to draw near and intercede for the half ruined city and surviving inhabitants. For a time he was obdurate; at length the sternness of his countenance relaxed, and, sheathing his sword, he said, For the sake of the prince Mahommed, I forgive. The joyful tidings of his wrath appeased were immediately, by sound of trumpet, conveyed through the city, and the work of destruction as instantly ceased. Between the issuing of the bloody mandate at sun-rise and two o'clock in the

* Fall of the Mogul; a tragedy founded on this tremendous catastrophe, and presented to the reader in the Appendix.

afternoon, 100,000 Delhians of all ages were inhumanly butchered. The tyrant then retired into the citadel; and enquiry being made into the origin of the tumult, several Indians of distinguished rank were seized, as the secret abettors of the insurrection, and their execution closed the scene of desolation and carnage. The once beautiful city of Delhi, in the meantime, exhibited a most dismal spectacle, the great streets being filled with the ruins of fallen palaces and houses consumed by the fire; and the smaller streets and passages being absolutely choaked up with the multitude of putrefying carcases. To avoid the danger of pestilence both Persians and natives were for some days employed in removing the bodies of the dead; those of the Indians were heaped up in vast piles, and burned in the rubbish of the ruined houses, and those of foreigners were buried promiscuously in pits, or thrown into the Jumna.

The transition from rioting in blood to rioting in intemperance is a practice congenial to the mind of the tyrant. From celebrating the orgies of death, Nadir shortly after proceeded to celebrate those of Hymen and Bacchus, for on the 26th of the same month, while the sabres of the Persian soldiers were yet warm with the slaughter of the Indians, with great pomp and splendor were solemnized the nuptials of his son, the prince Nasr Allah, with a grandaughter of Aurungzeb; by which politic measure the royal line of Persia and India being united, he hoped posterity would see the crown of both empires placed on one head. The most sumptuous presents were made to the bride on this momentous occasion both by Nadir, and the Indian emperor, and omrahs, and the most happy auspices were drawn from this august alliance. In the mean time the tribute of the peishcush was exacted with increased rigour from the miserable inhabitants of Delhi, but at length the full amount being col-

lected; and the coffers both of the great and the small being utterly exhausted, the Persian army in high spirits, refreshed with health, and loaded with plunder, Nadir began to think of his return to Persia, and having appointed a fixed day for all the omrahs to assemble early in the morning at Mahommed's apartments, his orders were punctually obeyed. Rich kelauts, turbans, and sabres, were prepared for the omrahs, more or less decorated with gold and silver ornaments according to their rank. With these they were invested, and then proceeded, with the dethroned emperor at their head, seated on a royal litter under a canopy of state, to the general divan, where Nadir received them; and after the two emperors had embraced, and refreshments had been served, a crown set with the most costly jewels was brought in, which Nadir, with his own hand, placed on the head of Mahommed, making him at the same time those apologies which the time and circumstances seemed to demand. He was then invested with the other regalia, in like manner set with the richest stones. Nadir then saluted him as emperor, and after giving him the most salutary advice concerning the future government of the empire and his conduct towards the omrahs, particularly enjoined him to be cautious of that hoary traitor, the Nizam; adding, If necessary I can be with you at the head of my army in forty days from Candahar.* The two monarchs then solemnly swore to maintain with each other

* Nadir is, however, by one of his biographers reported to have declared before some of his omrahs, that he had acted indiscreetly in regard to two things; one was his restoring the empire to Mahommed Shah, who being unequal to so great a task, the affairs of India would become worse than formerly; the other was, his giving quarter to Nizam al Muluck, who being so very subtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raise disturbances; but as according to the decrees of Providence, and the assistance of their own good fortune, he had once passed his word to them he could not then recede.

eternal friendship; and Mahommed, as a pledge of his sincerity, made over to Nadir, and his successors on the Persian throne for ever, all the provinces situated on the west of the Indus; a cession extremely gratifying to Nadir, as some of them had anciently been considered as part of Khorasan, and had been the object of much contention between the two nations.*

On the 7th of May Nadir commenced his march for Persia, and on the evening of that day encamped in the gardens of Shallimar. His exit from Hindostan was marked by the same dreadful scenes of devastation as his ingress; and of the immense wealth which he carried out of it a great portion is said to have been buried in the Indus; owing to the bridge of boats which he had thrown over it being carried away by the rapidity of the stream, and with it many of the animals that were loaded with treasure. On the banks of that river a new, and almost incredible instance of his insatiable avarice is related by Khojeh Abdulkurreem, a Cashmirian nobleman in his train, and is deserving of notice, because it marks the absolute control of this great conqueror over the soldiers who fought under his banners, many of them perhaps not less avaricious or eager for diamonds than himself. Two jewels of inestimable value, that had adorned the turban of the Mogul, being missing from the royal treasury, a search was ordered to be made for them among the baggage of the army. That search not being successful, Nadir issued a decree, challenging all precious stones whatever taken in the plunder of Hindostan as his property, and ordering all the treasures of that kind, under penalty of death, to be brought into the treasury. But this was not sufficient: officers were placed at the ferry to examine all persons before they passed

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 223. Jones's Nadir Shah, p. 93, ubi supra.

the river; and if any valuable jewels were discovered upon them, to seize and send them to the royal repository. Upon the publication of this order some of the soldiers came of themselves and delivered up the jewels they had got in plunder, and these were rewarded with dresses and other presents. From others were taken what they had concealed in the packs and saddles of their horses, camels, or mules. Some buried their stores in the ground, hoping that after the search was over they might be able to return and dig them up again; but from the strict orders of Nadir Shah, which were punctually obeyed, it was impossible for any one to recross the river; and thus the treasure remained in the bowels of its parent earth. Others, out of rage and indignation, threw into the river whatever they had concealed.*

Nadir in fact delighted in this kind of wealth, of which Hindostan afforded him so plentiful a harvest. His turban, his tents, and his horse caparisons, were always richly adorned with jewels; and he constantly carried about him a sapphire of unrivalled magnitude and beauty, with which he was frequently seen to amuse himself in his tent. The same noble author has favoured us with a description, too curious to be omitted, of the tent decorated with jewels, which he caused to be fabricated, and exhibited at Herat in the following year. When Nadir Shah, says our author, an eye witness, was at *Delhi, he had such a profusion of* precious stones, that he ordered the superintendants of the jewel office, to make up arms and harness of every kind, inlaid with precious stones, and to ornament a large tent in the same manner. For this purpose, the best workmen that could be procured, were employed a year and two months during the

* The missing stones were afterwards found among the confiscated effects of a general officer put to death by his order. Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, page 4.

march; and when Nadir Shah arrived at Herat, he was informed that a great number of the following articles, richly inlaid with precious stones, were prepared, viz. horse harness, sword-sheaths, quivers, shields, spear cases, and maces; with Sundelees, or chairs of different sizes, and a large tent lined with jewels. The tent was ordered to be pitched in the Dewan Khaneh,* in which were placed the Tukht Taoussee, or Peacock Throne, brought from Delhi, the Tukht Nadery, with the thrones of some other monarchs, together with the inlaid Sundelees. Publication was made by beat of drum throughout the city, and the camp, that all persons had liberty to come to this magnificent exhibition, such as had never before been seen in any age or country. Nadir Shah was not pleased with the form of the tent, for, besides being lined with green satin, many of the jewels did not appear to advantage: he therefore ordered it to be taken to pieces, and a new one to be made, the top of which, for the convenience of transportation, should be separate from the walls. When he returned to Meshed from his expedition into Turan, this new tent being finished, was displayed in the same manner as the former one; but its beauty and magnificence are beyond description. The outside was covered with fine scarlet broad cloth, the lining was of violet coloured satin, upon which were representations of all the more beautiful birds and nobler beasts in the creation, with trees and flowers, the whole made of pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, amethysts, and other precious stones: and the tent poles were decorated in like manner. On both sides of the Peacock Throne was a screen, upon which were the figures of two angels in precious stones. The roof of the tent consisted of seven pieces, and when it was transported to any place, two of these pieces packed in cotton,

* The public hall of audience.

were put into a wooden chest, two of which were a sufficient load for an elephant; and the screen filled another chest. The walls of the tent, the tent poles, and the tent pins, which latter were of massy gold, loaded five more elephants; so that for the carriage of the whole were required seven elephants. This magnificent tent was displayed on all festivals in the Dewan Khaneh at Herat, during the remainder of Nadir Shah's reign. After his death, his nephew Adil Shah, and his grandson Shahrokh, whose territories were very limited, and expences enormous, had the tent taken to pieces, and dissipated the produce.*

* Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, p. 32.

CHAPTER VI.

*Affairs at Delhi.— Unlimited power of the Nizam, who, retiring to Deccan, becomes independent in that region.—His example followed by most of the other Soubahs in their respective provinces.—Insurrection and reduction of the Rohilla Afghans.—*ABDALLAH *seizes Candahar, and invades Hindostan.—Repulsed by the Shah Zaddah.—Death of Mahommed Shah.—Death of the Nizam.—Sultan* AHMED *ascends the throne.—Fresh insurrection of the Rohillas and the Jauts.—The Mahrattas called in to the assistance of the Moguls.—Fatal effects of that imprudent measure.—Character of Ghazi o'deen the younger.—Renewed war with the Jauts.—*AHMED *deposed and blinded by Ghazi, who raises to the throne* AULUMGEER, *the second.—Repeated irruptions of* ABDALLAH. *—Murder of Aulumgeer by Gazi.—Delhi plundered by the Mahrattas.—Great battle between the Mahommedan powers and the latter, who are defeated.—*SHAH AULUM *ascends the nominal throne.—Rapid sketch of his unfortunate history.—His palace sacked and plundered by the Rohillas.—Cruel treatment of his family by* GOLAM CAUDIR.*—Himself blinded.—In him the Mogul empire expires, and with him its history terminates.*

WHEN the sovereign of Persia had evacuated Hindostan, or, to use the allegorical language of the oriental historian, when that destructive comet had rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, Mahommed and his courtiers seem to have remained for some days stupified by the magnitude of the calamity, and little public business occupied their thoughts. We have already men-

tioned the ties of consanguinity that bound together, in the strictest friendship, the Nizam and Kammer o'deen, the favourite Vizier, viz. that the Nizam's son was married to the Vizier's daughter, and the Vizier's son to the Nizam's daughter; and this circumstance, added to his great political talents, will account for the unlimited influence that Omrah continued to have in the government. In short, he disposed, as he pleased, of honours and places. He appointed his own son, Gazi o'deen, captain general of the empire; Ameer Khan, by his advice, was made governor of Allahabad, and Sefdar Jung, son of the deceased conspirator Sadit Khan, succeeded him in the government of Oude. No alteration was made in the other Soubahdaries, nor had there been an inclination to remove any of the distant governors, in that weakened state of the empire, did Mahommed possess the power of doing so. That enervated prince became again absorbed in the usual routine of pleasures that occupy a luxurious court, to which the Vizier himself was too much inclined; and, by degrees, even the horrors of the Persian invasion were obliterated from their minds.

In the mean time the Nizam, for whom effeminate pleasures had no allurement, had commenced his march for the Deccan, where his son Nazir Jing, taking advantage of the distractions at Delhi, had raised the standard of independence. When arrived at Hydrabad, or Golconda, the capital of his usurped domain, in extent amounting nearly to a fourth of the empire, by means of his amazing wealth he collected a vast army, and assumed all the honours, without the name, of a king. The artifice which he made use of to get his rebellious son into his power, strongly marks the character of that crafty veteran. The two armies being encamped at no great distance from each other, the Nizam, now considerably turned of ninety, affected to be so desperately

afflicted with sickness, as to be near the point of death. He confined himself to his tent so strictly, and in other respects acted the part so well, that the report of his approaching dissolution was universally believed by his own army, whence it was diffused, as an undoubted fact, through that of Nazir Jing. Urgent and repeated solicitations were sent to Nazir Jing, imploring him to visit, in this last extremity, a dying father, promising forgiveness, and assuring him of perfect safety if he might be permitted to embrace him before he expired. The advanced period of the Soubah's life rendering the story highly probable, added to the operation of natural feeling, not wholly extinguished by ambition in the breast of Nazir Jing, induced him, after long hesitation, to pay the desired visit, when, immediately on entering the tent of this expiring parent, he was arrested and thrown into chains, and in that state was, during several months, carried about with him a close prisoner, until, at length, a thorough conviction of his repentance induced that parent to liberate him, and the lesson was so effectual, that he never after was guilty of any disobedience.

The Nizam, now equally at leisure from domestic broils and court intrigues, began to employ all his great political abilities to settle on a permanent basis the affairs of the Deccan, turning out the imbecile and corrupt governors, and placing in their room men of vigour and experience. By anticipation, when treating of the European settlers in the Peninsula, we have already, in some degree, traced his progress in that region, and seen the uncontrolled authority with which he acted, especially when on his arrival at Arcot in 1743, he was so struck with the anarchy that every where prevailed, and so indignant at the multitude of petty chiefs, who had arrogated the title and honours properly belonging to himself, that he ordered the first person who should dare again

to assume those honours, to be scourged.* We have also seen that he appointed Abdallah, one of his generals, to be Nabob of the Carnatic, and on his sudden death, Anwar-odean, (the father of Mahommed Ali) who fell in a conflict fomented by the intrigues of the French. His artful expulsion of Morari Row and his Mahrattas from the Deccan, "rather by presents and promises than by arms," has been also noticed, and may be considered as a strong additional feature in the character of that extraordinary man. In fact, about this period, in consequence of the imbecility of the emperor, and the dissipation of his court, the transactions of this Omrah and his family in Deccan, form the most interesting portion of the Indian history, and that history has been already given.† The irruptions also of the Mahrattas into Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which make so prominent a feature in the history of the period, have been likewise detailed.‡

From the lethargic supineness in which the court of Delhi had been so long plunged, it was at length roused in 1744, by an insurrection of the Patans, headed by a daring chief, named Ali Mahommed, of the Rohilla tribe. This chief aimed to make himself independent in those countries between Delhi and Lahore, and extending eastward beyond the Ganges, now called Rohilcund, where his ancestors of Afganhistan had been permitted to settle, on remitting the usual subsidies to court. Those subsidies he now refused to discharge, and the Mogul governor of the district having marched against him, was defeated with great slaughter. Victory induced other Patans to enlist under the rebel banners. In a short time his army multiplied exceedingly, and the usurpation of domain became alarmingly extensive. To

* See Vol. II. p. 291.

† It is comprised in the second, third, and fourth chapters of Book V.

‡ Vol. II. p. 342.

oppose his farther progress, Kammir o'deen, the Vizier, dispatched his own son, Meer Munnoo, a youth of great bravery, at the head of an army of 30,000 men. Munnoo, crossing the Jumna, advanced to the banks of the Ganges; but found the enemy so formidable both by numbers and situation, that, uniting the prudence of age with the valour of youth, he thought a negociation safer than a battle, and conditions being agreed upon between them and signed, he led his army back to Delhi. Those conditions not being faithfully adhered to, the emperor himself in the following year, took the field with 50,000 horse. The Rohilla chief shut himself up in Bangur, a fortress of considerable strength, where he was invested by the royal army, and after a short, but bloody siege, was compelled to surrender. He was brought prisoner to Delhi; but afterwards, in the corruption of the times, and amid the distraction of the court, found means to obtain his release, and was appointed Fojedar of Serhind, where he once more appeared with increased strength in arms, and finally became the founder of the independent Rohilla government, for a long time the terror of the throne, and execration of the Moguls.*

Nadir Shah, the scourge of nations, fell a victim to the vengeance of an enraged army, in A. D. 1747. Ahmed Abdallah, one of his generals and confidentials, an Afghan by birth, had risen by that merit which, with Nadir, ever insured success, to the high office of treasurer. On the assassination of his patron, with the assistance of his own resolute tribe, he contrived to carry off three hundred camels, loaded with treasure, to the mountains of Afghanistan, where, by means of that treasure, having raised a considerable army among the hardy inhabitants

* For the above and other particulars, see Hamilton's curious "History of the Rohilla Afghans," p. 70, et seq.

of those mountains, he seized upon Candahar, and urged his claim to the sovereignty of all the provinces west of the Attock, which had formerly been ceded to Nadir by the terrified Mogul. After a slight resistance, the Soubah of Cabul was compelled to yield ; he experienced a more determined opposition from Munnoo, the son of the imperial Vizier, who governed Lahore ; but eventually he triumphed. The path to Delhi now lay strait before him ; and the successful example of Nadir, added to the known imbecility of the government, incited him to attempt the conquest and plunder of that capital, which had begun to recover from the shock of the former invasion, and again to overflow with wealth.

The approach of Abdallah, at the head of a nation peculiarly ferocious, and burning for plunder, filled Mahommed and his court with the utmost consternation. The recruited treasury of Delhi was again thrown open, and an army of 80,000 horse was rapidly levied, at the head of which the young Sultan Ahmed, a prince of great promise, under the direction of Kammir o'deen, the Vizier, Sefdar Jung, and other distinguished officers, advanced against the invader with only 50,000 horse. The two armies came within sight of each other near Sirhind, but fearful of the event on which so great a stake depended, instead of instantly rushing to battle, both parties strongly intrenched themselves. During this awful pause, Abdallah having brought some pieces of artillery to bear on the flank of the imperial army, a random shot penetrated the tent of the Vizier, that faithful servant of the crown, in the act of performing his evening devotions. As he was equally beloved and respected by the army, of which he was in fact the commander, it was thought prudent to conceal his death, and, without delay, to attack the enemy in his entrenchments. Accordingly, at the break of dawn, the royal army was put in motion, and the troops being intrepidly led on to the assault,

by Ahmed and Munnoo, the Vizier's son, in a resistless torrent, burst into the camp of Abdallah, who, not wholly unprepared, in that situation with heroic resolution defended himself for three hours against their whole force. The vast superiority however of the imperialists in elephants, who trampling down the intrenchments, spread havoc and dismay wheresoever they moved, contributed greatly to decide the fortune of the day. The discomfited army was pursued by Munnoo several miles from the field of battle; and though some desperate efforts were afterwards made by Abdallah, to retrieve the loss he had sustained, yet he was, eventually, compelled to retreat across the Nilab with an army greatly diminished in numbers, and with the total loss of his artillery and baggage. Thus ended the first irruption of this famous chief, whom the brave Munnoo was left with a considerable army to keep in check, while Sultan Ahmed commenced his triumphant return to Delhi.

When arrived at Paniput, a city situate about eighty-five miles from the metropolis, he received intelligence of the sudden death of the emperor his father, a few days before, while sitting on the throne, and administering justice in the great Hall of Audience. Mahommed had for some time been in a declining state of health, and excessive grief, for the loss of his favourite Vizier, was supposed to have occasioned the convulsive fit, which brought on the fatal catastrophe. Ahmed immediately hastened to Delhi, where he was proclaimed emperor in April 1748, with the usual solemnities; and of a reign thus auspiciously commenced, great was the promise, and ardent the expectations.

One of the first acts of the new emperor was an offer of the post of Vizier to Nizam al Muluck; but that venerable soubah, enjoying in undisturbed tranquillity the ample sovereignty of Deccan, declined the offer, and pleaded in excuse his very advanced age, being then in his 104th year; nor did he long sur-

vive the emperor; for not many months after he expired at his palace of Aurungabad, leaving the world in astonishment at the unimpaired vigour of that genius, and those abilities, which seemed only to increase with increasing years. Neither his refusal nor his death were the cause of immoderate grief at Delhi, and shortly after that high office was conferred on Seffdar Jung, the son of Sadit, who has already made so conspicuous a figure in the pages of this history, and whose descendants in Oude, for the last half century, engross so large a share of that of the Company. Nasir Jing, the Nizam's second son, being in possession of his father's army and treasury, was, from fear rather than affection, confirmed in the Soubahdary of Deccan, and Gazi o'deen, the eldest, for the present at least, continued quietly at Delhi, in the office of paymaster and captain general.

The new emperor being in the flower of his age, surrounded by flatterers who praised his valour, and allured by all the incentives to pleasure that the most luxurious court of Asia could yield, soon relaxed from the ardour of military pursuits, and became the victim of indolence and dissipation. Seffdar Jung, the Vizier, was distinguished by no pre-eminent abilities; but conducting himself in the most haughty and arrogant manner towards the Omrahs, was universally detested by them, and his downfall universally desired. His fondness for military glory, however, had not declined like his master's, and the Rohillas, and other Afghan tribes in that vicinity, having made frequent irruptions into the province of Oude, of which he was Soubah, he conducted an army against that people, and was at first defeated; but, by the permission of the emperor, having called in a body of 40,000 Mahrattas to his aid, he was eventually victorious, and revenged the injury by an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children of Afghan extraction. He

continued for some time in Oude, settling the distracted affairs of that province, and then returned to Delhi, followed by the mercenary Mahratta army, clamorous for their arrears, and eager, if refused, to repay themselves by the plunder of the environs of that opulent city. The treasury was empty, and the danger imminent. In this extremity, Gazi o'deen, who had in his public station accumulated an immense fortune, offered to discharge their arrears, which amounted to no less a sum than fifty lacks of rupees, on condition that the emperor should issue firmauns expressly appointing him Soubah of the Deccan, in the room of his brother Nazir Jing, who had recently been assassinated on the field of battle, as before related.* The emperor's acquiescence was joyfully given, their demands were settled, and Gazi o'deen immediately commenced his march for the south, attended by these very Mahrattas, who were happy to enlist under any banners where a prospect of plunder was even distantly afforded. That they ever were from authority permitted to collect the *choute*, or engaged to fight under the royal standard, was perhaps the most unfortunate occurrence that ever befel this once mighty empire; which was now torn asunder by tribes of freebooters of every denomination, Jauts, Rajapouts, Rohillas, Seiks, and the still more ferocious barbarians of Afghanistan.

In that quarter the intrepid Munnoo had, for a long time, at the head of the best disciplined troops of Hindostan, resisted all the force of Abdallah, or, to use a more familiar term, *the Abdallees;* for *Abdal*, whence his name is derived, is only the general name of the tribe to which the sovereign of Candahar belonged. The contests between the two powers were long and arduous; attended with great expenditure of blood and treasure, which

* See Vol. II. p. 308.

Ahmed could immediately supply from his inexhaustible resources at hand, but which, amidst the supineness and dissipation of the court of Delhi, could not, in an equally adequate, or rapid degree, be conveyed to Munnoo. The greatest part of Lahore was in consequence lost; and to complete the disaster, Munnoo himself, the valiant governor of that province, about this time (1753), died suddenly by a fall from his horse. Abdallah, immediately advancing with his army, seized on the capital of that province, and placed his son, then an infant, in the government of that city, under the tuition of an experienced omrah, fully determined, in the following year, to push on with his innumerable legions to the gates of Delhi.

The importance of the family of the Nizam, at this period of the empire, renders any apology for alluding to the individuals of it unnecessary. It has been already stated, that Ghazi o'deen, the late captain-general, after discharging the arrears due from the Vizier to the Mahrattas, had departed for the Deccan, aided by a formidable body of that nation, to take possession of his government, usurped by Salabad-Jing, assisted by the French, after the murder of the unfortunate Nazir Jing. Having entered Aurungabad at the head of 150,000 men, and being well acquainted with the power and influence of the French in his brother's army, he from thence dispatched emissaries with splendid offers of money and titles to M. Dupleix at Pondicherry, if he would recall M. Bussy and his army from the service of Salabad-Jing, in which project he would probably have been successful had not the latter took an effectual method to prevent it, by causing his brother to be poisoned, and that by the agency of his mother, then at Aurungabad, who sent him a plate of victuals prepared, as she told him, by her own hands. To such dreadful extremes in eastern countries does ambition drive her

infuriated votaries! The Mahratta army immediately dispersed, and Salabad Jing continued in the usurped sovereignty of Deccan, without any dread of the threatened vengeance of the court of Delhi, to the consideration of whose conduct we are recalled by the consequences of the calamitous event just recited.

We are now to introduce upon the theatre of affairs, one of the most extraordinary characters that ever existed, a youth of fifteen, the only son of the abovementioned Ghazi o'deen, and on whom the title and honours of his father were immediately conferred by the emperor, at the earnest solicitation of Seffdar Jung, the vizier, who admired his great talents, and who was too soon to become the victim of them. The young Ghazi, at that early age, possessed all the high accomplishments, abilities, and vices of his father and grandfather. In him, the most open unreserved manners were combined with the deepest dissimulation; unbounded generosity, and the most undaunted fortitude, with the basest treachery and ingratitude; he had a head to project, a genius to advance, and, if necessary, a hand to execute the most daring and criminal designs. He seemed as if born to control thrones, and direct empires; and he mounted at once to the pinnacle of ambition and grandeur, in assuming the reins of that of Hindostan. This chosen youth, on being appointed by the emperor captain-general, as before observed, at the intercession of Seffdar Jung, immediately used all his influence with his sovereign to get his patron removed from that high office, and succeeded. But Seffdar Jung was himself too high-spirited to submit quietly to this disgrace, and flew into open rebellion. He engaged in his service an army of Jauts under their prince Suraje Mull, and advancing at their head to Delhi, shut up the emperor and his juvenile captain-general within its walls. Ghazi defended the city with great bravery for three months, at the end of which

period he issued forth, engaged, and completely routed the ejected Vizier, who fled precipitately to his government of Oude, leaving Suraje Mull and his Jauts to sustain the whole weight of the imperial vengeance. To chastise that turbulent race, Akebut Mahmud, an experienced general, was dispatched at the head of a considerable army; but by avoiding a general engagement, and retiring into and under the protection of their numerous forts, they found means to baffle all his efforts to subdue them.

In the mean time the power of young Ghazi, in consequence of his late success, became almost unlimited at the court of Delhi, especially as the emperor, satisfied with the laurels which he had obtained when he drove back the Abdallees from the western frontier, remained continually plunged in intemperance, and left every thing at his disposal. He was not, however, without a rival almost as young, as ardent, and as ambitious as himself. This rival was the new Vizier, the youngest son of the celebrated Kammir o'deen, the favourite of the late, as the son was of the present emperor, and he burned with secret envy at beholding the almost sovereign authority with which the latter was invested. He took every opportunity of calumniating him to the emperor, and filled the royal breast with the darkest suspicions of the man whom he had thus imprudently exalted to premature honours. An opportunity soon offered of removing his hated rival from his presence, and, as he fondly hoped, for ever!

No very signal success had crowned the imperial army employed against the Jauts, who were now become a formidable people, especially when their forces were united in the field, and they had gradually obtained possession of the country extending for many miles round Agra, although they were not yet masters of that capital. The great body of the Mogul army being engaged at a distance in Lahore, watching the Abdallees, the forces

under Akebut were by no means adequate to their complete reduction, and great bodies now began to appear in the field, and seemed to bid the Mogul general defiance. To a foe so near, so menacing, and so dangerous, it was necessary to give an immediate and decisive check; in this extremity, Ghazi proposed to the emperor to call in the assistance of the Mahrattas, at that time in the vicinity of Agra, and offered to lead them in person against the insulting foe. The advice, however fatal in its consequences to the empire, was acquiesced in, and the offer of Ghazi's personal services was accepted with insidious joy by Ahmed and his jealous Vizier. The Mahrattas, at that time in high hostility with the Jauts, readily consented to the terms proposed; and 40,000 of that nation, under their generals Mulhar and Ragonaut Row, but subject to the control of Ghazi, advancing into that beautiful country, scattered death and desolation wheresoever they came; discomfiting whatever bodies of troops appeared in arms to oppose them, and driving the rest back into their strong forts. To the attack of those forts, artillery became necessary, and with that article the Mogul camp was but indifferently provided. Ghazi immediately dispatched an officer to Delhi, with a request that the royal park of artillery might be forwarded to him without a moment's delay. This request, to his astonishment, was peremptorily refused, and the officer, in addition, reported that all Delhi was flying to arms, as if an enemy were at the gates.

Shortly after an intercepted letter, written by the emperor himself, and intended for Suraje Mull, unravelled the whole mystery, and opened to him his alarming situation. In fact, during his absence, the implacable Vizier had too well succeeded in impressing the king's mind with ideas of the confirmed disloyalty of Ghazi. His rebellious designs, he affirmed, were glar-

ingly evident throughout the whole of his conduct, both in the cabinet and the field. He represented his daring ambition, as aimed at the imperial throne itself; "the Mahrattas were already at his nod; and the royal artillery might soon be pointed against the castle of Delhi." The intercepted letter encouraged Suraje Mull to hold resolutely out to the last extremity; it informed him that the imperial guard, with a numerous army, had taken the field, and that the emperor was approaching to attack the traitor in the rear, while at an appointed signal, the Jaut prince should issue from his strong forts, and attack him in front. On perusing these dispatches, the lofty soul of Ghazi was filled with indignation, and burned with a desire of revenge. He instantly raised the various sieges in which he was engaged, and with his whole army re-crossed the Jumna, determined to give battle to the king and vizier, who were leisurely marching down between the rivers in fancied security. Daring in design, and prompt in execution, Ghazi was not a person to rest satisfied with half measures. With the reign of the one, and the influence of the other, he saw that his own safety was incompatible, and he was firmly resolved, by desperate measures, to put a period to both. On receiving intelligence of his approach, the emperor halted at Secundra, and by liberal promises and munificent offers, endeavoured to reclaim his rebel minister to a sense of duty. The only answer which Ghazi condescended to return, was the king's own letter to Suraje Mull, and a spirited remonstrance against his base ingratitude to a man, whose only crime was his being engaged in fighting the battles of the empire. He inveighed against the meanness that could listen to the perfidious insinuation of a sycophant, to his prejudice, and justified his being in arms against a prince, whose imbecility rendered him unworthy longer to hold the reins of government. Both the king and the vizier were

thunder-struck at this bold strain of invective, and knowing themselves unable to cope with him in the field, unaided by the Jauts, retreated in haste to Delhi. They were, however, pursued by Ghazi with such celerity, that he gained possession of one of the gates which they had just passed, and the fugitives, retiring into the citadel, were there so closely invested by the rebellious omrah, that they were in a short time compelled to surrender. After upbraiding the emperor with his ingratitude, and the vizier with his rashness, he ordered the latter to immediate execution; and committed Ahmed himself to the custody of an officer, on whose steady vigilance he could rely. The next day the eyes of the king were blinded with an iron heated red hot, which necessarily terminated his government, after a reign of seven years, only distinguished by a transient display of vigour and fortitude at its commencement. This calamitous event took place about the close of the year 1755.

AULUMGEER THE SECOND.

After the atrocious act that consigned Ahmed Shah to blindness and oblivion, Ghazi o'deen raised to the vacant throne a grandson of Bahadur Shah, by the name and title of Aulumgeer the Second. He was immediately appointed vizier to the new emperor, and reigned with despotic sway both over him and the empire. Thus held in absolute bondage, and sensible of his chains, the weak monarch struggled in vain to get free from those manacles, which every effort to release himself only rivetted the closer. He never reflected, that the same power which exalted him to the imperial musnud, could, if so inclined, in an instant, hurry him back to that prison, in whose cheerless solitude he had already passed so many disconsolate years. As Ghazi was universally detested, a large party of omrahs sided

with the king, but being equally dreaded as detested, few opportunities occurred of publicly evincing that rooted aversion which his tyrannical conduct had excited. All his measures, however, were secretly thwarted and undermined by the court and its sycophants; and many projects, that were even fraught with important benefit to the public, were relinquished, because they originated with him. Such an order of things could not last long. The secret cabals of his enemies, by no means escaped the penetrating eyes of the sagacious young vizier, and he was silently meditating a dreadful retaliation, when the alarming intelligence received of the mighty preparations of Abdallah for the invasion of Hindostan, roused the court of Delhi from their culpable insensibility to the public dangers that threatened the empire, and for a time suspended the animosity of faction. Aulumgeer possessed neither capacity of mind, nor vigour of body for military affairs; it was, therefore, determined that Ali Gohar, his eldest son, the present SHAH AULUM, accompanied and directed by the vizier, should march with all the forces that could be raised to oppose the progress of that powerful chieftain.

The treasury was exhausted by the unbounded profusion of the late and present emperor. With great difficulty an army of 80,000 men was raised for the expedition; but when they had advanced about forty miles beyond Sirhind, Abdallah was found to be too firmly established in his new conquests, to allow any hopes of a successful attack by troops hastily raised and ill disciplined, upon the veteran bands that had served under Nadir Shah. The whole result of the campaign was a treaty that only for a short time retarded the progress of Abdallah into Hindostan, and the solemnizing of a marriage contracted at a former period by Ghazi, with the daughter of the deceased Munnoo. Ghazi well knew that, if defeated by Abdallah, his power and

influence were for ever gone. By dexterously warding off the blow, which was to subvert the empire, he saved himself also from destruction.

On the return of the imperial army to Delhi, the conduct of the vizier, both to the emperor and the omrahs, was marked by more outrageous insolence than ever. He confined the former within the walls of the citadel, and he dispatched, by poison or the dagger, all his enemies among the latter. Never were so many crimes crowded into so short an interval. At length wearied out with his sufferings, and his crown having become a burthen to him, Aulumgeer adopted the desperate measure of privately inviting Abdallah to advance with his army towards Delhi, and release him from his prosecutor. A well-concerted plot was laid for his destruction, which, however, by his profound craft he evaded, although the empire sunk in the dreadful conflict. To the command of a Rohilla chief, named Nidjib Dowlah, originally patronized by Ghazi, but whom his arrogance had disgusted, was intrusted a large division of the imperial army, that marched out to give Abdallah battle. Ghazi himself commanded the remainder. In the mock encounter that followed, he was deserted by the Rohilla, and the greater part of the army, and thus fell into the hands of Abdallah, whom, however, he afterwards found means to propitiate, though he was for the present deprived of the post of vizier.

The Afghan hordes being of a more ferocious disposition than the Persian troops of Nadir Shah, their irruption into the city of Delhi, which immediately took place, was attended by circumstances proportionably more disgusting and barbarous. In the space of nearly twenty years, amidst all its distractions, that metropolis had in great part recovered from that ruinous calamity, and though its wealth in jewels was at this time far inferior,

yet commerce and the residence of the court had caused it again to overflow with treasure, which those savages extorted from the inhabitants, by every mode of refined torture that ingenuity could devise. Not satisfied with plundering the living; with robbing the mosques and the palaces of their gaudy spoil, they carried their depredations into the regions of the grave itself, and robbed the sepulchres of the emperors, and many pious saints, that had been held sacred for ages, of their gold and silver ornaments. For two months was the city subjected to these horrors, after which period the invader marched towards Agra, in order to punish and raise contributions among the Jauts, in which he was not altogether successful; for though he spread wide the scene of ravage and desolation through the open country, that people, for the most part, evaded his vengeance and extortions, by retiring to the strong holds, in which that district abounds. At Agra he was repulsed by the Mogul governor; but he wreaked his indignation upon the city of Muttra, one of the most ancient and venerable seats of the Hindoo religion, and after sacking and plundering it, left it a heap of ruins. He had also dispatched Ghazi, whom, in spite of the emperor's remonstrances he had again raised to the Vizirat, with an army into Dooab, or the interamnian region, to collect the tributary sums due to the government from that country and Oude. The Soubahdar of Oude, was that Sujah Dowlah, so well known to the English, who with the Rohillas, his allies, had already commenced his march for the frontiers, determined to oppose, if necessary, force by force. After some fruitless efforts to separate the united chiefs, and thinking himself not equal to their combined armies, the prudent Vizier compromised the business with them for a few lacks of rupees, and with these, and the spoils which he had otherwise procured, returned to Abdallah.

That invader who acted, while he staid in Hindostan, in all respects as its absolute sovereign, having received intelligence of some incursions into his dominions from Western Persia, was now preparing for his return to Candahar. As a balance to the Vizier's power, whom he had exalted to that high station solely on account of his transcendant abilities, in consequence of the earnest supplication of the emperor, he appointed Nidjib al Dowlah prince of the Omrahs, with orders to protect the king against his machinations, and having celebrated his nuptials with a daughter of Mahommed Shah, immediately commenced his retreat. In his progress to Candahar, he left his son Timur Shah, who was about the same time married to a daughter of Shah Aulum, with a large army at Lahore, and by this double alliance, his future views upon the throne of Hindostan may be clearly discerned.

The balance intended against the power of the Vizier, by the appointment of Nidjib al Dowlah to the high station of Ameer al Omrah, proved ineffectual towards restraining his arrogance and his cruelties, which were now carried to a greater height than ever. As, for supporting his usurped authority, it was necessary to keep in pay a considerable army of Mahrattas, and the treasury being drained, enormous sums were to be raised for its support, they could only be procured by the most oppressive measures from the toiling mechanic, by excessive burdens on commerce, and by confiscating the estates of the obnoxious nobility. Loud complaints and invectives resounded from every quarter, but there was no one to redress the grievance; for the king, with his son Ali Gohar, groaned under the same bondage, and were kept state prisoners by this daring young ruffian, while Nidjib al Dowlah was compelled to consult his personal safety, by retiring to his jaghire at Secundra, in the Dooab. The young

and spirited prince, after several attempts to make his escape, did indeed at length effect it, at the head of a chosen band devoted to his service, by valiantly cutting a passage with his sabre through thousands of troops sent by Ghazi to blockade the palace, and endeavoured, when at liberty, to rouze against the traitor the various country powers ; but his deficiency in the great sinew of war, MONEY, added to the terror of Ghazi's name, and his formidable Mahratta army, prevented any effectual interference on their part. He resolved, therefore, to fly for protection to Nidjib, at Secundra, who received him with respect, but at present could be of no essential service to the royal cause.

In A. D. 1759, Abdallah, unsatiated with Indian spoil, and having settled the affairs of his own kingdom, again descended from the mountains of Afghanistan into the plains of Hindostan. He seemed to consider that devoted country, at once, as an inexhaustible source for recruiting his treasury, and as a field for the discipline of his hardy warriors. His present visit, however, was not *wholly* the effect of avarice, or ambition ; for the restless tribes of Mahrattas were now making rapid advances towards his dominions on the eastern frontier : indeed about this time their armies were in motion in all quarters, and their aim seemed to be to exterminate the Mahommedan princes, and upon the ruin of their authority, to erect a sovereignty of their own. To oppose a power whose views upon that empire were so similar to those entertained by himself, and once more settle the distracted affairs of Delhi, concerning which he had regular intelligence from Lahore, doubtless accelerated his march eastward, which was at this time made with all the forces of his empire, and with energy mighty as the interests at stake. We must here for a short interval, leave him pursuing his victorious career across

the mountains, and driving his enemies before him in every engagement, to return, for the last time, to Ghazi, and the unfortunate monarch his prisoner.

The situation of that minister was now desperate indeed! After having been so repeatedly pardoned and promoted; having violated all confidence, and trampled on all gratitude, every hope of appeasing Abdallah must have vanished from his mind. He had long at an heavy expence maintained in his pay, as if for the security of the empire, but principally to promote his own ambitious projects, and to maintain his own usurped authority, a large body of Mahrattas, the decided enemies both of Abdallah and the Mogul dynasty. With these barbarous hordes he had inundated all the environs of Delhi; with these he had driven Nidjib from its walls, and held in defiance the menacing Soubahs of Oude and Bengal. He *suspected* that Aulumgeer had again invited the Abdallees; he *knew* that, by his emissaries, he had endeavoured to detach from his service the army which he had raised to defend the throne in every preceding extremity. He knew also that before the myriads of Abdallah, that army would be unable to stand. The dream of greatness was over, and he was resolved to terminate his sanguinary career, with a blow that should shake Hindostan to its center, and remind ungrateful monarchs of their doom. He resolved to murder the sovereign whom he had created, and to deprive Abdallah of, at least, half his promised spoil, by permitting his ferocious Mahrattas to ravage the capital, in which he had so long borne the chief sway.

Among his other weaknesses Aulumgeer was addicted to superstition; but it was an amiable weakness; and it added greatly to the atrocity of the murder, that, during an act which strongly marked his piety, the crime was accomplished. Being

informed that a fakeer, or Mahommedant saint, highly venerable on account of his religious attainments, had arrived at Delhi, he expressed an anxious wish to visit the holy man; for saints in India disdain to visit even the palaces of kings. Every thing being previously prepared in the apartments of the pretended saint, as he slowly approached the reverend impostor, two assassins rushed from behind a screen, and with their scymetars divided his head from his body. The headless trunk was exposed two days on the sands of the Jumna, and then interred without regal honours. This event took place towards the close of 1759. The regicide then proceeded to the state prison of the princes of the house of Timur, and taking out thence a grandson of Kambuksh, the youngest son of Aurungzeb, placed him on the throne, with the title of Jehaun the Second; but he is not reckoned among the number of emperors. The gates of the city were now opened to the Mahrattas, who renewed, with increased horrors within its walls, the dreadful work of devastation and death, and for many days continued their merciless career of blood and plunder, till intelligence of the near approach of the Abdallees compelled them to depart. Ghazi himself, after having introduced them to the spoil, had for security retired, by that chief's permission, to a strong fortress of Suraje Mull, and there, whatever atrocities, in a less public character, he might afterwards commit, history loses sight of him.

Abdallah found Delhi in a dreadful situation, from having been so long exposed to the desolating fury and pillage of the Mahrattas. His own exactions severely added to its misfortunes; and so great were they, and so unparalleled the sufferings of the inhabitants that, in the paroxysm of despair, they flew to arms. More stern than Nadir, because exposed to more

imminent danger than his predecessor, Abdallah gave orders for a general massacre, which lasted without intermission for seven days. At that period, when nearly a fourth part of the inhabitants had thus perished, and most of the public buildings were on fire, to add to the confusion, and increase the miseries of the wretched Delhians, immense bodies of Mahrattas, under Mulhar Row, had arrived in the environs, to share with Abdallah the spoils of the burning metropolis. Undaunted in danger, like his great example, after checking the ravages of the sword and the conflagration, he marched out of the city, and gave them battle. After a desperate conflict fought about two coss from Delhi, the Mahrattas were defeated, and pursued for many leagues with great slaughter. Their defeat, however, was only the awakening signal, the grand tocsin, for the assemblage and union of their whole power, under all their chiefs, in order to crush the bold invader. This design they probably would have been able to accomplish, by cutting off his supplies, and, by repeated assaults, wearying out and diminishing an army that was too remote from its resources to recruit itself, had not, at length, all the great Mahommedan powers of India also taken the alarm, and however varying their interest, or individually hostile to Abdallah, seen the urgent necessity of joining him, or being crushed themselves. The Mahommedan religion and government established in India for eight centuries, at an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, must be subverted, or the vast power of the Mahrattas be annihilated by one decisive blow. The circumstance of two such mighty potentates rushing to arms, exhibits a spectacle truly great; but outraged humanity cannot contemplate it without horror! While they are mutually preparing for the mighty conflict which is to decide the fate of India, it is necessary that we should

for a short time, attend to the adventures of a personage of no small importance at the present moment, that Ali Gohar, who, we have seen, after valiantly cutting his way through the besieging army of Ghazi, retired to the jaghire of Nidjib al Dowlah, for protection from the rage of the blood-stained foe of his family.

After staying some months with that protector, finding him unwilling, or unable, in a more public and decisive manner to espouse his cause, the royal exile, at the head of his few determined adherents, faithful to him in every difficulty, and not, perhaps, uncheered with hopes of the approaching dawn of better days, pursued his journey to Oude, where he was received by Sujah Dowlah with the greatest respect, and even with regal honours ; though that omrah also at present declined taking any active public part in his affairs. He presented him, however, with a handsome nuzzar of elephants, horses, and money.

In the anxious and laudable desire to emancipate his royal parent from the tyranny of Ghazi, the prince next repaired to Allahabad, and there, in Mahommed Kuli Khan, its viceroy, he found an ardent and strenuous supporter. That enterprising chief, however, recommended, in the first instance, his seizing upon the rich provinces of Bahar and Bengal, with whose tributary wealth, so vast and so long owing, they might be able to raise an army adequate to the great object in view. The proposition was acceded to, and being afterwards imparted to Sujah Dowlah, received his consent, accompanied with the promise of a considerable body of troops, in addition to those of Mahommed. Towards the close of the year 1758, the expedition, highly formidable to any troops but those with thom they were to engage, commenced. Unfortunately for him, at this time the

English army under Colonel Clive, connected by the closest alliance with the government of Bengal, which had for some time, as we have before related, assumed independence,* presented too firm a front to permit his eventual success, even with all his high and imperial claims. This is not the proper place to enter upon the particulars of that campaign. It will be sufficient at present to observe that, notwithstanding some partial triumphs in Bahar, in Bengal he was wholly unsuccessful; and that after having surrendered himself to the victorious British army, and having solicited their military aid in his behalf without effect, as they deemed it not prudent at that time to interfere in his concerns, he once more retired to his protector at Oude. Intelligence, however, of the assassination of Aulumgeer having arrived during the expedition, he caused a throne to be erected, which he publicly ascended, and was proclaimed emperor at Patna. He ever afterwards acted, and was addressed in that capacity. One of the first acts of his new authority was the appointment of Sujah Dowlah to be perpetual vizier of the empire, a situation equally gratifying to the ambition of the one, and beneficial to the interests of the other. He resolutely, however, refused to accept the pressing invitation which, about this period, came from Abdallah, under that chief's auspices publicly to assume the diadem at Delhi. His spirit at this time seemed too great to owe the crown of Hindostan to any other source than his high birth, and the exertion of his own valour.

The grand conflict, as yet unrivalled in the history of India, in respect to the number and power of the combatants, and which was to consign its throne to a Mahommedan, or native power, was now rapidly approaching. After his late triumph

* Under Allaverdy Khan. See Vol. II. p. 341.

and pursuit of the Mahratta army, Abdallah had returned to Delhi, and releasing from the weight of his regal cares the sceptered pageant raised to the throne by Ghazi, by consigning him to his ancient abode, the state-prison of his family, dispatched thence the invitation to Shah Aulum, which we have noticed, publicly to ascend the throne of his ancestors at that capital; but which under such ill-omened auspices, that prudent prince declined. The Mahratta armies under all their most famous chiefs, but subject to the supreme controul of Suddasheo, otherwise the Bhow, were now rolling in a vast body towards Delhi; in their progress they summoned the Jaut rajah to join them. Suraje Mull, although a Hindoo, yet jealous of the Mahratta power, at first hesitated; but on their threatening to ravage his country with fire and sword, and actually commencing those devastations, he reluctantly joined them with 50,000 of his troops. With this addition, their force amounted to 200,000 men, for the most part cavalry. On the near approach of this enormous mass to Delhi, Abdallah thought it prudent to evacuate that city, and retired across the Jumna, to a country more open for the conveyance of supplies to his army, and more practicable for his junction with the Mahommedan forces, which he expected from the north and east of Delhi. Among these were the Rohillas, the troops of Sujah Dowlah, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, the Patan chief of Douab, and other mussulman princes, neighbouring on the Ganges, who had been long subject to the depredations of the Mahrattas.

The Mahratta general soon after advanced, and took possession of the imperial city, in which but a slender garrison had been left by Abdallah, and which was again subjected to all the horrors of former devastation, with great aggravation. The Bhow himself was as mean as he was avaricious, and amidst his other enormities, tore down the cieling of the grand hall of audience, which

was of massy silver, and sent it to the mint, with all the utensils, as chairs, tables, of that precious metal, which after such repeated spoliation yet remained in that once august abode. All the branches of the royal family, as well as their dependants, were, also, meanly plundered of their property and jewels. But what pen can describe the unequalled sufferings of the poor Delhians themselves, in this last extremity of human wretchedness. After being stript of all their little remaining property, and even their very clothes, by a sordid foe, to whom no species of plunder came amiss, they were unmercifully scourged with whips by their insensible tormentors, and driven before them naked through the streets, a famished and frantic throng. Many perished under the hands of their oppressors, and many more rushed voluntarily upon that death which is the last refuge of agonizing humanity. Provisions at length totally failing, to avoid the fate of thousands daily falling around them, the merciless barbarians were compelled to quit the city, and immediately proceeded to Karnaul, where they intrenched themselves on the same ground, formerly occupied by Mahommed, while Abdallah wisely selected the more fortunate situation of Nadir Shah. Here both armies lay in their intrenchments several days, in dreadful preparation, during which, by the mediation of Sujah Dowlah, some overtures were made for peace, but ineffectually. Their mutual differences had risen too high to admit of compromise; and the demands on either side were too extravagant to be complied with.

The whole surrounding country had been so recently and utterly exhausted by the large armies, of whose contests it had been the fatal *aceldama*, that provisions adequate to the support of such immense bodies of troops, were obliged to be brought from very distant quarters, and the active Abdallee cavalry had contrived to cut off several large convoys bearing provisions to

the Mahratta camp, from Deccan, escorted by considerable bodies of troops, while his own was amply supplied by the Rohillas, and his Mahommedan allies on the banks of the Ganges. At length the Mahrattas being reduced to the greatest streights, came to the resolution of giving battle to the enemy, and the whole army marched out of their entrenchments, and advanced towards the enemy's lines. The Abdallees also marched out with alacrity to meet them, and on the morning of the 14th January, 1761, the dreadful battle took place, about two coss distant from the camp of the Abdallees, by whom the attack was commenced with such irresistible impetuosity as prevented their making effectual use of the formidable train of artillery which was drawn out in their front. The dreadful concussion was felt through the whole extent of their line. The Mahrattas, however, fully aware of their desperate situation, that if death threatened before, famine hovered behind, and that their sabres alone must cut their way to safety and to glory, fought for a long time with obstinate bravery, and drove the Abdallees back almost to their camp; but at this moment of apparent triumph a cannon ball struck off the head of the Bhow; the Jauts, who had never heartily joined in their cause, deserted them in a body; and Sujah Dowlah, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, and the other Mahommedan allies pouring down with all their troops on their exposed flank, compelled the great body of them to give way; though in various divisions of that vast army the most heroic deeds were achieved, worthy of themselves and the object, an imperial throne, for which they contended. This is demonstrated by the fact, that out of the numerous distinguished generals by whom that army was conducted to the field, scarcely one, except Mulhar Row, who fled upon the first charge, returned to his native country. The carnage that commenced

after the battle was horrible, for no body was inclined to give quarter to them, whose unrelenting rage spared no body; and wheresoever they were pursued in their flight among the towns and villages, they were universally massacred. 50,000 are said to have fallen in the action, and 30,000 more during the pursuit, which lasted three days, the whole line of their flight being stained with blood. With respect to the plunder taken in the Mahratta camp, it exceeded all calculation, comprising their whole artillery, tents, elephants, horses, camels, the treasure collected in their progress from Deccan, and the still more enormous sums extorted from the miserable Delhians.

To that ill-fated city, after the pursuit, Abdallah immediately repaired, and in imperial pomp received the congratulations of all the great Mussulman lords, his allies, on the utter subversion of the power of the implacable enemies of their religion and government, the Mahrattas. The empire of Timur was now his own, but he seemed inclined to permit the existing branch of that dynasty to enjoy the throne as his deputies, paying him a large annual tribute; and he not only dispatched heralds with renewed invitations to Shah Aulum to return to Delhi, but placed on it his son Jewan Bukht, as regent, till his father should return from Bengal, where he was engaged in new schemes of conquest. On Sujah Dowlah, by whose intrepid valour, exerted at a most critical moment, principally, the victory was gained, he bestowed magnificent presents, and confirmed him in the exalted post of perpetual Vizier of the empire. After staying some time there to settle, on the best basis possible, the distracted affairs of the country, he appointed Nidjib al Dowlah, governor of the city, and guardian of the royal family, and returned about the close of the year 1761, to Candahar; nor from that period till his death, which happened in 1773, owing to distractions nearer

home, and the firm barrier presented to his farther progress by the Seiks, was the capital cursed with another visit from that scourge of Hindostan.

SHAH AULUM.

We are now arrived at that distressing part of the Mogul history which exhibits the singular phænomenon of an EMPEROR without an EMPIRE, and that emperor himself residing many years during the early part of his reign a voluntary exile from his capital in an obscure corner of his nominal dominions, and a pensioner on the bounty of a foreign power. Although the detail of these matters more properly belongs to the history of the English successes in India than to the General History, it will be necessary to present the reader with a summary statement of facts that led to such an extraordinary predicament in one of the princes of Timur's family.

The first attempt of Shah Aulum to possess himself of Bahar and Bengal, or rather of their wealth, by which be hoped to reinstate himself in splendour at Delhi, has been already mentioned as wholly unsuccessful. On the return of Sujah Dowlah to Oude in 1762, loaded with honours, and flushed with recent victory, with what ever awe the British character might have before inspired him, that awe was now in a great degree effaced, and under the sanction of the imperial name and imperial banners he hoped with his mighty armies to overwhelm them as he had overwhelmed the myriad foe at Paniput. The expulsion of Meer Cossim from the Nabobship of Bengal was the ostensible reason alleged by the Vizier for this unprovoked attack upon them. To him, Cossim, after the inhuman massacre in cold blood of the English gentlemen at Patna,* had fled with the remnant

* See an account of this sanguinary affair in Vansittart's "Bengal." Vol. III. p. 375.

of his army, and by him was for a time protected, but afterwards plundered and deserted. Immense preparations were made for an expedition which was to insure to him the sovereignty of Bahar and Bengal, and expel the English from the Indian shores for ever. Early in 1764, those mighty preparations being complete, the armies of the two soubahs commenced their march southward. The respectable native historian of Bengal, GHOLAM HOSSAIN, describing the progress of the march, mentions their numbers as exceeding calculation, covering the country as far as the eye could reach; but from the ignorance of the generals, and want of discipline, murdering one another. It was not an army, but rather a moving nation.* With this undisciplined rabble, and with Clive's victory, at Plassey, fresh in his memory, did Sujah Dowlah hope to conquer a British army!

Among that rabble, however, were doubtless intermingled many battalions of the Rohilla and Mogul cavalry, that fought so valiantly against the Mahratta host; by some of his more experienced generals he was strenuously advised from the immense mass in motion to select those squadrons, and with those alone, and his artillery, which was numerous and well served, to advance against the foe; but Sujah Dowlah despised his enemy too much to take their advice, and entered Bahar at the head of this disorderly band, "spreading desolation," says Hossain, "for miles around their line of march."† The English army under Major Carnac, greatly diminished in numbers, and worn down with excessive fatigue during the late arduous campaign, in which Meer Cossim had been driven before them through a great part of Bengal and Bahar, and also not a little alarmed at the approach of this new and formidable foe—thought it prudent now to fall

* Gholam Hossain translated by Captain Scott, p. 437.

† Gholam Hossain, p. 432.

back from Buxar to Patna, near which city, finding themselves unable to keep the field against such an immense superiority, they threw up intrenchments. Inspired with new confidence by their retreat, the allies kept up a vigorous pursuit, and having arrived at Phulwaurree, about four miles distant from Patna, they there pitched their tents. Early on the following morning they advanced, and in the course of that day made three successive assaults on the English lines, which however, being defended with equal vigour and more dexterity than the attack was made, they were as many times repulsed with immense slaughter. Towards evening Sujah Dowlah with his discomfited army retreated to their encampment at Phulwaurree, extremely indignant at the conduct of Meer Cossim, who had all the day kept at a very respectful distance from the scene of action, nor had even quitted his station when required by signals to advance.* The Vizier was himself wounded in the action, and was in consequence for some days confined to his tent. On his recovery he attempted nothing decisive, but encamped nearer to the south of the city, and contented himself with occasionally parading before the English lines in all the pomp of Asiatic military splendour. After a month had thus elapsed in inactivity, as the season of the rains was rapidly approaching, this vain glorious chief retreated to Buxar, where he continued, intending to return to the attack of Patna, when the wet season should be over.

During all this time Shah Aulum was treated with great neglect and indifference by the arrogant Vizier; in short, as the mere imperial pageant of his ambitious projects. Sick of such empty homage, and such lukewarm friendship, he became impatient to throw himself upon the generosity of the British commander. He even sent a message to that purport by our author,

* Gholam Hossain, p. 432.

Gholam Hossain, who was upon the spot, and in his suit; but Major Carnac respectfully replied, " that his majesty was not then in a situation to act from himself, and that therefore the English could enter into no negociation with him." Neither was his conduct to Meer Cossim marked with any more feeling or respect: he had agreed to pay the Vizier eleven lacks of rupees monthly during the war, but that war becoming greatly protracted, the Vizier thought proper to anticipate payment, and on some trivial pretence confined Meer Cossim, and seized upon all his property, which was immense; he being supposed to have carried out of Bengal the amount of five millions, in gold and jewels. The day of severe retribution, however, was at hand, when he himself was doomed to become an abject dependent upon the bounty of others!

The rains being at length over, Colonel Hector Munro, who had superseded Major Carnac, and brought a great accession of strength to the army, not only in point of numbers, but of vigorous discipline, which it also wanted, commenced his march for Buxar, where the enemy in their turn had strongly intrenched themselves. Buxar is situated on the river Carumnassa, on the frontiers of Bahar, 100 miles above Patna. On receiving this intelligence Sujah Dowlah sent a large detachment of Mogul cavalry to harass his line of march; but the English army was not to be retarded or dismayed. They had with them only ten days provision, and they had resolved in that space to conquer or die. The Vizier's troops, added to those of Cossim and the emperor, composed an army of 50,000 men; that of the English scarcely amounted to 5000 men, of which 1200 were Europeans.

On his arrival at Buxar, Colonel Munro encamped on the borders of a morass, which now only separated the hostile armies. Two days they remained inactive; on the third the

Vizier changing his resolution of avoiding a general engagement, marched out of his intrenchments at the head of the Mogul cavalry, and took his station at some distance on the right of the English army. His minister, Beny Bahadur, occupied a ruined village on the bank of the Ganges, on their left. Eight battalions of sepoys, dressed and disciplined by Cossim in the European manner, with a numerous train of artillery, formed the front line, supported in the rear by a large body of cavalry. A heavy fire of cannon and musquetry immediately commenced, and was kept up for a long period, and with great spirit on both sides. The Vizier, in the mean time, pouring down with his cavalry, harassed the British in flank, and the Duranny horse at one time penetrated the line of major Munro's cavalry, and threw them into momentary disorder ; but all was quickly restored by the continued, well-directed, redoubled fire of the English artillery, which mowed down whole squadrons, and overwhelmed horse and infantry with promiscuous destruction. In the height and ardour of the conflict, Munro, calm and collected, detached a strong body with a view to dislodge Beny Bahadur from the village on the left, which was happily effected, and the victorious squadron impetuously rushing forward, entered, and plundered, the camp of the Vizier, which threw the whole field into irretrievable confusion, as the Duranny and other mercenary troops, despairing of victory, now pressed forwards with equal eagerness to partake of the spoil, and repay themselves by plundering the rich tents and baggage of their employer. The heroes, however, who had so arduously fought on that day, soon arrived to claim the just reward of triumphant valour, and the barbarous hordes quickly disappeared. In the general flight that now took place, Sujah Dowlah, left almost alone by his perfidious auxiliaries, was reluctantly compelled to follow the route of his retreating army, nor did he

think himself in perfect security till with a few followers he arrived at Allahabad. This celebrated battle, decisive of the claims of Cossim to Bengal, and of the power of the native princes to contend with European armies, took place in October 1764: 6,000 of the enemy were left dead on the spot, and 130 pieces of cannon, with a vast quantity of military stores were taken on the field. In the intrenched camp, notwithstanding the depredations made by those Afghan marauders, still an immense booty remained to the victors in money, bullion, jewels, and every species of valuable property, for, according to our author, "the cantonments resembled a populous city rather than a camp."*

The emperor, with this fresh proof of the invincibility of the English before him, and being once more the master of his own actions, again applied to the British general for that protection which it was now thought proper to grant him. He was accordingly received in the British camp with the honours due to his high rank, and attended Colonel Munro to Benares, where a handsome stipend was allowed for his maintenance till the pleasure of the governor and council at Calcutta could be known concerning his future disposal. In the mean time the war with Sujah Dowlah was vigorously prosecuted, and with such unvaried success, that after having in vain called to his aid Rohillas and Mahrattas, the warriors on the Ganges, and the chiefs on the Jumna, he found himself stript of all his dominions, and was, in his turn, ultimately compelled to throw himself on the clemency of the victors. General Carnac, having resumed the supreme command, received the fallen chief with respect; and in the end he was, from motives of sound policy, restored to all his territories, except the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, which, with a revenue of 22 lacks, or 220,000l. were conferred on the

* Golam Hossain, p. 442.

Mogul, and the castle of the latter place assigned him as a suitable residence. In addition to this allowance, on his majesty's issuing firmauns, granting, in perpetuity, to the Company, the office of DUANNY, or administration of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the British governour, Lord Clive, recently returned to India, engaged to pay into the royal treasury, as a kind of quit rent out of the revenues of Bengal, 26 lacks, or 260,000l. more, making a clear annual income of nearly half a million sterling; an income amply adequate, not only to his necessities, but to the maintenance of some degree of regal splendour.

While, however, the emperor was thus liberally provided for, it cannot be denied but that the Company, in return, obtained essential advantages, which placed them, as foreigners, in a new and enviable situation; for they were by these firmauns, and that grant, constituted an efficient, permanent part of the Mogul empire, with the sovereign's authority, added to their own, for the accomplishment of all reasonable purposes of power, and aggrandisement, together with a clear annual revenue OF A MILLION AND AN HALF STERLING, after all the charges of the civil and military establishment were paid. Under the protection of the English, we shall at present leave Shah Aulum, and return to the administration of affairs at Delhi, under his son, and Nidjib al Dowlah.

To that capital, and a small district adjoining to it, on each side of the Jumna, were the once mighty and extensive domains of the Mogul sovereign reduced; and even that wretched pittance of territory, on the departure of Abdallah, the rapacious Jauts, the avowed enemies of the Rohilla minister, endeavoured to wrest from his grasp. The intrepid minister, with a far inferior force, took the field, but made amends by his skill and address,

for what he wanted in point of number. Confiding in their numbers, unimpaired by the recent battle from which we have seen they early and prudently receded, the chiefs of that nation, in vain assurance of victory, amidst the toil of arms occasionally indulged in the sports of the field. This culpable negligence passed not unobserved by Nidjib al Dowlah, who, by his spies, was fully acquainted with whatever was transacted in the hostile camp. Having, by this means, gained intelligence of a large hunting party, in which Suraje Mull and his principal generals were to be engaged on a particular day, he contrived on that very day to dispatch a resolute body of 500 horse, under a commander of approved valour, to intercept them, while he himself with the main body of his troops, rushed on the Jaut army, utterly unprepared, and deprived of the advantage of its most skilful generals. In both cases the well-concerted project was crowned with complete success. After a desperate defence, Suraje Mull and his chiefs (about 300 in number) were cut off to a man, and the head of Suraje Mull being borne aloft on a spear, and exhibited to his army, they were struck with fear and horror at the sight; and after a feeble resistance, fled in every direction. They were pursued by the Moguls to a great distance, and with immense slaughter, after which the victors returned in triumph to Delhi, where the death of the restless and turbulent Suraje Mull seemed to promise them a long and undisturbed repose.

It proved, however, but of short duration, for the rajah's son, Jowahir Mull, being determined to revenge his father's death, and having in addition to his own troops, hired a body of 20,000 Mahrattas, under Mulhar Row, marched at the head of this formidable army to Delhi, to which city he laid close siege for three months, Nidjib being utterly unable to cope with such an

accumulation of force. Being reduced, at length, to great distress, and well knowing the mercenary nature of the Mahratta chiefs, he contrived by a large present, to bring Mulhar Row over to his interests, and the Jauts finding themselves betrayed by their venal allies, were ultimately compelled to agree to conditions very ill calculated to gratify their high-flown ideas of conquest and vengeance, and retired humiliated and disgusted to their own country. Repeated attacks, however, upon the capital, but of minor importance, continued, afterwards, to be made both by this people and the Seiks, but they were all repulsed or rendered nugatory by the political address of this able and upright statesman, who having discharged with honour both the duties of private life, and those due to the royal family, entrusted to his care, expired of a complication of disorders, and deeply regretted by the inhabitants of Delhi, in 1770. His son, Zabetah Khan, succeeded him in his important ministerial charge at Delhi; but in that station he seems to have acted with neither the ability, integrity, or loyalty of his father. Indeed it will be presently seen, that under whatever obligations the family of Timur might lie to Nidjib al Dowlah, they were utterly annulled by the long series of insults and oppressions heaped upon them at a subsequent period by this traitor, and his inhuman son, or rather monster in human form, GHOLAUM CAUDIR.

Deluded by a phantom of ideal grandeur, and impatient to be seated on the throne of his ancestors in the imperial city of Delhi, Shah Aulum, after a reluctant residence at Allahabad under the protection of the English, during five years, at length determined to exchange the comforts of independence for the splendid cares of a diadem, whose glory was faded, and whose authority was extinguished. Out of the liberal stipend settled upon him by the Company, Shah Aulum had been able to save a considerable

sum, and as the English continued firm in their resolution not to assist him in his ambitious projects, he turned his eyes towards the Mahrattas, who were by this time sufficiently recovered from their late disaster to engage in new schemes of conquest and aggrandizement, and in fact had at that moment an army encamped near Delhi, of 30,000 horse, waiting the current of events to be employed by one or other of the contending parties that harassed the empire. In this his rash determination to quit Allahabad, and to call in the aid of the Mahratta chiefs, he was encouraged and supported by his favourite minister, Hussam al Dowlah, a man of base and venal principles, and originally of mean extraction, but who had risen to distinction by becoming the pander of his master's illicit pleasures. This wretch, to whose pernicious councils the greater part of the errors of his early reign may be justly ascribed, hoped, by engaging the Mahrattas in the royal cause, and under their protection, to establish beyond controul his assumed power over the crown in that more enlarged sphere of action in which they possessed ample ability to place him, and his plans and councils were but too eagerly attended to on this and other occasions by his infatuated sovereign. The sum which was stipulated by this minister for their assistance in putting him in possession of Delhi was ten lacks of rupees, and this sum their rapacious chiefs insisted on being paid before hand, with which extraordinary demand, after much negociation, the emperor thought proper to comply. His own army, although not numerous, was respectable, having been disciplined after the European manner, and commanded by English officers, who were, however, not permitted to accompany him beyond the frontiers of Corah. To that boundary the imperial troops were attended by the Vizier and Sir Robert Barker, the English commander in chief, who, after repeating in vain his

own earnest request, and that of the presidency of Calcutta, that he would not depart from under their protection, took his final adieu. In this request the Vizier also joined, but insincerely, as he had secretly encouraged the departure of a prince, whose strict union with the English he considered as a bar to the success of projects to the accomplishment of which he wanted their assistance.

The royal army now moved forward, and arriving at Ferokh-abad, the Nabob of which, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, was recently dead, Shah Aulum received from his son a tribute of five lacks, as a compensation for having confirmed to him by a royal firmaun those estates and that property of his deceased father, which, according to the laws of the Mogul empire, should have reverted to the crown. Thus was the royal treasury still farther replenished, and with invigorated confidence pressing forward towards the goal of his ambition, the emperor was in a few days joined by the Mahratta army, who, marching on with him to the capital without meeting any obstruction, entered it in grand procession, and completed their agreement by publicly enthroning him with great pomp on the musnud of Delhi. This joyful event took place in December 1771 ; a momentary exultation was diffused through that desolated metropolis, and the palace and court were illuminated by a transient ray of their ancient splendour.

Inflamed with resentment against Zabetah Khan, who, after his father's decease, was reported, not only to have treated the emperor, then resident at Allahabad, with marked disrespect, but, also to have violated the sanctity of the royal haram, by an intrigue with one of the princesses of the blood,—— with the aggravation of refusing to remit to court the customary tribute of his district ——Shah Aulum, early in the following year, commenced

his march at the head of 90,000 men, chiefly Mahratta cavalry, for the territories of that chief. They comprehended the province of Sehaurunpore, situated about 70 miles north-east of Delhi, in the upper parts of the *Dooab*, and in the vicinity of the Sewalick hills; and were conferred on his father, in Jaghire, in just reward for his long and meritorious services to the state. Zabetah Khan, conscious of guilt, and prejudging his fate, had made every preparation possible for resisting the *Mogul* forces; he had placed numerous garrisons in all his forts, and commanded in the field a chosen body of veteran Rohillas; but against the immense *Mahratta* army, now advancing to desolate his country, it was in his power to oppose no adequate force, and after several desperate and sanguinary conflicts, he was compelled to retire across the Ganges, and take refuge in the dominions of Sujah Dowlah, who, however in his heart he might detest the Rohillas, retained a still greater dread and abhorrence of the Mahrattas. Well knowing how obnoxious he was to them from his conduct at Paniput, that omrah had advanced to Shahabad, the frontier city of his dominions, attended by Sir Robert Barker, and a considerable body of English troops, to watch their motions, and Colonel Champion was at Benares with a still larger body; but the emperor restrained their impetuosity, and having plundered the country of every valuable it contained, the whole army returned to Delhi. On this occasion he experienced a glaring proof of the equity of his new allies, for out of the immense booty which they had obtained in this campaign, the Mahrattas scarcely allowed any part to the Moguls, with whom they had agreed to divide the spoil; and having thus drained both the emperor and the country, marched off towards Agra to pass the rainy season, and raise fresh contributions among the Jauts. In the late expedition we first hear

of the distinguished bravery and ability of Nudjuff Khan, general of the imperial troops, who will make a conspicuous figure in the annals of this reign, and whose exertions the emperor rewarded to the best of his abilities.

To fill up the measure of their perfidy, after the rains, the Mahrattas returned to the neighbourhood of the capital, and having been secretly bribed by Zabetah Khan, dispatched messengers to the court of Delhi, insisting on the restoration of that omrah to all the territories, for ejecting him from which they had been paid by the emperor. By their own peremptory mandates the newly appointed officers were removed from the districts near Delhi, in which they had been placed as the only means of paying the heavy arrears due to them; and the wretched emperor, baffled, deluded, and assailed on every side by insult, and clamour, began heartily to wish himself once more under the protection of the English, in the enjoyment of an abridged but undisturbed domain, and a solid and certain, though inferior revenue. His treacherous minister, Husham, grown jealous of the rising influence of Nudjuff Khan, is said privately to have instigated the Mahrattas to these outrages, in order to crush that chief, and obtain the disbanding of his army, on the plea that there was no money in the treasury to pay them. But neither would that loyal chief desert his sovereign in this extremity, nor would the affection of the soldiers suffer themselves to be torn from their general. On the contrary, on the near approach of the enemy, he marched out at the head of all the troops which Delhi could supply, and offered them battle under the walls of the city. Scarcely had he formed his line, when the Mahrattas began the attack in their usual impetuous manner; but they were repulsed by the steady bravery of the Moguls, and pursued to some distance. Their flight was probably

designed, for the pursuit was fatal. Having advanced beyond the reach of the artillery of the city walls, which defended their rear, they were surrounded by so superior a body of Mahratta cavalry as insured victory to the latter. Still, however, the Delhians for a time resolutely continued the unequal contest. Many brave Moguls perished on that fatal day, and Nudjuff, in particular, seemed determined not to survive the disaster. While attempting to rush singly on the armed myriads of the foe, he was stopt by his friends, and carried by force into Delhi, where, however, neither his courage nor his patriotism could save him from the vindictive fury of his rival.

The Mahrattas in a few days removed their camp close to the walls of the city, and their chiefs, Bissagee and Holkar, together with Zabetah Khan, insolently entered the palace on their elephants, as far as the hall of audience, a privilege allowed only to the royal family. The humiliated emperor descended from his throne to receive them, and was compelled to submit to all their arrogant demands. Zabetah Khan was completely restored to all the domains that had been wrested from him, and had also the rank of ameer al omrah bestowed upon him. The Jauts were also re-instated in many of their possessions which had been taken from them in the Dooab, and added to the royal domain; and the Mahrattas appropriated to themselves other large tracts; so that Delhi alone remained to the beggared monarch. Not content, however, with degrading him thus far, they compelled him to violate every principle of honour and gratitude, by demanding of him a grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, where he had been so long and so generously protected by the English. The English, however, on his retreat from those provinces, had seized upon them, as their property, not only by conquest, but by his former cession of them, and the Mahrattas stood too much

in awe of their power at present to attempt occupying them. Nudjuff Khan, upon whom the minister laid all the blame of resistance, was fined in a heavy sum, and banished the royal presence, and the city of Delhi, from which in three days he departed with all his adherents, but was immediately taken into the service of Holkar, who admired his bravery, at a large stipend.

The Mahrattas shortly after commenced their march for Rohilcund, with intent to plunder that province; but found there Sujah Dowlah, and an English brigade under Sir Robert Barker, to whom the Rohillas had applied for protection, ready to obstruct their progress. After committing their usual depredations on the northern and exposed districts of the province, awed by the approach of the British artillery, they retired precipitately across the Ganges, and bending their course towards the Jumna, before the end of the year returned to Deccan. On the retreat of the Mahrattas, Nudjuff Khan, with his faithful battalions, joined the forces of Sujah Dowlah, who received him with the greatest kindness, and by his earnest recommendations, in addition to those of Sir Robert Barker, he was again restored to the emperor's favour, who had, in fact, parted with him only by compulsion. He had long viewed with disgust the unprincipled conduct of his favourite minister, Husham, by whose predilection for the Mahrattas he had suffered such extreme affliction and debasement. The treasury was empty, and even the crown-jewels had been pledged to supply the pressing necessities of the court; the army also had become mutinous on account of the great arrears due to them. In this emergency, it seemed but just that the remedy should be derived from that quarter which was the source of these multiplied calamities. The minister was given up to the merited vengeance of his fortunate rival, and his

ill-gotten treasures were devoted to alleviate the public distresses. After keeping him confined, however, during two years, Nudjuff Khan had the generosity to set him at liberty, and allowed him a liberal pension for the remainder of his life.

It is not without indignation that the historian of this period finds himself compelled to descend from recording the annals of a great dynasty, and become the degraded narrator of the ambitious struggles for power of their viziers and favourites. Sujah Dowlah had, however, now become a personage of greater political consequence in the empire, possessed far more extensive territories, and a far more abundant revenue, than even Shah Aulum himself. His ambition, indeed, had expanded with his power; and he now determined, with the aid of his allies, the English, to seize on the country of the Rohillas, and make that fine, fertile, and contiguous province, a constituent, unalienable portion of his own dominions. The ostensible plea, never wanted by a tyrant, when resolved on acts of aggression, for this glaring act of injustice, was the neglect of the chiefs of that nation to discharge the sum of 40 lacks, stipulated to be paid him for the defence of their country in the preceding year against the Mahratta hordes. The chiefs urged, in excuse, their utter inability at that time to discharge the demand, owing to the desolated state of a great part of their country; but, whether that excuse were feigned or real, their ruin and expulsion were resolved upon by the inexorable Vizier. The presidency at Calcutta seem in this instance too easily to have listened to those delusive maxims of state policy, which removed for ever from the vicinity of their ally and of themselves, a dangerous and troublesome neighbour, of whom war was at once the employment and delight. The imbecile court of Delhi, soothed by the immediate payment of a large sum, and the promise of sharing in the plunder of Rohilcund,

prepared to take an active part in the iniquitous business ; and Nudjuff Khan, at that time successfully pursuing the war against the Jauts, in the vicinity of Agra, was recalled for that purpose, and ordered to unite his forces with those of the Vizier in its reduction.

Early in the year 1774, all his mighty preparations for the attack being ready, the Vizier took the field, and was soon joined by the British under Colonel Champion. Hafiz Rahmut, the most distinguished chief among the Rohillas, as well by power as talents, commanded the army of warriors who were now to contend against such great odds in military skill, for their independence, and even their very existence, as a nation. Their collective force amounted to 24,000 horse and foot, 4000 rocket men, and 60 pieces of artillery.* They had the village of Cutterah on their rear, and a river that runs by that village covered their flank. Colonel Champion, by various skilful manœuvres contrived to draw them from that advantageous situation, and, by delaying the attack from day to day, caused the Rohilla general to relax somewhat in point of vigilance. On the 22d of April the British commander made the necessary preparation for action, and marching the following morning at two o'clock, *without beat of drum*, arrived about sun-rise within view of the Rohilla camp. The confusion of the Rohillas at the sudden appearance of so formidable an enemy, drawn up in battle array within cannon shot of their lines, may be conceived, but cannot be expressed. Hafiz Rahmut did the utmost in his power to rectify the error into which he had suffered himself to be betrayed. Immediately mounting his elephant, he sallied forth to reconnoitre their position, and on his return to camp, by his presence and authority, prevented the flight of a great part of the army,

* Hamilton's History of the Rohilla Afghans, page 231.

though he was too late to arrest the progress of a body of infantry, about 4,000 in number, who, at the first alarm of the near approach of the English, had retired panic-struck from the field. He recounted to them their former glories on the plains of Hindostan; he reminded them that the enemy whom they had to oppose, though formidable in battle, were but *usurpers* like themselves; and he suceeded in inspiring them with an undaunted resolution to make, at least, one brave effort for the preservation of their independence.

Hafiz himself took his post in the centre of the Afghan army, directly opposite to the British troops. Fizoola Khan, the next chief in power and consequence, assisted by others, subordinate to himself in rank, had the command of that division of their forces which fronted the troops led on by the Vizier, and his general Latifet. For intrepid personal exertion, however, by distinguished individuals, there was little opportunity, as the action principally consisted of a cannonade, supported with great vigour and spirit on both sides for two hours; first at the distance of 2000 yards, and then, as the armies gradually advanced towards each other, of 500 yards. Unfortunately for the Rohillas, most of their shot, from the bad quality of the powder used by them, fell short of the enemy, and their rockets, the invention of an age of barbarity, though thrown in prodigious numbers, did but little execution; whilst a continued discharge of balls from the English artillery fell in torrents upon their centre, and made dreadful havoc among their unweildy columns. It was in vain that Hafiz Rahmut, descending from his elephant, and mounting a horse, repeatedly urged the cavalry to second him in a vigorous attack upon the flank of the enemy. The terror of the unremitting, well-directed fire of the English restrained them from rushing, as they thought, upon certain

destruction; and, in a short time, seeing their gallant general fall its victim, the centre immediately began to give way, and in a few minutes the whole broke and fled with precipitation. The right and left divisions, commanded by Fizoola Khan, and the other Rohilla chiefs, when they saw the centre broken and dispersed, and the allies advancing upon them, could not by all the upbraidings and intreaties of their leaders be induced to stand their ground, but fled off at full gallop, hurrying *them* reluctantly with them; and leaving their camp (which was still standing) with all their baggage, artillery, and an immense booty, to the victors. Some bodies of the Vizier's cavalry were dispatched after the fugitives, but, mounted on fleet horses, they fled different ways, and for the most part eluded their pursuers. The loss of the allies in this decisive action was inconsiderable, but that of the Afghans was not less than 2000 in killed and wounded, and the day was fatal to them in every respect, both individually, and as a nation.

Although Fizoola Khan was utterly unable to rally his troops on the day of action, yet, after the panic was over, and when he had retired to the famous hill-fort of Lolldong, he was joined by very considerable bodies of his countrymen, who preferred the desperate chance of that resource to unconditional submission. Their increasing numbers and resolute resistance eventually obtained for them, through the mediation of the English commander, more favourable terms than they could otherwise have expected. Fizoola was left in full possession of Rampore and its dependencies, yielding an annual revenue of more than fourteen lacks of rupees. The great body however of the Rohilla nation were compelled to retire to the west of the Ganges, and it was expressly stipulated that in future Fizoola's military establishment should never exceed 5000 men.

In the mean time Nudjuff Khan, in consequence of the agreement entered into by the emperor with Sujah Dowlah to assist him with a body of troops, had advanced to Bissoolee on the frontiers of Rohilcund, with 6000 men; but arrived too late to have any share in the reduction of the Rohillas. Having fulfilled the compact, however, he claimed the stipulated reward of *half the conquered country*, which was refused by the Vizier, on the ground of his having borne no actual part in its subjugation. On receiving, however, the imperial grants investing him with the sovereignty of the Rohilla territory, and Kinnoje, together with Corah and Allahabad, of which he had already been put in possession by the English, he remitted a handsome present to court, and reinforced Nudjuff, with some of his own troops to enable him to extend his conquests for the emperor *nominally*, but in reality for his own aggrandizement in the Dooab. Early in the following year (1775) in the midst of his triumphs and in the zenith of gratified ambition, expired Sujah Dowlah, and was succeeded both in his government and the office of Vizier by his eldest son, Asoph al Dowlah. The peishcush offered on this occasion was suitable to his rank and dignity in the empire; and thus was the royal treasury still farther enriched.

Had his ministers been sincere or disinterested, Shah Aulum might now have enjoyed the throne with some share of its ancient dignity and lustre; but the splendid victories about this time obtained by the arms of Nudjuff Khan over the Jauts, and the rajahpout chiefs, induced him almost wholly to lay aside the obedience of a subject, and treat his sovereign with a contemptuous arrogance, very unmerited by his imperial benefactor. He even refused to admit a royal officer to the command of the citadel of Agra, of which city and province, as well as the greatest part of Delhi, he had now become the entire master;

having an army of his own, and residing at Agra in almost regal state.

Next to Nudjuff himself, but far below him (in real dignity and consequence) the most prominent actor on the scene at this time was a crafty, venal, and unprincipled omrah named Mujud al Dowlah, the emperor's minister for civil affairs, highly in favour with his master, but a determined enemy of that commander, and as far as he dared, a resolute opposer of his ambitious projects. The captain-general, however, superior in genius, and commanding the army, looked down with supreme contempt both on the king and his minister. After long abusing the emperor's unlimited confidence, a circumstance arose which at once proved the deep duplicity of his heart, and his utter incapacity to conduct the affairs of a great empire. The SEIKS, whose efforts to become an independent state in Lahore, during the reign of Bahadur Shah, have been already noticed,* and who during the late distractions of the empire had become extremely numerous and powerful, about this time made an irruption into the province of Delhi, and extended their devastations to the very shores of the Jumna. To obviate a danger so near and so alarming, and drive the marauders back into their own territories, an army of 20,000 men was immediately raised, and in the absence of Nudjuff, Mujud al Dowlah, accompanied by one of the princes of the blood, was appointed to the command of it. It was attended by a formidable train of artillery, and was considered as a force perfectly adequate to the reduction of the enemy.

The royal army having advanced as far as Carnaul, near that city fell in with the first detachment of Seiks, which, however, being very inferior in point of numbers avoided an engagement by proposals of submission, and bought their peace by a peishcush

* See Chapter IV. page 511.

of three lacks, and the promise of an annual tribute. They were ordered to attend the march of the imperial troops, which now pursued its progress towards the Seik frontiers, and encamped before Puttiali, a town sixty coss north of the latter, strongly fortified, and commanded by a daring chief, named Amur Sing, who, having a numerous garrison, and abundance of provisions, was resolved to sustain a siege. To this resistance he was further instigated by intelligence of the approach of a large army of Seiks from Lahore, and by his emissaries he contrived to keep up a strict communication with the chieftains of the battalions of his countrymen, attendant in the train of the royal army. By this means he became intimately acquainted with all their plans and movements; and receiving information of the venal character of the minister, he determined to turn it to his advantage, and, to carry on the delusion more effectually, affected to enter into a negociation with the latter, making him costly presents, and still more splendid promises. Commissioners were in consequence mutually appointed to settle the terms of surrender, but those on the part of Amur Sing were directed as much as possible to procrastinate the final adjustment of matters. At length having received advice of the near approach of the army from Lahore, Amur Sing suddenly broke off the treaty, and, the Seik chieftains having previously lulled suspicion asleep in the mind of the minister, made their escape at the head of their troops, and joined their comrades. The shameful supineness and inaction of Mujud al Dowlah, during these transactions, corroborated the strong suspicions that prevailed throughout the army of his having been bribed to betray the royal cause; but, whether or not he was guilty of actual collusion with the enemy, the result was the same. The immense host of Seiks that had marched from Lahore having been joined by the fugitive battalions, and

the troops that composed the garrison of Puttiali, formed together an irresistible army, and at the first onset the king's troops being overpowered by numbers, and the impetuosity of their attack, were thrown into irretrievable confusion, and every where dispersed and put to the rout. The powerful and well-directed fire of the artillery, stationed in the rear, alone saved them from total destruction.

When intelligence of this fatal disaster reached Delhi, the whole city was thrown into the utmost consternation, and more especially so when it was found that the triumphant enemy, following up their victory, had crossed the Jumna, and in their usual ferocious manner were plundering the northern districts of the Dooab. Messengers were instantly dispatched by the terrified emperor to Nudjuff Khan at Agra, urging the necessity of his immediate return with the army under his command to Delhi, and the summons was chearfully obeyed by a chief sufficiently confident in his own merit, and who had now a fair opportunity of crushing for ever his inveterate enemy. Mujud al Dowlah, in the mean time, with the remnant of his discomfited army, had returned to the capital amidst the execrations of the people, and in vain endeavoured, by a multitude of fallacious statements, to justify himself to his insulted sovereign. That sovereign heard him with deep but silent indignation, as his palace was surrounded by his troops, and himself wholly at his mercy. On the approach of the captain-general to Delhi, Mujud al Dowlah, and one of the princes of the blood, under the pretence of doing him honour, were ordered to march a few coss to meet him, and conduct him to the presence. The minister, though warned by his friends that treachery was designed him, confidently marched out to meet his rival. On entering his tent, however, he was arrested, and sent back under a strong guard to Delhi; and shortly after

his whole fortune, amounting to twenty lacks of rupees was seized, and confiscated to the use of the captain-general. That distinguished chief himself was received by the emperor with marks of the highest respect, and under his direction early in the following year an army, ably commanded, was dispatched against the Seiks, who were defeated with great slaughter under the walls of Meerut, and the honour of the imperial army amply vindicated. From this period to his death, Nudjuff Khan resided constantly at Delhi, but became in his conduct more haughty and arrogant than ever, and left the humiliated emperor in the enjoyment of few privileges beyond that of granting empty titles, and the ratification of the acts of his imperious minister. From what he has just read, the reader will perceive that to enter, with any minuteness, into the transactions of this period of the Mogul annals would be only to record the rise and fall of ministers and favourites—to enumerate the struggles of grasping avarice and unprincipled ambition for the spoils of an expiring empire, and is unworthy the province of History. Let us hasten, therefore, to the close of this distressful scene, and contemplate, with due commiseration, the final catastrophe of this distinguished dynasty, and of this once potent empire.

From this vassalage (for so it must be called) under Nudjuff Khan, the emperor was released by the death of that chief, which took place, from a complication of disorders, in April, 1782. For his exalted situation as ameer al omrah, and his extensive domains in the Dooab and the Jaut country, there arose many and powerful competitors. The principal of these were Affrasiab Khan, an adopted son of the deceased, and Mirza Shuffee, the general, who had so successfully led the imperial army against the Seiks, and who was related, by blood, to that chief. Their contests, and those of their connections and dependents both in the male

and female line, to secure the object of their ambition, were protracted and violent, but I forbear the detail of them. Mirza Shuffee proved at length the successful candidate; but he enjoyed his new-blown honours only for a short time, being stabbed in the field by Ismael Beg, a distinguished Mogul chief, of whom much will occur hereafter. Affrasiab now succeeded to the high station for which he had before ineffectually contended, but found himself unable to appease the rage of the refractory chiefs who had devoted his predecessor to death; and after in vain applying to the English for their assistance, formed an alliance with the famous Mahratta chief, Madhajee Scindia, who had already, by a rapid career of conquest, obtained possession of the greater part of the territories around Agra and in the Rajahpout country subjugated by the arms of Nudjuff Khan. He had a large well-disciplined army at his command, and from his being long practised in the field, both of Indian politics, and of war, Affrasiab from that alliance indulged the most confident hopes of complete success. Those hopes would probably have been in a great degree realized, but the dreadful knife of assassination in eastern climes is always thirsting for blood, and by that knife, aimed by the same hands that guided it before, he also fell, a very few days after he had, in a personal interview with that chief, agreed on a day jointly to attack the common foe. Scindia in this extremity was at no loss how to act. By dint of large presents, by promises of implicit obedience, and a handsome establishment for the royal household, he prevailed on the emperor to place himself under the protection of his nation, and appoint himself to the command of the army, and the governments of Agra and Delhi. The Mogul chiefs, being without a head, and divided among themselves in the choice of a successor, bribed by his presents, and awed by his army, were soon prevailed upon to acknowledge

his authority, and separately made the best terms they were able with the new commander. Shah Aulum had an allowance settled upon him of 60,000 rupees per month; but a Mahratta guard constantly attended him, and, in fact, from that moment he was only a state-prisoner in the hands of Scindia.

In the short account of the Mahratta states, inserted in the preceding volume,* this very important actor in the scene before us, MADHAJEE SCINDIA, is stated to nave been the fifth son of Ranojee Scindia, the founder of the family, and to have succeeded to the patrimonial inheritance, a considerable portion of Malwa, obtained by the valour of that father, of which Oujein is the capital. By the limits of that province, however, he was by no means to be confined, and in the course of recent years, we have seen him acting as an expert and daring leader, in most of the predatory armies of his nation, that about this period overran the empire. We have remarked him gradually extending his authority over all the adjoining districts to the very banks of the Jumna, and securing to himself the conquests of Nudjuff Khan, in the Jaut country. He compelled the emperor to sanction by his presence his ambitious projects, for still more widely extending those conquests. The citadel of Agra, after a short siege, had submitted, and the stronger fortress of Alleeghur rapidly followed. He then marched with him into the country of the rajahs, and demanded an annual tribute, which was reluctantly submitted to, especially by the rajah of Jeypore, the most powerful of them, who secretly meditated a determined opposition to his claims, although the precise moment of resistance was not arrived. After this successful expedition of the new minister, the emperor returned to Delhi, and Scindia, with his army, went into cantonments at Muttra.

* Vol. II. p. 331.

Scindia was now in the plenitude of his power, and was both feared and respected. In the breasts, however, of the Mogul nobility, there burned a spark of latent jealousy, on observing the throne subjected to the supreme control of a Mahratta adventurer. An incident soon occurred which blew that spark into a flame. Towards the close of the following year (1787) a considerable body of Mahrattas having been dispatched to collect the tribute from the Jeypoor and other rajahs, was defeated and put to flight, which occasioned the immediate march of Scindia and the whole army into that country. The Rajahpouts, being firmly united, had contrived to distress him, by cutting off his supplies, and, in the confusion and distress occasioned by this calamity, Mahommed, and his brother, Ismael Beg, with other Mogul chiefs, deserted to the enemy. In a severe action which followed, Mahommed was slain, and his troops began to give way, but Ismael Beg, by the example of his heroic bravery, so animated the sinking spirit of his soldiers, that they returned with fury to the attack, and obtained a complete victory over the Mahrattas. Some days after the battle, the Sepoys, disciplined after the European manner, in whom lay the strength of his army, left Scindia, and enlisted under the banners of Ismael Beg, who, following up his victory, ultimately compelled that chief to evacuate Agra and Delhi, and retire to Deccan with the remains of his discomfited army. Such are the rapid transitions frequently occurring in India, from the most exalted state of power and splendor, to that of abject humiliation and distress.

The unfortunate emperor was now doomed, once more, to change masters. Himself and his capital were in charge of a Mahratta garrison, yet Ismael Beg, with the imperial army, was fighting against the troops of that nation, and, in the sovereign's name, had already commenced the siege of Agra. Even this

accumulation of evils might be borne; but a monster deeply stained with crimes and blood was now approaching Delhi, from whom he was to suffer a series of outrages and insults, unparalleled in the history of thrones, and of such a nature that the very recital of them makes humanity shudder.

The various rebellions of that turbulent chief, Zabeta Khan, have been occasionally noticed. Owing to the false policy of the Vizier, when he expelled the Rohilla nation from his western frontier, this chief was suffered to retain his possessions, in the hope that being thus favoured, his power and influence might be exerted to check any tumultuous insurrections of his countrymen. By his own numerous forces, united with the English army stationed in his dominions, the Vizier himself was secure from his depredations, but he was a perpetual thorn in the side of the unfortunate emperor. Towards the close of 1785, Zabetah Khan died, and the ferocious chief, above mentioned, his son, without paying the slightest homage, or making the least offering to the sovereign, as is customary in Hindostan, assumed the government of the district. Incensed as the emperor was at this slight, until Scindia should return with reinforcements from Deccan, he had no arm to revenge his wrongs; and Gholaum Caudir having raised a considerable army, in the absence of the Deccan chief, meditated the accomplishment of projects of the most daring and ambitious kind. The Mahratta garrison in Delhi, was known to be neither very powerful, nor numerous; their expulsion, the plunder of the city, and the captivity of the aged monarch, might be effected without much difficulty and effusion of blood. He had already fortified in the strongest manner his principal fort of Ghose-Ghur, and in his territory were other fortresses of great strength and intricate construction, where a pursuing army might be baffled or eluded.

The immense treasures, in gold and jewels, supposed to be hoarded in the palace, inflamed his imagination; and the possession of the person of the sovereign, who had long swayed the Indian sceptre at the will and direction of another, would, he conceived, insure to him that of all the power remaining in the empire. It elevated a petty Rohilla chief to the rank and wealth of princes. It was a prize worth contending for: and he determined to risque every thing to obtain it.

To the success of this daring undertaking there was one circumstance peculiarly favourable. The great mogul omrahs at Delhi, who, both from religious and political prejudices, heartily detested the Mahrattas, anxiously desired the emancipation of the emperior and his court from the yoke of that nation; but as the Rohillas were of the Mahommedan faith, they were not averse to their being under the protection of that power. The Nazir, or principal superintendant of the palace, in particular, is accused on this occasion of the blackest perfidy, by not only secretly corresponding with the Rohilla, but by inflaming his hopes of the spoil to be found in the palace, with which his situation might be supposed to render him best acquainted. Ignorant, therefore, of the real character of the man whom they hailed as a deliverer, they prepared the way for the admission into Delhi of its direst scourge; and when his army, formidable both for their numbers and ferocity, appeared before its walls, no native arm was raised for its defence: the whole Mahratta garrison, also, knowing themselves to be in every respect so vastly inferior, with great rapidity evacuated the city. The invader, however, having made himself secure of Delhi, did not immediately begin his system of massacre and depredati on, but having compelled the emperor to confer on himself the dignity of Ameer al Omrah, marched away to the attack of the strong fortress of Alleeghur, where Scindia

had also left a garrison; and which, after a short siege, capitulated. On the fall of Alleeghur, he marched to join Ismael Beg, then occupied in besieging Agra; but with that chief, either from jealousy, or some other motive, not perfectly agreeing, he left him, in order to pursue his career of conquest in other parts of the Dooab.

Whatever might have been the cause of their separation, it was deeply disastrous to Ismael, who shortly after was attacked by a considerable Mahratta army, detached by Scindia from Gualior, under the command of his confidential minister, Rana Khan, and utterly defeated with the loss of all his cannon, baggage, and stores. He himself escaped with difficulty, by swimming his horse across the Jumna; but, being afterwards joined by a large body of his routed cavalry, on an invitation from the Rohilla to forget their differences, and unite their forces, he obeyed the summons, and the combined armies marched back towards Delhi. Shah Aulum being informed of the recent victory gained by the Mahrattas, and dreading the rage of Scindia, now forbad their entrance into that city, and ordered the gates to be shut against the confederated chiefs. The Nazir, however, and other Mogul chiefs within, encouraging them, they proceeded to violence, and having burst open the gates, again became possessed both of the city, and the person of the emperor.

Introduced to the presence by the perfidious Nazir, they threw themselves at the feet of the insulted monarch, and begged his forgiveness of a crime founded in the virtuous wish to release him from those disgraceful bonds in which the Mahrattas had so long holden the illustrious house of Timur. If he would renounce his alliance with that infidel race, and would appoint *them* his generals, with the same privileges and absolute authority with which he had invested Scindia, especially if he would permit one

of the princes of the blood to accompany them to the field with their united armies, under that sanction they made no doubt of driving the Mahrattas back to the Deccan, of restoring the lustre of his faded crown, and adding a large increase to his diminished revenue. The sceptered dupe of so many projects, the devoted victim of so many adventurers, remained for some moments in profound silence. At length, rather prevailed upon by the representations of the Nazir, who joined in their solicitations, than by their intreaties, the unfortunate monarch assented to their demands, and a treaty being drawn up, was ratified by the solemnity of oaths mutually pledged in one of the mosques of the palace.

In that mosque the doom of the empire and the emperor was sealed. The prince who sends an army to the field commanded by generals of his own appointing, becomes responsible for the charges of it; but, previously to the late treaty, the armies both of the Rohilla and Ismael Beg, had considerable arrears due to them, and from the treasury of Delhi those arrears must be disbursed. In a few days Gholaum Caudir repeatedly sent to demand of the emperor a very considerable sum for that purpose. The combined armies having as yet done no military service for the empire or himself, he refused compliance. This irritated the Rohilla, and being assured by Nazir that Shah Aulum really did possess secret hoards of treasure and jewels, he determined within himself to dethrone the unfortunate monarch and send him into confinement, when he would have the uncontrolled command of the treasures, and all the property of every kind in the palace. Having communicated this determination to Ismael Beg, and obtained his assent, early in the morning of the 26th July, 1788, these lawless ruffians, at the head of a numerous armed band, having entered the great Hall

of Audience, and insolently seated themselves near the throne, dispatched that base instrument of their villainy, the Nazir, with a positive demand of a large supply of money from the emperor. His excuse was that of *inability*. Two attendants were immediately ordered to bring from the state prison of the royal family, Bedar Bukht, son of the deceased emperor Ahmed Shah. The prince being placed on the imperial musnud, received from the chiefs and all present the usual presents and salutations made to an emperor on his first ascending the throne. Shah Aulum, with nineteen princes, his sons and grandsons, was then by the unrelenting Gholaum ordered into close confinement in an apartment of the palace called Noormahal. Here himself and family were kept without victuals or drink till they were nearly perishing with hunger; and on the 28th, one of the princes of Bedar's family having sent a few cakes and a little water to Shah Aulum, was ordered to be beaten with clubs.

The two rebel chiefs now began the search for treasures, in which they were grievously disappointed, as, contrary to the suggestions of the Nazir, very little was found in the treasury. This disappointment produced a violent quarrel between the confederated robbers, and they parted at length, in very ill blood; Ismael retiring to his camp, and Gholaum Caudir continuing in the palace. The new emperor in the mean time used his utmost exertions, the price of his throne, in collecting together all the remaining valuables of the palace, and by menaces and persuasion obtained from the princesses of the haram the whole of their jewels and wealth of every kind, which he sent in trays to Gholaum Caudir; but the important secret of the concealed treasure was supposed to be locked up in the breast of the dethroned emperor. On the 29th, Gholaum Caudir having prepared five whips, obliged Bedar Shah to take one in his hands, and

accompany him to extort a confession of his treasures from Shah Aulum. On the 30th, several ladies of the haram were tied up and beaten with whips in order to compel a discovery of their effects, and the whole palace resounded with lamentations. On the 31st, Gholaum, by these means, had heaped such an immensity of spoil, that, to pacify the enraged Ismael Beg, he sent him five lacks of rupees, as part of the plunder of the palace. During all this time the severest exactions were going on in the city, and among others this day, seven bankers were seized and imprisoned, in order to extort money from them. August 1st, Gholaum Caudir went again to the miserable Shah Aulum, and threatened him with punishment. "What I possessed," said the agonizing prince, "you have got; if you think I carry concealed treasures within me, rip up my bowels, and be convinced."

The aged princesses Maleka Zumani, and Saheba Mhal, mentioned in a former page as the widows of Mahommed Shah, still resided in Delhi. They were esteemed immensely rich, having not been molested during all the revolutions that had taken place since the death of that monarch. As they were related to the new monarch they were sent for to the palace, by a mandate that allowed of no refusal, and made instrumental to the purpose of plundering of their valuables the female part of its inhabitants, to whom at first some deference was paid; but the unsparing Afghaun soon forgot those distinctions so respected over all the Eastern world, and equally devoted male and female to depredation. These princesses having been made thus useful, were themselves, in their turn, plundered of their vast property, and on the ground of having still concealed treasures, subjected to the tongue of insult and to the pangs of hunger. The storm now also deservedly began to roll upon the Nazir, who became the victim of his own deception; seven

lacks were demanded from him. On the 3d, the most daring insult was offered by Gholaum to his imperial pageant. Having seated himself near him, he smoaked his hookah in his presence, with his feet stretched out upon the royal musnud, insulting him at the same time with the grossest invectives. On the 6th, however, he proceeded further, and seized upon the throne itself, with all the other thrones and seats, no longer golden, as in the better days of the empire, but ornamented with plates of gold and silver; those plates were torn off, and consigned to the mint. And now the floors of all the apartments in the palace, as well those inhabited by males as females, were dug up, and the cielings torn down to discover hidden treasure; and great lots of jewels, money, and plate, buried long previous to the birth of Shah Aulum, and utterly unknown to that indigent monarch, were in fact discovered. Still unsatiated, the rapacious Gholaum went again to the dethroned emperor, and demanded the money which he had saved from the revenues of Bengal and Allahabad. The unfortunate prince in reply begged him "to put him to death, and end his troubles." On the 7th, Bedar Shah was severely threatened with corporeal correction, and even with dethronement, if more money was not instantly produced. The miserable half famished king exclaimed that he should be happy to be released from such *mock royalty*. The Nazir too was threatened with flagellation, if he did not produce more money; and had a guard set upon him.

At length the fatal *tenth of August* arrived, when, not content with starving, beating, and otherwise grossly insulting his liege sovereign, and all the *princes*, and what to an Asiatic is still more horrible! the *princesses* of the royal family, the monster, attended by five Afghans, ferocious as himself, rushed into the apartment of Shah Aulum, and repeated his demand for the treasure, the

concealed treasure! The usual answer that he had no concealed hoards being returned, he ordered the attendant ruffians to seize the princes his sons, Soleyman Akber and others, to lift them up on high, and dash them on the ground with violence before the face of the agonizing father. At this refinement of diabolical cruelty, that father passionately exclaimed; "TRAITOR! forbear such cruelty to my children in my sight." The dæmon then, resolved that he should never see them nor the sun more! ordered the Afghans to cast the hapless monarch on the ground, which they did, and, falling upon him, stabbed out his eyes with a dagger. Other accounts say that he himself rushing upon the bosom of the prostrate king, with his own hands pricked out his eyes with the point of a poniard; an act perfectly credible, and entirely consonant with his bloody disposition. He then ordered the miserable princes to undergo the same fate; but from this additional piece of frantic barbarity he was restrained by the humane entreaties of an officer in his train. While these dreadful scenes were transacting, the whole palace rang with female shrieks and outcries of horror, which the menace of whips and the terror of inflicted tortures could not for a long time silence. The pale and bleeding monarch was left without medical aid in this miserable condition; but afterwards, being in exquisite pain, two surgeons of the household were upon his earnest intreaty permitted to attend him, and dress his wounds.

In the mean time, owing to the boundless rapacity of the Rohillas, the whole city continued in the utmost disorder and confusion; all the bankers and jewellers shops were shut up, and half the terrified inhabitants had fled into the country. On the 12th, more money was sent to the camp to Ismael Beg, and the apparently reconciled chiefs paid a visit to Bedar Shah in company. On the 14th, parties of Mahratta horse made their

appearance in the suburbs, and Ismael Beg is supposed to be secretly in treaty with their general Rana Khan, for the surrender of Gholaum Caudir, but procrastinates, that he may obtain as large a division of the plunder as possible. On the 18th, the Mharattas approach nearer, intercept a large convoy from Ghoseghur, and, in defending it, many Rohillas are cut to pieces, or drowned in the river. Even in this extremity, unsatiated with blood and plunder, and presuming on the superior strength of the combined armies to that of the Mahratta chief, the Rohilla continued his cruelties and spoliation in the palace, where several ladies expired with famine, and Shah Aulum, in his deplorable situation, was still denied bread for himself and his distracted family. So infatuated was this monster of depravity, that while the royal family were perishing with hunger around him, he would make sumptuous banquets in the Lion Tower, carouze all night with his officers, and in the wanton excess of his intoxication would send for the young princes, to sing and play before him, excusing his conduct by observing that they were the offspring of *singers*. The Mahrattas, in the mean time are making still nearer advances towards the city, which they almost surround, and cut off all supplies from it. With the Rohillas they have frequent skirmishes; but the grand attack is delayed till re-inforcements from Deccan, daily expected, shall have arrived. The Rohilla chiefs, avaricious as their leader, now began to mutiny for want of pay: Gholaum Caudir, advancing to appease them, one of the mutineers, drawing his dagger attempted to stab him, but was prevented by his companions. They were at length appeased by his promise of advancing them two months pay immediately.

In the beginning of September, intelligence of the rapid approach of the great body of the Mahratta army induced the

Rohilla seriously to think of quitting Delhi. With this view, part of his army on the 7th of that month crossed the river, on which the Mahrattas, unable to cope with them, retreated to some distance. He had before seized upon all the elephants and horses of the royal stables, together with their accoutrements, and he now divided the royal tents and field equipage among his needy retainers. The plunder of the palace had been all previously packed up in boats, and carried off: it was doubtless the hopes of eventually sharing in this plunder that kept his numerous army so compactly together. On the 14th, having received certain information that Ismael Beg had joined the Mahrattas, and was seeking an opportunity to deliver him up to Rana Khan, the terror-struck Rohilla on a sudden left the palace, and crossing the Jumna on his elephant joined his army, incamped on the opposite bank. In a few days however he returned to that scene of his brutal devastations; and suspecting Shah Aulum of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy, grossly abused, and with his own hands severely beat that blind and aged monarch; declaring that he would take the whole of his children with him, and that if he were defeated, he would put them all to instant death. He then forced them all into a boat, except Akber, who making some resistance, he was about to cut him down with his scymitar, when that spirited prince was also obliged to submit. With these he compelled the treacheous Nazir, and the aged princesses so often mentioned, to embark, that he might have under his control the whole royal family, and having evacuated the citadel he set fire to all the combustible parts of it; an act of savage atrocity worthy of his preceding conduct! The flames were extinguished, and the city and palace immediately taken possession of by the Mahratta chief, who released Shah Aulum from his confinement, and humanely ordered refreshments to be

served up to himself and the numerous persons of the haram, who for seven previous days had subsisted only on dry grain and water.

The reinforcement, so long expected by the Mahratta general, having at length arrived, Rana Khan lost no time in crossing the Jumna with his whole army, in order to attack Gholaum Caudir, and recover from his grasp the royal victims. That traitor, unable to withstand so formidable an army, immediately retreated towards his own country, but was pursued with such vigour and celerity that he was compelled to take refuge in the town of Mhirta, where he offered terms of submission as humiliating as his prior conduct had been haughty and arrogant; they were rejected by the Mahratta with indignation, and on the 21st of December a general assault was made on the place. The Rohilla and his troops defended the fort for a whole day with determined bravery; but seeing no prospect of final success, and justly dreading the vengeance that awaited him, Gholaum mounted a fleet horse, and having first carefully packed up the finest jewels obtained in the plunder of the palace in the saddle and howsings, made his escape in the dead of the following night. He had not advanced many miles when his horse fell with him, and he was so severly bruised by the fall that he lay on the ground unable to move; while the horse, recovering himself, galloped away with the treasures of Delhi, and was never after heard of. In this situation the inhabitants of a neighbouring village at day-break discovered the prostrate chief, and carried him prisoner to the Mahratta camp. Deserted by their commander, the Rohilla garrison at Mhirta on the following day surrendered at discretion. The princes of the royal family, as well as the aged princesses, were liberated by Rana Khan, treated with the greatest respect, and sent back to Delhi with

a proper guard for their protection, while the perfidious Nazir was thrown into irons, and reserved for condign punishment. Gholam Caudir too, when he arrived in the camp, was heavily loaded with irons, and, being placed in an iron cage, was kept for some time suspended in the front of the army to be gazed at as a monster of vice and unparalleled barbarity. Soon after, upon Scindiah's joining the army, by his orders the former was trodden to death by elephants; and the latter, having first had his nose and ears, and then his hands and feet, cut off, in this mutilated condition was sent to Shah Aulum at Delhi; but the miserable wretch died while conveying thither.

Scindiah, in the mean time, rapidly pursuing his career of victory, soon arrived in the country of the deceased rebel, where his discomfited army, unable to make any effectual opposition, fled in every direction before him. He soon became possessed of Ghoseghur, and all the inferior forts in that district, and added those territories to his own extensive domains in the Dooab. Having left a strong Mahratta force in his new conquests, he then marched to Delhi, where, sending Bedar Shah back to his ancient state-prison of Selim-Ghur, he, with great pomp, once more raised the blind debilitated monarch to the musnud, and had coins again struck in his name. But, notwithstanding these pompous ceremonies, which, like many other transactions of recent date, by the usurpers of the supreme authority at Delhi, can only be regarded as a solemn mockery of fallen majesty, since by the ancient laws both of Persia and India, a prince deprived of sight can never legally wield the imperial sceptre, I consider the *reign of Shah Aulum as terminated*, and the INDIAN EMPIRE itself, of which I have attempted, however inadequately, to give the General History, as no longer existing. From this period I consider the glorious SUN of Timur, which had for so

many ages illumined India, as set for ever! A dark and deeply ensanguined cloud had long hovered over the metropolis, and, at length, bursting upon the imperial palace, overwhelmed the last miserable sceptred descendant of that mighty race.

The most exalted state of human grandeur, whether enjoyed by kingdoms or dynasties, has its allotted period; and what more proper period can be assigned by the historian to the Indian Empire and the dynasty of Timur, than that in which all authority in the Supreme Head became annihilated, and all subordination in its dependent branches destroyed? That mighty empire, which, under Aurungzeb, reached from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, and nearly as much in longitude, and produced a revenue exceeding thirty-two millions of pounds sterling, was now reduced (hear it, indignant Shade of Akber!) to a ruinated city, and a scanty district around it, with only a few eleemosynary lacks of rupees, allowed for the subsistence of that Head by a vassal chief, belonging to a nation ever among the bitterest enemies of his family! It is high time to draw the curtain over such melancholy scenes, as those which have darkened the concluding pages of this volume; and we take leave of that potent dynasty that once made the proudest thrones of Asia tremble, with mingled sensations of admiration and pity; with admiration of their heroic virtues, and pity for their unparalleled misfortunes.

END OF THE MOGUL HISTORY.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

CONCLUDING PORTION.

ADVERTISEMENT.

At the conclusion of Chapter V. on the European settlers in India, in the preceding volume, the subjoined paragraph occurs.

"Having now brought the History of the European establishments, and more particularly, that of the Company in Bengal, down to the close of the year 1757, we shall in the next Book resume, and uninterruptedly pursue, the regular Mogul history to its termination, that is, to the last visit of Abdallah to Delhi, when its authority virtually expired. In an additional Book, the History of the European Establishments, or rather that of our East-India Company, in which they were ultimately absorbed, will again be continued, and the work conclude with a summary statement of the different powers among which that once mighty empire is at present divided."

The first of these promises has, it is hoped, been fulfilled to the reader's entire satisfaction, since, in fact, the Mogul History has been brought nearly thirty years lower down than the last visit of Abdallah to Delhi, which took place in A. D. 1761. The latter promise it is found utterly impossible to fulfil in the extent desired, not only from the immense field to be traversed, and the magnitude and infinite variety of the events, the details of which, on the most limited scale, it is calculated would occupy two large additional volumes; but from the proximity of the period, a period of fierce debate and high political contention to that in which we live, rendered too

delicate to be entered upon; many of the principal actors in those turbulent scenes being still living, and the embers of contention and jealousy scarcely yet extinguished. After an immense labour and expence incurred in procuring the books and pamphlets requisite, most of them, unhappily, too strongly marked by the prevailing passions and prejudices of the times in which they were composed, to be perused without the most guarded caution, the project is for the present laid aside.

It has, however, been thought proper to wind up this part of the work by presenting the reader with an Additional Chapter, in which the long and ardent contests of the English and French nations on the Coast of Coromandel were brought to a final termination by the destruction of Pondicherry, and the expulsion of the French from India, in 1761, at the close of which year not a flag of that nation was seen flying on any fortress along the whole of its extensive coast. It seemed also necessary to bring down the English affairs in Bengal, which by the Shah Zaddah's irruption in 1759, began to be intimately blended with those of the empire, to the important period in which they obtained from the same prince, afterwards emperor, the office of DEWANNY, or collection of the revenues (dated 12th of August, 1765), in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which elevated them from a chartered body of merchants to the rank of sovereign princes.

With respect to the Powers among whom India is at present divided, the elegant coloured Map of India, engraved by Arrowsmith expressly for this work, will in that respect be a surer guide to the reader than any more elaborate description which it might be in the power of the Author to furnish.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

Affairs of BOMBAY.—*The Pirate* ANGRIA *defeated and his Forts demolished; first, under Commodore James, and finally, under Admiral Watson, and Colonel Clive.—Affairs on the Coromandel Coast.—Count Lally arrives at Pondicherry with powerful reinforcements from France.—Immediately marches against Fort St. David's.—Attacks, takes, and completely demolishes that city.—Inflamed with this success he leads his army against Madras.—His partial success.—The siege raised by the arrival in Madras-roads of a fleet and army from England.—Disgraceful retreat of the French to Pondicherry.—Thus reinforced, early in* 1758 *the English take the field.—Battle of Wandewash.—Their signal successes by land and sea.—With their united forces they besiege, and take Pondicherry; which fine city they demolish in revenge for the demolition of Fort St. David's, and thus put a period for the present to the French power and consequence in India.—Affairs in* BENGAL.—*The* SHAH ZADDAH *invades* BENGAL; *repulsed by Clive.—Jaffier deposed; Cossim raised to the Nabobship.—On Cossim's flagrant abuse of the power intrusted to him, Jaffier replaced on the Musnud.—War with Cossim, who cruelly murders in cold blood* 200 *English gentlemen at Patna.—War with the Nabob Vizier, supported by the new Emperor.—Defeated in every action with the English army, both eventually submit and throw themselves on the protection of the English.—The Nabob Vizier restored to his dominions in* OUDE.—*The Emperor issues a firmaun, granting to the English the office of* DUANNY *of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.—That firmaun the basis of their future greatness and unrivalled prosperity.*

ENGAGED in detailing and bringing to a conclusion the more splendid and interesting events that occurred in Bengal under Clive and Watson, we neglected to notice in its proper place the important service rendered to the Company's affairs on the Malabar coast and at Bombay, by the spirited and successful attack of the fleet under Commodore James and Admiral Watson, on the usurped maritime domains of the renowned pirate Angria. It forms too important a feature in the history of that settlement to be omitted, and is in substance as follows.

In the infancy of the Mahratta government, a daring individual of that tribe, grandson of Sevajee, named Conajee Angria, had been employed by the Saho Rajah* as an admiral in the defence of that coast against the incursions of the SIDDEE, or Mogul admiral. The most signal success had crowned the naval efforts of this man, and inflamed by that success, he aspired to independence of the power that made him. In pursuance of this plan he seized upon all the strong forts on that range of coast, and by the aid of European engineers rendered them impregnable against any attacks of the native powers, Mahratta or Mogul. Issuing from these rocky recesses, these maritime retreats formed by the indenture of the coasts, in vessels of peculiar construction, called grabs, strongly built, and skilfully managed, himself and his descendants, all bearing the name of ANGRIA, had now for half a century carried on a predatory war not only against the Mohammedan powers who traded to and from India, but even against the more formidable states of Europe; capturing ships of great burthen and wealth, and often, through their number and valour, victorious over their ships of war. All nations had suffered by these depredations, but the English more severely

* See an account of the Saho Rajah in vol. ii. p. 236.

than others. To repress the insolence of these marine adventurers the presidency of Bombay had been put to an enormous expence in fitting out various expeditions, and in keeping up a constant naval force for the protection of their valuable commerce. Most of those expeditions had totally failed, and it was not until Commodore James was appointed to that station, and sent on that service, in 1755, that any impression was made on the barbarous but wary enemy. James had indeed with only four ships attacked some of the minor forts on the coast with vigour and success, and had even laid the stronger one of Severndroog in ruins; but still the business was only half done. The arrival in those seas, about this time, of Admiral Watson, with a more powerful fleet from England, seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for following up the blow and completing the long meditated conquest. After due consultation, therefore, with the admiral, it was resolved by that presidency to attempt the extermination of this race of piratical marauders.

The principal fortress of Angria, and capital of all his dominions, was named GHERIA, situated on a rocky promontory about a mile and a quarter long, and at the entrance of a spacious harbour, which forms the mouth of a river descending from the Balagaut mountains. The rock on which Gheria stood, rose fifty feet in perpendicular height above the level of the water, and the fortifications erected upon it consisted of a double wall with round towers, and were of proportionate thickness and elevation; many of the massy stones of which they were composed being ten feet long, and as many broad. In short, no expence or labour had been spared to render this place impregnable; for it was the depositary of all his treasures, and the grand arsenal of all his naval stores. Adjoining the harbour were extensive docks for ship-building, and opposite to them, at this time, were lying ten

of the strongest of his grabs, fastened together in such a manner that if one should take fire, all the others must inevitably be consumed with it.

So many formidable accounts of this fortress had reached Bombay, representing it as absolutely impregnable ; a little Gibraltar situated on a mountain inaccessible from the sea ; that it was resolved in council there to send vessels to reconnoitre it: and he whose daring naval efforts had caused the enemy most annoyance, the commodore himself, was immediately dispatched in the Protector of 44 guns, assisted by two other ships, on that arduous service. After having run considerable danger by approaching within cannon shot of the fort, that intrepid officer returned in December with a more accurate account of Gheria, which he acknowledged to be a place of prodigious strength both by nature and art, but neither inaccessible, nor impregnable.

As Angria was in equal hostility with the Mahratta as with the English government, an invitation was sent, as had been sent before, to the chiefs of that nation to join in the expedition against their common enemy, and recommending a vigorous attack upon him from the land side, while the English fleet battered the fortifications, and attacked his fleet in front. The proposal was acceded to with readiness, and at length, the preparations being complete, on the 11th of February, 1756, Admiral Watson, assisted by the patriotic zeal and tried abilities of Commodore James, with a fleet of nine sail, four of which were of the line, accompanied by five bomb-vessels, appeared before Gheria. On board this fleet, beside marines, was a battalion of 800 Europeans, together with 1000 sepoys, under the command of Clive. A large army of Mahrattas, under Ramajee Punt, had also marched from Choul to invest the place by land, and, thus blockaded on every side, the dreadful conflict commenced.

After the usual but ineffectual ceremony of summoning the fort to surrender, the fleet entered the harbour in two divisions, parallel to each other, and, anchoring on the north side of the fortifications, at the distance of 50 yards, began to batter them with 150 pieces of cannon, while from the bomb-vessels an infinite number of shells was at the same time discharged, some of which falling into the grabs, moored together as above described, set them on fire, and in a short time the whole were consumed. The besieged in the mean time were not idle, but kept up an incessant fire on their assailants, from near 200 cannon: being ill-directed, however, no great injury was done to the shipping; whereas, on the part of the English, every shot took effect, and before sunset the guns of the fort were entirely silenced. Angria predicting his fate, and detesting the English, had fled to the Mahratta camp, in hopes by large bribes of purchasing his peace with that venal nation. Anxious to get possession of his riches, to the exclusion of the English, they obtained an order from him to his brother, whom he had left chief in command, to deliver up the keys of the fort to the former only, and to resist the English to the last. Apprized by a deserter of these clandestine proceedings, Admiral Watson re-commenced the attack with redoubled vigour, to prevent their insidious allies accomplishing their designs, and Colonel Clive, landing in the night with his whole force, contrived to get between them and the fort. With the dawn the summons to surrender was renewed, together with the menace that if the fort were not delivered up in an hour, it would be stormed, and no quarter given. This peremptory requisition being followed up by a cannonade still more terrible than the former, had the desired effect, and in a short time the garrison surrendered. Colonel Clive, with his battalion, immediately took possession of the fort with all that it contained, which in military

and naval stores, and valuable effects of every kind, was of immense amount, besides a large sum in money, which was distributed without reserve among the brave captors. The other forts in the usurped marine domains of Angria being afterwards assailed by the allied powers, were successively taken possession of; and thus in one month a formidable enemy that for 50 years had ravaged the coast, and annoyed the fleets of all nations, was not only crushed but in a manner annihilated.*

AFFAIRS OF COROMANDEL.

In a preceding page we stated that the deputation sent from Bengal, in 1756, to solicit relief from Madras, found that presidency occupied in preparing to send a detachment of 300 Europeans into Deccan to aid Salabad Jing † in getting rid of M. Bussy and the French, who completely tyrannized over him and his whole court. The destination of that force, together with 600 Europeans, and 1500 sepoys in addition, immediately ordered for Bengal, left Fort St. George so destitute of troops that nothing could be attempted for the Soubah, while the presidency itself remained exposed to an immediate attack from the French of Pondicherry, should they be tempted to violate the conditional treaty, or rather the suspension of arms, so lately only agreed upon. The presidency therefore, in order to fortify the seat of government, without delay from all the inferior dependencies in the Carnatic, called in as great a number of troops as could be spared from the indispensible duty of their respective garrisons, and, even with this additional aid, its security appeared to be at best very precarious.

With respect to affairs in the Deccan, the contention between

* Orme, Vol. I. p. 417. Cambridge, p. 129.

† See of the preceding volume page 355.

Salabad Jing, or rather between his ministers and M. Bussy, having arisen to a great height, the latter, at the peremptory command of the Soubah, left his camp, with all his troops, and after a long and toilsome march of nearly 300 miles, conducted with great ability through an enemy's country, arrived in safety at Hydrabad, where he strongly fortified himself. At this place he continued till he was re-inforced by a detachment of 400 men, which, at his request, had been sent from Pondicherry to Masulipatam, the nearest French settlement, whence they had rapidly advanced to join him, a distance of 200 miles, and had, in their march, encountered difficulties, little inferior to his own. With this additional force he was enabled to establish himself in what are called the northern Circars, a portion of the maritime part of Deccan, which in a preceding page we observed were ceded to the French by Salabad Jing, in reward for their assistance in exalting him to the musnud, and the revenues of which are stated by Mr. Orme as amounting to half a million sterling.* He was also enabled to carry on a vigorous and successful war with the refractory Rajahs, or Zemindars in that region of the peninsula, and finally to awe the Soubah himself and his ministers into peace and submission. Having obtained this distinguished success over both the native and the Mogul forces, and having gained some intelligence of the intention of the Council of Madras to send succours to the Soubah, he now fell with fury on the English settlements in that part of the peninsula, and was crowned with success equally brilliant. Among inferior factories in its vicinity, the more important one of Vizigapatam was after a short investment reduced, and by its capture the French became masters of that whole coast from Ganjam to Masulipatam.† This was precisely the period of the proudest triumph of the French arms in India;

* Orme, Vol. I. p. 335. † Cambridge, p. 137.

how rapid and dreadful a change in their affairs afterwards took place will be demonstrated in no very distant page.

War being declared about this time between the two countries, in 1756 a powerful fleet was with the utmost expedition, for its magnitude, dispatched in the following year from France to India, containing an armament far more formidable, and better appointed than ever had been transported thither in one fleet. The fleet consisted of twelve ships of different rates, commanded by M. d'Aché; the land forces by General Count Lally, a man haughty and daring as Dupleix himself, and armed with unlimited powers to drive the detested English from all their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, and retaliate on their towns the unsparing vengeance poured out on Chandernagore. His orders were immediately on his arrival, which, however, owing to a most disastrous voyage did not take place until the end of April, 1758, to commence the siege of Fort St. David; and in fact the very night of his landing, 1000 Europeans, together with as many sepoys, commanded by Count D'Estaign, were seen in full march to attack that fort preparatory to the bolder meditated attempt on Madras.

Lally quickly followed at the head of all the force that could be drawn together for the attack on Fort St. David, and, before it, was soon collected an army amounting to 2500 French, the most formidable body of Europeans that India had ever seen assembled, with nearly as many sepoys, and a proportionate train of artillery. Colonel Polier commanded in the fort, and is thought not to have made all the resistance for which he was provided with the means; for though the enemy's cannon, which played furiously and incessantly, had before he surrendered very much damaged the works, no practicable breach had been made. The garrison, however, scarcely 300 in number, were utterly inade-

quate to its defence, the tanks or reservoirs having been injured by the bombardment, so that little water was to be had, and the ammunition was almost expended. The fort capitulated on the 1st of June, 1758. The garrison were made prisoners of war; nor could the most earnest solicitations of the commander and the governor carry the proposal that the fortifications should not be demolished during the war.

A court of enquiry was afterwards instituted at Madras, in which Major Polier's personal bravery was highly commended, but the early surrender, and the conditions, were reprobated in the most unqualified terms. The garrison were sent to Pondicherry, there to remain until their release could be effected by the delivery of an equal number of French prisoners. In strict conformity to the decided resolution formed at the court of Versailles of exterminating the English, and levelling their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, Count Lally now proceeded to the utter demolition of the works of Fort St. David. The whole were blown up and reduced to a heap of ruins. The revengeful spirit of French hostility did more than this; it led him to destroy many beautiful villas of the English in that quarter, and many handsome public structures that adorned the face of the country.

The English at Madras now became justly and deeply alarmed. They saw the storm that had ruined St. David's rolling towards St. George, and ready to burst upon the citadel. They immediately called in all the remaining troops in the garrisons of the different factories in the Carnatic; and proceeded with vigour and celerity to make the necessary arrangements for sustaining an attack which was to decide the fate of the British capital in Coromandel.

I forbear to follow M. Lally through his rapid and varied

career of victories in the Carnatic, while Madras remained without adequate resources to obstruct his progress. I forbear to notice, as irrelevant, the everlasting contests in which his haughty intractable spirit, born to control rather than to submit, involved him with M. Deleyrit, the civil governor, and the council of Pondicherry, who seem to have thwarted him in all the great designs which he had formed for the aggrandizement of his country in India, and to have locked against him the Company's treasury, which contained the sinews of war. My concern is only with the great features of his administration, and, therefore, passing by minor intervening incidents, let us attend him on his march to invest Fort St. George, flushed with his triumph over St. David's, and confident that *that* imperial settlement would experience a similar catastrophe.

Early in December 1758 the grand French army, augmented by large detachments from all their settlements in that region of India were seen advancing to the attack. Their number amounted to 3500 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and as many horse. The English force, in like manner augmented, consisted of 1750 Europeans, and 2000 sepoys: and of this force a considerable proportion, under the command of Colonel Lawrence, had encamped on an eminence, called St. Thomas's mount, distant about nine miles from Madras. It is thus denominated from an ancient tradition, that the apostle St. Thomas had preached the gospel to the Indians on that spot. It is justly esteemed for the goodness of the air, and the pleasantness of the situation, on which account a number of villas have been built on the scite by the gentlemen of Madras, surrounded with beautiful gardens and plantations. As it was not the intention of the Colonel to risque an engagement with such an inferior force, especially when a defeat would inevitably be attended with the loss of Madras, on

the approach of the enemy he gradually drew off his battalions from the mount, and encamped nearer the town, on what is called the Choultry plain. The following day Lally encamped on the deserted mount, and on the 12th of December himself advanced to the Choultry plain. The English army, after about two hours cannonading, retired into the fort; and that evening the enemy encamped on the very spot which they had abandoned. At the same time their advanced guard took possession of the garden-house, and the neighbouring village, in order to invest the town

Early in the morning of the 14th of December, M. Lally marched in two columns to attack, and take possession of the Black Town, whose large extent made it impossible for the small force of the English to dispute it with the enemy. An immense multitude of black people, principally women and children, with frantic cries and gestures, now crowded towards the fort claiming protection, and imploring admission within the walls; but this favour could not be granted, and they were advised under the cover of the night, to disperse themselves over the country. While however the enemy were engaged in plundering the Black Town, and many of them were intoxicated with the arrack found in considerable quantities in its warehouses, a vigorous and unexpected sally was made by Colonel Draper, at the head of 500 men, which spread confusion and dismay through their ranks, and put the greatest part of them to precipitate flight. Being at length rallied by their officers, a severe but short conflict took place, in which the enemy lost in killed and wounded thirty officers and nearly 300 men; the loss of the garrison too was serious, being altogether nine officers, and 200 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. This daring enterprize convinced M. Lally that he had now to contend with a very

different description of men from those who had behaved so ignobly at Fort St. David's.

Immediately after, the French began to prepare their batteries, and other necessary works for the close investment of the fort. The artillery, however, which they had embarked for the siege was still at a distance on the seas, impeded by contrary winds; on the 22d a great part of it arrived in the Harlem, and on the 2d of January, 1759, at break of day, a tremendous bombardment commenced from the principal batteries, which was answered with great spirit from the fort, both with shells and shot, and the contest was continued until seven at night, with little injury to the town, and with less to the besieged. The attack was resumed on the 6th and 7th with increased vigour on the part of the enemy; but by the strenuous exertions of Mr. Call, the chief engineer, their fire was as vigorously retorted, and the damage sustained rapidly repaired. As that gentleman's regular journal of the siege is published, and may be consulted in Mr. Cambridge's work, I must refer the reader for more particular details to his authentic page. To military men they are alone important, and they are both there, and in Mr. Orme, accompanied with draughts and plans which render them perfectly intelligible. It is sufficient for these pages to record that after a severe blockade, which commenced on the 12th of December, 1758, and concluded on the 17th of February, 1759, during which interval all the energies of united skill and valour were exerted on both sides, this memorable siege terminated by the appearance of an English fleet of six sail in the road of Madras, and bringing to its aid a detachment of 600 Europeans, with a proportionate quantity of money, stores, and ammunition. The latter, however, though welcome, was not materially wanted, owing to the provident care of Mr. Pigot, the governor, who both before and during the

siege had unceasingly performed all the various duties of his arduous situation.*

This long-expected fleet was first descried approaching the road, about 5 o'clock on the evening of the 16th of February, but it was near ten before, directed by lights held out in the fort, they cast anchor in the road. Consequently, on such a coast, no debarkation could take place until the following morning; a circumstance that might have been, but fortunately was not, attended with very serious consequences to the besieged. Lally had arrogantly declared that he never would relinquish the enterprize until he had tried the success of a general assault, and it was firmly expected by the garrison that it would take place that very night, before the reinforcement could be landed. Every man, therefore, capable of bearing arms, was ready at his post, and a continued increasing fire, kept up on both sides during the greater part of the night, seemed the prelude to the dreadful affray. Soon after two in the morning, however, that of the enemy began visibly to slacken, and at three it entirely ceased; nor could the motions of troops be any longer distinguished in their lines. The blaze of fires, however, in their trenches, and large piles of wood in flames were plainly perceived, as if to guide a retreating foe; and in fact at day-break the whole army was discovered at some distance, in full march towards St. Thomas's mount, on their return to Pondicherry. The hurry and confusion with which they raised the siege were evident in their leaving behind them a vast quantity of stores, above 40 pieces of heavy cannon, and their sick and wounded in the hospital, recommended in a letter by Lally to the humanity of the English governor, which was exerted in their favour. The loss during

* Orme, Vol. III. p. 455, and Cambridge, p. 204, where see the journal of the siege.

the whole siege amounted in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, to 33 officers, and, of rank and file in the battalions of Europeans, 559; of the sepoys, lascars, and others, including deserters, nearly 700, no inconsiderable proportion of the whole garrison! The loss of the French in these respects was never exactly ascertained.*

Shortly after the English army took the field under Major Brereton. The great commercial towns of Conjeveram and Masulipatam were successively taken possession of by himself and Major Ford, so that the French trade on that extensive coast, abounding in population and rich in manufactures, was soon almost confined to Pondicherry. Near the close of 1759 Colonel Coote invested and took Wandewash, which in the following year roused the utmost exertions of General Lally to recover it. The army he collected for this purpose amounted to above 2000 Europeans, together with treble the number of black troops, and at the head of these he pushed forward the siege with the utmost vigour. He had even proceeded so far as to make a practicable breach in the walls, when Colonel Coote appeared before Wandewash with an army of 1900 Europeans and about 3000 sepoys. After an obstinate and bloody engagement, fought on both sides with a bravery which the importance of the place inspired, Lally was completely defeated and fled, leaving above a thousand killed and wounded on the field of battle. He retired with the remainder of his routed troops to Pondicherry. The English, according to Mr. Orme, lost only 200 in killed and wounded, but the death of the gallant Brereton threw a shade over the triumph of victory.† This important victory was rapidly followed up by the siege and capture of Arcot, the capital of the province. At sea the efforts of the

* Ibid. † Orme, Vol. III. p. 589.

brave Admiral Pocock were distinguished by no less brilliant success. With eight ships only he attacked and defeated the French fleet of double that number, and compelled them to take shelter under the cannon of Pondicherry. After the capture of Carical and one or two other fortresses in the neighbourhood, which rapidly followed, that city soon became their only remaining port in that part of India, and it was determined immediately to invest it with all our forces by sea and land.

That magnificent city, upon which such immense sums had been lavished by the French, extended along the coast about a mile and a quarter, and was about three quarters of a mile in breadth. It was at this period considered as the finest city, and the best fortified, of any in India. The palace erected for the residence of its ostentatious viceroys, its noble citadel, its vast magazines, its beautiful bazar, its lofty gates, and walls flanked with bastions, eleven in number, and mounted with 500 pieces of cannon, rendered it worthy to be called the metropolis of a great nation. On the land side it was inclosed, as many cities in India are, about a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes, prickly pears, and other thorny plants, called the *Bound-hedge*, intermixed with great numbers of cocoa-nut and palm-trees, altogether forming a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and of very difficult passage to infantry. This *Bound-hedge* was farther strengthened by five redoubts commanding the five roads that led into the town. To enter into the particulars of this famous siege, or rather blockade, so well and so minutely detailed by Mr. Orme, is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that after the bravest possible exertions for a period of seven months on the part of the besieged, their supplies being entirely cut off, so that provisions for only ten days more remained for the support of 2000 persons, of which the garrison consisted, the haughty

Lally consented, without any conditions, to surrender the city. As the extirpation of the English from the maritime coast of India had been the avowed object of the French councils, and of all the governors down to Lally, evidenced in the utter destruction of Fort St. David's by the latter, a rigid retaliation was on this occasion adopted; and the extensive fortifications, together with all the noble public and private buildings of Pondicherry were in a few months with much labour demolished, and the French capital of India for ever bowed the head. This important, this memorable event took place on the 16th of January, 1761. The fate of the brave but impetuous and unfortunate Lally ought not to be omitted. On his return to France, his numerous enemies prevailing, he was tried and convicted of having betrayed the interests of his country, and the East-India Company, and beheaded in the 65th year of his age; a sentence which he bore with a firmness only to be paralleled by the black ingratitude that pronounced it.

With the towers of Pondicherry fell the once colossal power of the French on the continent of India. Thiagar surrendered at discretion in February; and the strong fortress of Gingee soon afterwards capitulated to Captain Smith, with only the honours of war allowed to its brave garrison. Thus finally terminated a war which had continued to rage, between the English and French, on the coast of Coromandel, with little intermission during fifteen years. In Bengal also we have seen their commerce and their government were alike annihilated. A few daring adventurers, however, retired to Mysore, where they were received with rapture by Hyder, who had recently usurped its sceptre, had publicly sworn the destruction of the English, and was secretly meditating the accomplishment of his oath. But here a vast field, and new prospects of almost

unbounded extent begin to expand to the view of the historian. That field too has been already beaten by able and patriotic writers, who are well known, and may be readily consulted. Having now gradually traced the progress, in commerce and in conquests, of the different European nations, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, and French on the desolated shores of India, during a period of above 260 years, that is from the landing of the immortal Gama at Calicut, in A. D. 1498, down to the uncontrolled establishment of the English power on those shores by the destruction of Pondicherry in A. D. 1761, I trust I may retreat with honour from that field, and leave its future history to be recorded by the pen of others.

Previously, however, to finally quitting it, the intimate connection which affairs in the Company's principal settlement have with the preceding Mogul history, renders it necessary to take a last view of

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in which province, and Bahar, it has before been observed, the fugitive prince, Ali Gohar, had, in 1758 and 1759, attempted to raise contributions and make conquests.* In this enterprize he was zealously assisted by Mr. Law, at the head of a French corps who had made their escape from Chandernagore, and had been permitted by the late Nabob to reside for some time on the northern frontiers of the provinces, but who afterwards was compelled to remove to Chitterpoor, as well as by several turbulent and disaffected Rajahs and Zemindars, who fighting under the royal banners hoped to obtain high distinction, and no small plunder. Among the latter, beside Mahommed Kuli Khan, Subahdar of Allahabad, who had given him protection at his capital, were Sunder Sing and Bulwant Sing, of Benares, and

* See page 591, preceding.

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some partial success at first attended their arms; but Colonel Clive, who at that time commanded in Bengal, rapidly advancing from Moorshedabad together with Meerum, the Nabob's son, at the head of the English army, soon checked their progress, and as we have before seen, drove them back beyond the Carumnassa.

The prince, Hossain asserts, more than once wrote to the Colonel, offering him any terms for the Company, and himself, on condition that the English would quit the Nabob and join his army; but Clive thinking it incompatible with the English treaty with the latter, declined the offer. His proffered services being thus conscientiously rejected, in a few months he returned with a far more formidable force, and armed with all the terror of imperial authority, his father Aulumgeer having been recently assassinated; but he was defeated in various successive conflicts with the English under Colonels Knox and Calliaud, and compelled again disgracefully to cross the Carumnassa. About the same time also the Mahrattas entered the province from the southward, and penetrated into the Burdwan country, making a considerable but unavailing diversion in favour of the prince, for they also were totally discomfited by Colonel Calliaud's troops in conjunction with those of the Nabob. The particulars of these conflicts have in various publications been so amply detailed * to the public, and the result of all the prince's efforts to conquer Bengal and Bahar having been already stated to the reader, I shall not tread back the ground of history minutely to relate them; but, as usual, keep only to its great outlines, and the leading events of the period under consideration. Towards the close of the campaign the Nabob's son was killed in his tent by lightning;

* For these details consult Gholaum Hossain, *passim*; also Holwell's "India Tracts," octavo, 1774, in which are inserted Colonel Calliaud's letters, addressed during the course of the campaign to himself, as governor.

extreme anguish for which event is said by our well informed native historian to have affected the intellects of Jaffier Khan, his father, (although nobody besides himself felt the smallest grief at his death, for he was a young man of the most cruel and profligate character) and to have been, in part, the occasion of that important change in the government, the particulars of which it now becomes necessary to record.*

For a considerable period the internal administration of the province of Bengal had been most wretchedly conducted. Both Jaffier and his son had in their high station been guilty of the most atrocious crimes, and on the slightest occasions had freely used the dagger of assassination. These excessive cruelties, added to the oppressive exactions of the father, had rendered him equally obnoxious, both to the natives and the English. By his indolence too, and the defalcations of a train of worthless favourites, the revenues were become utterly inadequate to the support of the government. The council of Calcutta had long seen and regretted this scandalous deviation, from the line of principle and prudence, in the man whom they had exalted to its musnud. After violent and protracted debates among its members it was at length agreed upon by the majority of the board, to depose Jaffier Khan, and raise to the Nabobship, his son-in-law, that Cossim Ally Khan, of whom, in the preceding portion of Mogul history, we have prematurely been compelled to speak. Colonel Clive, it should be here remarked, after repelling the invasion of the Shah Zadda in the preceding year, had early in the present year (1760) resigned the government of Bengal, and taken his departure for Europe. Mr. Holwell, as oldest in council, succeeded to the presidency, which a few months afterwards he resigned to Mr. Vansittart, appointed to succeed the Colonel from

* Gholaum Hossain p. 399.

Madras. Soon after his arrival, the new governor, and Colonel Calliaud, attended by a body of European troops and some sepoys, towards the close of the year 1760, having arrived at his capital of Moorshedabad, announced to the Nabob the fatal intelligence of his deposition from the musnud, which his crimes had disgraced, and the elevation of his son to those honours having been determined upon at that presidency. Jaffier Khan at first fell into a violent rage, grossly abused the English, and menaced resistance; but his palace being surrounded, and the gates secured, he was compelled to submit. Boats were at hand to convey himself, his domestics, and his property in gold and jewels to a vast amount to Calcutta, which he preferred to a residence at Moorshedabad, where he would be at the mercy of his son-in-law, whom he equally dreaded and detested, and Cossim, amidst the general exultation of the people, was immediately proclaimed his successor.

In Cossim, however, the English government was deeply disappointed. With greater abilities and profounder policy than his predecessor, he pursued with vigour all the obnoxious projects of his father-in-law in respect to the trade of the Company; he greatly, but gradually, increased the numbers of his army, which he armed, clothed, and disciplined after the European manner, and rendered formidable by a well-appointed park of artillery; while, to elude the cautious vigilance and inspection of the English factory and agents of Moorshedabad, he removed the seat of his government from that capital to Mongheer, 200 miles higher up on the Ganges, which he fortified in the strongest manner possible. From this place he issued the severest decrees against both the judicial and commercial claims of the English in Bengal, and reversed all the immunities granted them by his predecessor, and confirmed by himself,

when advanced by them to the musnud. Mr. Vansittart, a just and worthy man, but wanting the spirit and vigour of a Clive, anxious to prevent an open rupture, undertook a journey to Mongheer, where he arrived in November, 1762, and entered into an amicable negociation with the Nabob, which terminated by his consenting to put the Company's commerce under certain restrictions, (Hossain states it to be the payment of *nine* per cent. on articles of commerce) and he issued his orders accordingly, which were immediately circulated with avidity by Cossim through the whole province. But the terms of this treaty were thought disgraceful at Calcutta, and were indignantly annulled by the council. Unwilling, however, to come to extremities with the Nabob, a deputation of gentlemen, with Mr. Amyatt at their head, was, shortly after, dispatched to Mongheer with fresh proposals for an accommodation. In the object of their mission, however, they were completely unsuccessful; and it seemed to be the determination of the tyrant to extirpate both the English and their trade; for on their return to Calcutta, these gentlemen, though furnished by himself with the usual passports granted to persons employed in public embassy, in passing through Moorshedabad, were by his orders, basely fired upon; Mr. Amyatt, and many of them killed, and the rest taken prisoners.

Previously to this catastrophe, it was sufficiently evident that the Nabob was determined on hostilities, and Mr. Amyatt, in consequence, had written to Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna, desiring him to be upon his guard against sudden surprise. Mr. Ellis, upon receipt of this intelligence, and in the certainty that a declaration of war would be issued when the deputation reached Calcutta, resolved, when he conceived Mr. Amyatt was arrived within the boundaries of the Company, to be before-hand with the Nabob, and after consulting the military commander, formed the bold

resolution one morning at day-break, when the Mogul guard were mostly off their posts, and not suspecting an attack, with their handful of troops of seizing on the city. Having scaled the walls without much opposition, the little army marched on in two divisions towards the citadel, the garrison of which however resolutely held out, as well as the palace of the governor, in expectation of speedy relief. All the rest of the city was in their possession, but unfortunately, instead of keeping firmly together, the soldiers, allured by the riches of that great city, began to disperse and plunder the bazar and the houses of the opulent inhabitants. This imprudent step totally ruined an enterprize commenced, it must be owned, with more spirit than foresight, for detachments pouring in from all quarters soon overpowered the English, and after a short but brave resistance, they were completely routed, and pursued across the river, where they were all either destroyed or taken prisoners. Among the latter were Mr. Ellis, the chief, Mr. Lushington, and many other gentlemen, very highly esteemed in India, and very respectably connected in England. Inflamed with this temporary triumph, the Nabob immediately issued orders to the officers of the several districts for the indiscriminate slaughter of all Englishmen found in them, and it is possible that the massacre of the deputies at Moorshedabad might be the consequence of those orders; but as EMBASSADORS, in every event of peace, or war, their persons ought to have been considered as *sacred.*

When intelligence of this cruel and daring outrage arrived at Calcutta, the grief of the gentlemen of the council was alone to be equalled by their indignation. They immediately determined on the deposition of Meer Cossim, and a negociation was commenced with Meer Jaffier for his restoration to the musnud, which was speedily terminated by his assenting to all the articles

dictated by them, as the condition of that restoration, except *four*; and those were of such minor importance, that at a future board they agreed to alter them according to his wishes:* he was in consequence of this assent, and a solemn promise to avoid former errors in government, once more proclaimed soubahdar at Calcutta; and on the 17th of July, 1763, attended by Major Adams, and an army small in number, but resolute in mind to revenge the murder of their countrymen, re-ascended the musnud at Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of the province. To pass over partial and less important actions, which would necessarily occupy the space destined to events of greater magnitude and moment, the enemy having collected their whole force had encamped on the plain of GERIAH, to attack which the English had to pass a *nulla*, or deep ravine, in the very face of them. That force consisted of twelve battalions of sepoys, regularly disciplined, and fifteen thousand horse, with seventeen pieces of artillery mounted in the English manner, and worked by European cannoneers. Cossim himself dreading the just vengeance of the English for his unparalleled perfidy, should he fall into their hands, was not with his army, but kept at a secure distance at Mongheer, and afterwards removed higher up the Ganges to Patna. The total amount of the British on this occasion did not exceed three thousand men. After an obstinate contest of four hours, in the course of which the English line was for a moment broken in upon, the latter gained a complete victory, and a booty adequate to the magnitude of the royal army. Pursuing their victorious career, they arrived at Mongheer, which the tyrant had made his capital. To this city,

* Consult the treaty, consisting of thirteen articles, in Vansittart's Bengal, Vol. III. p. 340.

fortified in the best manner the time would admit of, they were obliged to lay a regular siege, and the defence was more than usually vigorous; at length, however, the assailants having made a practicable breach, the garrison, consisting of 2000 sepoys, after a siege of nine days capitulated. Here the army received the afflicting intelligence that the cruel tyrant had caused to be barbarously murdered the whole of the English prisoners, amounting to nearly two hundred, except Dr. Fullarton, who, in his medical capacity, having been serviceable to himself, and some of the great men of his court, had a few days before been set at liberty.

In fact Cossim had, in a previous letter to Major Adams, announced his determination to exact this diabolical revenge if he advanced with the army to Mongheer. The Major returned him for answer, that if he touched a hair of their heads he should have no mercy from the English, who would pursue him to the utmost extremity of the earth. The prisoners had been committed by Cossim to the care of a renegado French officer, his favourite general, named Sumroo, whose mortal enmity to the English nation seemed to render him the proper instrument of so bloody a deed, the horror of which is increased tenfold by its having been committed under the roof of pretended hospitality. The English gentlemen were invited by this base assassin to a banquet to be served up after the English fashion, for which purpose he had previously borrowed all their knives and forks. On the entrance of messieurs Ellis, Hay, and Lushington, they fell the first victims, being respectively seized by the hair by one ruffian, while another was at hand to cut his throat. Resistance was made, but it was useless, for the English were unarmed except with bottles and plates, the only weapons of offence they could procure, while the murderers rushing in upon them in-

indiscriminately levelled them with their carabines, or cut them down with their sabres; and thus, to use the words of Colonel Fullarton, " they were all terribly mangled and cut to pieces, and then promiscuously thrown into a large well, in the court of the house, which was afterwards filled up."*

Burning with revenge at this intelligence, the army with irresistable impetuosity pressed forward to Patna, where the object of their detestation was supposed to be, which after a resolute defence was taken by storm on the 6th of November, 1763. The Nabob however was too wise and circumspect to trust himself within the walls of any city attacked by the English: he contented himself with hovering near at the head of a select body of cavalry, from which he occasionally sent large detachments to harass the besieging enemy; and when intelligence reached him of its surrender, he retired with precipitation to the banks of the Carumnassa, which he crossed on a bridge of boats, and entered the territories of Sujah Dowlah, towards the close of the year.

The events that follow relative to Cossim's friendly reception at the court of Oude, the vain glory of the Nabob Vizier, the vast preparation for invading Bahar and Bengal, and the fact itself of that invasion by his innumerable, but ill disciplined battalions, together with the battle of Buxar, given in more than usual detail, as being more strictly connected with the Mogul History†—that fatal battle in which 50,000 Indians were opposed to 5000 of the company's troops, of which 1200 only were Europeans, are already before the reader. That decisive action took place, as there stated, in October 1764. No place of consequence now remained to the enemy, but the strong and almost impregnable fortress of Chunar Ghur on the Ganges. That fortress, how-

* Vansittart's Bengal, Vol. III. p. 376. † See page 598 preceding, et seq.

ever, after a long and obstinate resistance, which the garrison was enabled to make from the many advantages afforded them by its elevated site on a rock, projecting into the river, was at length surrendered by the governor to the English, in January 1765. It has been stated, that the Vizier in his panic, after the above victory of the English fled to Allahabad, another strong fort and city, 70 miles higher up the river, and constructed after the most approved rules of Indian architecture, by Sultan Akber, at the point where the Ganges and Jumna unite their streams. To this place he was pursued by the English general, and Allahabad, however fortified to resist an Indian army, not being able to withstand the battery of English artillery, being quickly taken, he fled for refuge to the Mahratta chief Mulhar Row, by whom he was cordially received, and promised that assistance which he so anxiously solicited. He also dispatched messengers to the *Rohilla Afghan* chiefs, established on the northern frontier of Oude, imploring their aid to crush the common foe.*

In the meantime his more sagacious minister, Beni Bahadur, despairing of success against a power to whom all opposition seemed unavailing, was endeavouring to open a negociation, by means of a native rajah, high in the confidence of the English, named Chittabray. General Carnac, however, who had now succeeded to the command of the troops, refused to listen to any proposals for peace, without his previously delivering up to the just vengeance of the English, Cossim and his bloody agent, in the massacre of their countrymen at Patna, Sumroo. To these conditions the Vizier would not listen, honourably declaring that he would rather lose his dominions than be guilty of such an act of perfidy, to men who had fled to him for protection in the extremity of distress. To put it out of his power, in

* Hossain, Vol. II. sect. 3. p. 365.

any exigency to act thus treacherously, he immediately released them; and both, it may be here remarked, after a variety of adventures, died miserably.*

Early, too, in the present year, (1765) expired, the victim of age and grief, the Soubahdar himself, Jaffier Khan. Upon his death-bed he had nominated his eldest surviving son Nudjim al Dowlah, then about eighteen years of age, for his successor, and the Council at Calcutta, after due deliberation, confirmed that nomination. Before his elevation to the musnud, however, in several conferences which were holden with him by some of its members, deputed for the purpose to Moorshedabad, the strict line of conduct to be observed by him as Nabob, was pointed out and impressed upon the inexperienced youth. The necessity also of very considerable changes, both in the civil and military departments of the province, was forcibly inculcated, and finally acceded to by the young Nabob, though he struggled hard to retain at the head of affairs the profligate Nundcomar, the favourite, but the venal minister of his father. His intreaties in that respect were of no avail, and a minister of their own choice was appointed to him, to serve at once as the governor of his private, and the guide of his public life. Under these restrictions, which past severe experience seemed to render requisite, he was installed Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and the profound tranquillity enjoyed by those provinces after the submission of the Vizier, during his reign and that of his brother, who rapidly succeeded to his exalted station, evinced the wisdom of those precautions.

On the absolute refusal of the Vizier to accede to the conditions proposed by the English general, the continuance of the war being rendered necessary, the Mahrattas, more faithful

* Hossain, Ibid.

to Sujah, than his allies of the north, who with many professions had made no preparations for the campaign, early in May 1765 took the field. Sujah Doulah had also, by great exertions, and promises of high rewards, assembled together a large proportion of the troops who fled before the enemy at Buxar, but who now united with the martial Mahratta race, thought themselves marching on to certain victory. On receiving intelligence of their approach, General Carnac, without a moment's delay, advanced to meet them. He came up with them at a place called Calpi, where, after a conflict by no means sanguinary or protracted, he entirely routed the combined armies, pursued their flying squadrons in every direction, nor gave over that pursuit until he had compelled the Mahrattas, the more formidable of the two, to recross the Jumna, and retire within their own frontiers.

With respect to Sujah Dowlah himself, again defeated, desponding, his last stake ineffectually hazarded, he retreated with a few faithful bands to Ferukhabad, where Ahmed Khan Bunguish, the chief of that district, advised him in this extremity to throw himself, at once, on the clemency of the English, who were as generous as they were brave, and would not fail to pay every respect to an omrah of his rank and dignity in distress. With this advice, however grating to his feelings as a prince, and degrading to his character as a soldier, after due consideration, he resolved to comply; and, accordingly, the next day set out in his palanquin, with a few unarmed attendants, for the English camp. Informed of his intentions and approach, Carnac, with some of his principal officers, advanced in the front of the camp to receive him. On seeing them, the Vizier alighted from his palanquin, and after mutual salutation, the English general led his noble guest to a tent where a splendid entertainment was prepared, of which the

Vizier cordially partook, and after receiving the most solemn assurances of perfect reconciliation and future friendship, towards evening departed to his own tents, which were pitched at some distance. Impressed with a deep sense of the generosity and frankness of the English, the Vizier soon after repeated his visit, and a treaty between himself and the English was expeditiously drawn up, by which HE was re-instated in the full possession OF ALL HIS DOMINIONS upon the following lenient conditions; that he should pay fifty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification to the English for the expenses of the war, twenty-five lacks in ready money, and the remainder by assignments on the revenues of Oude; that the province of Allahabad should be assigned for the sole use of the Emperor, and its city and fortress be allotted for his residence; that a body of English should be stationed there as a guard to the Emperor's person; and that from the day of its signature, the friends and enemies of the one party should be deemed the friends and enemies of the other, and of course that their armies should be mutually assisting, in case of war and invasion, on the express condition that the party soliciting succour should defray all the charges attendant on the troops sent to his assistance.*

Such were the leading articles of the famous treaty of Allahabad, which was mutually signed and ratified on the spot by the contracting powers, but expressly stated at the time, to be subject to the final determination of Colonel Clive, who, about this time was expected in India to resume the government, with enlarged and almost unlimited powers.

For a considerable time back, indeed, dissensions had arisen to a very great height, both in England and at Calcutta, in respect to many of the transactions, which we have thus rapidly sketched,

* Hossain, sect. xi. p. 371.

dissensions that went almost to shake the existence of the Company; and no man was esteemed better able, from his profound knowledge of Indian affairs, and the concern which he had had in the exaltation of the Company to their present state of opulence and prosperity, to rectify errors, and settle matters on a permanent basis than that great warrior and statesman. Upon that account, powers thus vast and unprecedented were entrusted to him; and whatever objections may, in other respects, be urged against that great man, he certainly in this instance did not abuse them, but acted with equal circumspection and wisdom, and at the same time with a firmness and vigour that entitles him a second time to the splendid denomination of the Saviour of India. On his actual arrival shortly after, Colonel, now Lord Clive, expeditiously hastened to Allahabad, and deing decidedly of opinion, though so victorious a commander, that to extend our conquests beyond certain limits, that is to say, beyond our powers of keeping possession, both in respect to the vast expense incurred, and the number of troops necessary to be maintained for its defence, was inconsistent with sound policy; also esteeming the Vizier's dominions the firmest possible barrier against the incursion of Afghans, Mahrattas, and other barbarous hordes who had so long desolated the northern frontiers, readily consented to ratify the above treaty. Of the fifty lacks stipulated as the price of peace, one half was in a few days paid down in money, and for the security of the remaining portion, jewels of very high value were pledged with the English commanders.

Repeated interchanges of civility and mutual assurances of lasting friendship between the two parties had taken place, and the Vizier, in proof of it having given up the strong fortress of Chunar in exchange for Allahabad, which had been assigned for the residence of the Emperor, the latter set off on his return to his own